

NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION

My second edition of *Modern Europe* differs from the original in several main respects. The period preceding the World War has been considerably compressed and that subsequent to it has been expanded and brought down to the autumn of 1924. Any modern history must, it would seem, be subject to occasional revisions of this sort in order that the student may not be given a text beyond the limits of the time at his disposal and that he may, nevertheless, be placed in a position to understand the current events of the world by having at hand a survey of the most recent developments.

The result of the present revision is to present to teachers a briefer text than the earlier one, and one, therefore, for many of them, more adapted to their requirements, and to give them also a text more comprehensive. Questions on the topics treated have been added to each chapter, and may, it is hoped, be found useful. The bibliographical references have been freshened and enlarged by the addition of some of the new material that has appeared in the last few years.

If any teacher desire to assign longer readings on any of the topics of European history subsequent to the fall of Napoleon he may refer to the new edition of my *Europe Since 1815*, revised and published in 1923, and furnishing a much fuller, more detailed account of the history of the past hundred years.

C. D. H.

COLOMBIA UNIVERSITY,
October 13, 1924.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

THE present volume is, in large measure, a new edition of *Modern European History*, altered, however, in important particulars. Chapters on England in the Seventeenth Century, on France under Louis XIV and on the Industrial Revolution have been added as well as one on the Conference of Paris and the present situation of the world. The book covers, therefore, approximately four centuries of European history and comes down to the close of the year 1919. Numerous changes of detail have also been introduced in the line of greater condensation or expansion of various topics. The small nations have been brought together into a single chapter with a view to greater simplicity and effectiveness of treatment. The attempt has been made to keep constantly in mind the various continuing factors in the evolution of modern Europe, to show clearly how the present is the product of the past.

America has come to realize how ignorant she has been of European history and of European conditions and how heavily that ignorance has cost her. Not only her citizens but also her official leaders, high and low, have frequently revealed, during the appalling crises of the last five years, a lamentable and dangerous lack of comprehension of things vital to their own welfare and to the welfare of the world. As a nation we have successfully "muddled through" the great entanglement of our times, but it is not safe for nations any more than for individuals, to muddle, since the issue may never be happy, and is at any rate always purchased at too high a price. It ought to be clear even to the blind, after the events of the last five years, that the destinies of America and Europe are indissolubly connected but are inextricably intertwined and will remain so. Whether we like it or not makes no difference with the situation.

It behooves us, therefore, to inform ourselves as thoroughly as we can, concerning that situation, concerning the factors and the forces active in the world to-day. "History," said Napoleon, "is the torch of truth," and contemporary history offers, of course, the

to a knowledge of the contemporary world. It must form an essential and important part of our educational curriculum. One runs little risk in prophesying, after the experience through which we have recently passed, that the history of modern Europe will occupy increasingly the attention of Americans in the years to come. No one who takes his citizenship seriously can admit that he knows nothing and cares nothing about it. He will care, if he cares for the welfare of his own country.

It is the privilege as well as the duty of every teacher and writer of modern European history to aid in this process of enlightenment. It is a mark not only of necessary education but of elementary patriotism. The American citizen, if he is to think correctly on the problems of his age, if he is to show intelligence and breadth of view in the exercise of his suffrage, must know, first the history of his own country and then the history of the modern world outside. Nor is this a passing necessity of the hour; it is a permanent requirement of the situation. Any school curriculum which makes no provision for indispensable and richly rewarding study fails in a fundamental obligation to America since, in that degree, it acquiesces in the unpreparedness of the citizens of this country to meet and solve, with wisdom and with judgment, the great and vital questions of national policy.

No school ought to fail to give some attention to European history because it cannot give much. Better a little knowledge than none at all. Schools vary greatly in character, in resources, in the demands put upon them by the communities they serve. Where it is difficult to find time for a full year's course it may well be found possible to give one of a half a year or of three months. The present book, or any other text of a similar character and scope, admits of great flexibility in usage. If a teacher does not have the time to cover the entire ground he can with profit begin with 1789 or with 1815 or with 1848 or with 1870, all, for various reasons, significant and natural dividing lines in modern history. Whichever one of these dates is taken as the point of departure the subsequent period will be found to present an essential unity, full of instruction and of suggestion of direct and obvious utility in equipping the boy or girl for life. For the study of this subject is not a mere self-indulgence, not a mere source of cultivation, though that is an amply sufficient reason for pursuing it, but is a pressing,

urgent, and most practical requirement of the age. It is to the proper education of the American democracy. That democracy which is the best educated, not that which is merely thrice as numerous as the most populous, is destined to leadership in the modern world.

C. I H.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
DECEMBER 22, 1919.

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MODERN EUROPE

CHAPTER I

ENGLAND IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Richness of Modern Life. The history of the modern world is a record of highly varied activity, of incessant change, and of astonishing achievement. The lives of men have, during the last few centuries, become increasingly diversified, their powers have been greatly multiplied, their horizon has been enormously enlarged. New interests have arisen in rich profusion to absorb attention and to provoke exertion. New aspirations, new emotions have come to move the souls of men. Amid all the bewildering phenomena of a period rich beyond description, one interest in particular has stood out in clear and growing preëminence, has expressed itself in a multitude of ways and with an emphasis more and more pronounced, namely, the determination of the race to gain a larger measure of freedom than it has ever known before, freedom in the life of the intellect and spirit, freedom in the realm of government and law, freedom in the sphere of economic and social relationships. A passion that has prevailed so widely, that has transformed the world so greatly, and is still transforming it, is one that surely merits study and abundantly rewards it. Its operations constitute the very pith and marrow of modern history.

Not that this passion was unknown to the long ages that preceded the modern period. The ancient Hebrews, the ancient Greeks and Romans blazed the way, leaving behind them a precious heritage of accomplishment and suggestion, and the men who made the Renaissance of the fifteenth century and the Reformation of the sixteenth contributed their imperishable part to this slow and difficult emancipation of the human race. But it is in modern times that the pace and vigor, the scope and sweep of this liberal movement have so increased as unquestionably to dominate the age. Particularly have the last three centuries registered the greatest triumphs of this

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spirit. It is with these centuries that this book concerns itself. And the book may well begin with a memorable and momentous struggle in one country, England. As the story proceeds we shall see the drama unroll upon a wider and more spacious stage until the whole world is ultimately involved.

Leadership of England. One of the most important agencies making for liberty in the modern period has been the parliamentary system of government. This has been the supreme contribution of England to the political education of the world. So notable an achievement has been neither easy nor rapid. The free institutions of England have been the growth of many centuries, the product of slow time. The struggle for popular government forms the very warp and woof of English history and is charged with interest and excitement, made forever memorable and glorious by the resolute and desperate endeavor of a long line of heroes. This story, so full of incident, so impressive because of the gravity of the issues involved, so stormy and arresting on its personal side by reason of the characters and activities of the leaders in the drama, cannot be summarized, either here or elsewhere. It must be studied in detail by any one who would know it, by any one who cares to see at how great a price the liberty which is our common inheritance has been bought.

But a few features of the story may be alluded to. England had had a monarch since early times; she had had a parliament since the thirteenth century; she had had her Magna Charta, formulating and sanctioning certain rights, since 1215. These were, however, but the beginnings of things. Into what form and stature they might grow, how much of true liberty they might guarantee, remained to be seen, and long remained. In the relation to each other of monarch and Parliament lay the crucial point. Which should have the greater weight in the state, and how great that weight should be, was the all-important, decisive question.

The House of Stuart. The great crisis in the struggle between personal monarchy and parliamentary government began with the advent of the House of Stuart to the throne of England in 1603, continued all through the seventeenth century and was carried over into the eighteenth. The outcome is well known. Parliament finally established its supremacy in the state, not only within the legislative sphere, but also over the executive, for by making ministers

directly and constantly responsible to it and accountable for every act of the King, it rendered itself omnipotent. There only remained for the nineteenth century the question as to whether Parliament itself should represent a privileged class or should represent the people. The solution given was the triumph of democracy. It was because the English constitution was destined to be widely studied and imitated abroad that this long and bitter dispute as to what that constitution was and ought to be was of direct interest, not only to Englishmen, but to the rest of the world as well.

Reign of James the First, 1603-1625. Trouble began with the arrival from Scotland of the first Stuart monarch, James I, to take the seat left vacant in 1603 by the death of the Great Elizabeth, the last of the Tudors. This is one of the turning points in history. James reigned from 1603 to 1625, and the tone and temper of his rule may safely be imagined from a sentence in one of his speeches: "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do so it is presumptuous, and a high contempt in a subject to



JAMES I

After a painting by E. Lutterell.

dispute what a king can do, or to say that a king cannot do this or that." Here was a challenge sufficiently explicit and, indeed, James never left his people in doubt as to his purposes and intentions. He claimed more extensive powers than any of his predecessors, a more personal and exclusive authority. As Englishmen were by nature tenacious of their rights and blunt in their assertion of them, as they were temperamentally little disposed to accept a rôle of passive obedience, there was here ample material for contention,

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and, from the moment James first appeared on English soil until his death twenty-two years later, contention raged over the whole field of the national life. Deep was the alarm, deeper the resentment aroused among the English people by the policies of the King and by his manifest intention to exalt the throne, to debase the parliament, and to subvert the liberties of his subjects. But no open and violent breach occurred, so slow were Englishmen to that wrath which brooks no compromise and which quits the field only when the enemy has been beaten to the dust.

That irreparable breach, that indignation that asked and gave no quarter, were reserved for the reign of James' son. "James," says the historian Green, had "destroyed that enthusiasm of loyalty which had been the main strength of the Tudor throne. He had disenchanted his people of their blind faith in the monarchy by a policy both at home and abroad which ran counter to every national instinct. He had alienated alike the noble, the gentleman, and the trader. In his feverish desire for personal rule he had ruined the main bulwarks of the monarchy."

Reign of Charles I, 1625-1649. Charles I had some of the qualities of a good ruler. He was hard-working, methodical, dignified, thrifty. He had a fine taste for art and literature. Tasso, Ariosto, the "Faerie Queene," above all Shakespeare, were his delight. But he possessed a narrow and obstinate mind. He had no range of vision, no firm broad grasp of public questions. He was an unqualified egotist, showing no spark of gratitude to those who served him, no trace of constancy in friendship. He was an adept in double-dealing. "He was so constituted by nature," wrote the Venetian ambassador, "that he never obliges anybody either by word or act." And he had the worst fault a statesman can have — he never saw things as they really were. He had a talent for intrigue, but he was blind to the plain signs of the times. His confidence in himself was complete.

Charles I held the same conception of the divine origin of his power as had his father. He had the same opinion that the monarch, and not the Parliament, was the central, vital organ of the state, that the initiative in government should come from the throne and not from the people or the people's elected representatives. Unfortunately for him, Parliament was at this very time becoming more conscious of its strength than ever before, more determined to

maintain its rights and even to expand them. A clash was therefore inevitable. It began at once, and grew rapidly in intensity. Parliament refused to vote the money demanded by the King and his unpopular minister, Strafford, unless Charles would recognize that the ministers were responsible to Parliament; in other words, that the control over the administration in domestic and foreign affairs



KING CHARLES THE FIRST

From the painting by Vandyke, in the Gallery of the Louvre.

should in last resort rest with Parliament. This demand, intolerable in Charles' eyes, with his ideas of kingship, was rejected. Unable to get the necessary money in a legal way, by grant of Parliament, Charles resorted to methods long regarded by Englishmen as illegal, namely, by forced loans, which meant arbitrary taxation by the sovereign, and arbitrary arrest in case of refusal, or punishment of the stubborn by the quartering of soldiers upon them. Resistance was widespread. Great nobles, country gentlemen, tradesmen, refused to comply with the exactions as illegal and were flung into

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prison or otherwise persecuted or harassed. Strafford pressed the loans with a fierce energy that only inflamed the public mind still further.

The King Summons Parliament. But such methods of filling the treasury, however vigorously pursued, were inadequate to the demands of the King, and Charles was forced to summon Parliament once more in order to get the necessary money. It proved to be one of the most remarkable Parliaments in the history of England. Those who had opposed the King, those who had suffered imprisonment were enthusiastically elected to it. A long list of names which were to become dear to the lovers of liberty everywhere were on its rolls, those of Sir John Eliot, John Pym, John Hampden, and many others, eloquent orators, skilled parliamentarians, exemplars of civic courage and love of country. Among them sat a man, new to Parliament, and destined in time to succeed these earlier champions as the most famous leader in this momentous chapter of history now beginning, Oliver Cromwell.

The Petition of Right. Charles wanted money and assumed a high tone in demanding it. Parliament wanted a redress of grievances and adequate guarantees that the abuses of the past few years should cease and should never be renewed. This Parliament lasted from March, 1628, to March, 1629. Its most notable act was the drawing up of a Petition of Right, one of the great documents in the history of popular government. It recited once more and reaffirmed the laws which forbade arbitrary taxation, forced loans and benevolences, arbitrary imprisonment without due process of law, the billeting of soldiers on citizens in time of peace. This Petition of Right, which ranks along with Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights in English constitutional history, was, in essence, a remorseless arraignment of the conduct of Charles I. Charles was forced to accept it, with all its emphatic limitations upon the power of the monarch. Then the King got his supplies, voted enthusiastically by the Parliament.

Charles Rules without Parliament. It seemed as if Parliament's sole and exclusive right to exercise the taxing power was now safe and beyond dispute. Not at all. The danger had but just begun. Charles, having gained his immediate end, the vote of supplies, and angry at the independent and critical attitude of Parliament and at the humiliation involved in the Petition of Right, now dissolved Parliament, and determined not to call another. For

eleven years he adhered to this resolution. From 1629 to 1640 no Parliament met in England. This was a period of unmitigated autocratic rule. Practically, Charles was an absolute monarch, doing what he liked and as he liked. It was a period in which the liberties of Englishmen were largely in abeyance, a period of gloom and terror. Arbitrary taxes of one kind or another were imposed, ferocious sentences were visited upon the recalcitrant, the rights guaranteed by the Petition were rendered a hollow mockery. Sir John Eliot and eight members of Parliament were thrown into the Tower, where Eliot shortly died, one of the great martyrs in this fierce struggle for liberty. But Charles' opponents were undaunted and fought on as best they could. One of the outstanding incidents in this perilous time was that furnished by John Hampden.

John Hampden and Ship-Money. One of the ways in which Charles I tried to get money from his subjects without asking the consent of their representatives was the exaction of funds from them for the building of ships. The King maintained that this was not a tax but was simply a payment for exemption from the obligation of personally defending the country. John Hampden, a well-to-do country gentleman, refused to pay his assessment.

His object was to force the matter into the courts and to arouse the attention of all England to the danger in which she stood, by compelling a judicial decision as to the legality or illegality of the King's policies. Though Hampden was assessed only twenty shillings, he saw and he was resolved that every one should see that in those twenty shillings of "ship-money" lay the whole question as to whether the King or the House of Commons should be supreme in England. For if the King might take what money he pleased, then he could do as he pleased, then he could govern in opposition to the wishes of the nation, indefinitely.



JOHN HAMPDEN

From a print by I. Houbraken.

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Hampden lost his case, but his action was enormously educative upon public opinion and in the end contributed greatly to the cause of the Parliament. Of the twelve judges only two voted in his favor. Three others supported him on merely technical grounds, not on the merits of the case. Seven declared in favor of the King and laid down the broad principle that no law forbidding arbitrary taxation could bind the royal will.

If this decision of the judges were accepted by Englishmen as the law of the land there need never be another Parliament in England, for the King could raise what money he chose and consequently could govern as he chose, without let or hindrance. Englishmen would have no such monarchy as that, without at least a struggle. Some of the incidents of that struggle should be remembered by every lover of liberty.

The Long Parliament. Becoming involved in war with Scotland and needing more money than he could get by arbitrary processes, Charles was finally obliged to call the people's representatives together, and in November, 1640, there assembled the Long Parliament, so called because it continued in existence, in one form or another, for thirteen years. It was immediately apparent that the heat of controversy had not cooled. Parliament would not vote a penny either for the Scotch war or for anything else without first squaring accounts with the King. It prosecuted his two chief agents of oppression in state and church, the Earl of Strafford, and Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, and brought about their execution. It demanded a comprehensive redress of grievances. It drew up a Grand Remonstrance, a popular manifesto setting forth the whole dark case against the monarch and asserting the rights of Parliament. The King, infuriated, resolved to crush this spirit of opposition once for all. On January 4, 1642, accompanied by a band of cavaliers, armed with swords and pistols, Charles I went to Westminster Hall, resolved to seize five members of the House of Commons who were most obnoxious to him. Among these were Pym and Hampden. Leaving his band of "rufflers" outside, Charles crossed the threshold of the House of Commons, which no king might lawfully cross, advanced up the chamber to the Speaker's chair and demanded the five members, asking the Speaker if they were there. Speaker Lenthall's reply has remained historic and will long so remain. "May it please your Majesty," he said, kneeling before him in all

outward reverence, "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me." "Well, well," Charles retorted angrily, "'tis no matter. I think my eyes are as good as another's." Looking over the assembly he discovered that his intended victims were not present. They had, indeed, been hurried out by their fellow members at the first rumor of the King's approach. "I see," said Charles at last, "all my birds are flown, but I do expect you will send them to me." If they did not, he added, he would take his own method of getting them. He then withdrew from the House amid shouts of "Privilege! Privilege!" from the indignant members. He went out, says an eye-witness, "in a more discontented and angry passion than he came in."

Beginning of the Civil War. This attempt of the King to coerce Parliament aroused deep and universal horror and resentment. The people of England were inexpressibly shocked in their innermost feelings. So great an outrage upon law and decency was a natural incitement to civil war. As a matter of fact, the King, in crossing that sacred threshold, had really crossed the Rubicon. A week later the five returned, in triumph, to the chamber amid the frenzied acclamations of the people. Charles withdrew from London, and a few months later, on the evening of a stormy day, August 22, 1642, raised the royal standard in the courtyard of the castle that crowned the hill at Nottingham. England's Civil War began. The question as to who should rule the island that was set in the silver sea was to be answered by the appeal to force.

The war between King and Parliament lasted several years and brought in its train the most surprising changes. The followers of the King were known as "Cavaliers," the followers of Parliament as "Roundheads." As England had no standing army, each side was obliged to get recruits as best it could and to train and equip them as rapidly as possible. The King was supported in general by a majority of members of the House of Lords and by a strong minority of the Commons as well. Catholics and High Church Episcopalians were in his ranks. The majority of the Commons, the Presbyterians, and the dissenters from the Established Church, particularly the advanced Puritans or Independents, as they were called, were on the side of Parliament. These Independents or Separatists were destined shortly to become the leaders of the "Rebellion," as the King called it. They rejected both the Episcopal and the Presbyterian form of

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church organization and held that each community should organize and control its own church. They were Congregationalists. Having been persecuted in the past some of them had fled for refuge to Holland and later to America. The Pilgrim Fathers and the Puritans who founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay were of this class. While the term "Puritan" was frequently used very loosely to cover most Protestants, whether Low Church Episcopalians, Presbyterians, or Independents, it gradually became especially identified with the last named, as the most radical reformers in religious matters and in social usages. The revolution which was now impending is known in history as the Puritan Revolution.

For two years the Civil War dragged on a doubtful course, with ups and downs for either side. Then occurred a change. The parliamentary cause found an incomparable leader, a man singularly endowed for just such work as the times demanded, a man destined to go far in the military and civil contentions of his age, and to play so commanding and unique a part as to give his name to this period of English history.

The Early Life of Oliver Cromwell. "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height nor yet in obscurity," such was Oliver Cromwell's account of himself. Cromwell came of an important country family, widely connected, and long conspicuous for sturdy loyalty and public spirit. His father and three of his uncles had sat in the later Parliaments of Elizabeth. John Hampden was his cousin. Born in 1599, he had the grammar school education of his native town, Huntingdon, and at the age of seventeen he entered Cambridge University. The day of his matriculation was the very day on which Shakespeare died at Stratford-on-Avon. But the spirit of the Renaissance, so marvelously personified in the great poet, never breathed upon young Cromwell. The radiance of art and literature left him cold. He was the offspring of a very different spirit, the authentic and faithful child of Puritanism, and for him, as some one has said, "a single volume comprehended all literature, and that volume was the Bible." Intense religiousness, extraordinary energy of character, independence of judgment, fearlessness in conduct were early seen to be outstanding features of his personality.

Cromwell Reorganizes the Army. He had been a member of several Parliaments, but it was the Civil War that first brought him

into prominence. It revealed the fact that he was a born soldier and consummate leader of men. Cromwell saw the defects of the parliamentary army, the reason why it was not conquering the King's aristocratic troops. "A set of poor tapsters and town apprentices," he said, "would never fight against men of honor." They must be fired with an emotion equal to that of the chivalry of the Cavaliers and that emotion must be religious enthusiasm. Cromwell proceeded to organize first his regiment, and after that the army, on a system new in military history. "I raised such men," he later related to Parliament, "as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did; and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and whenever they were engaged against the



OLIVER CROMWELL

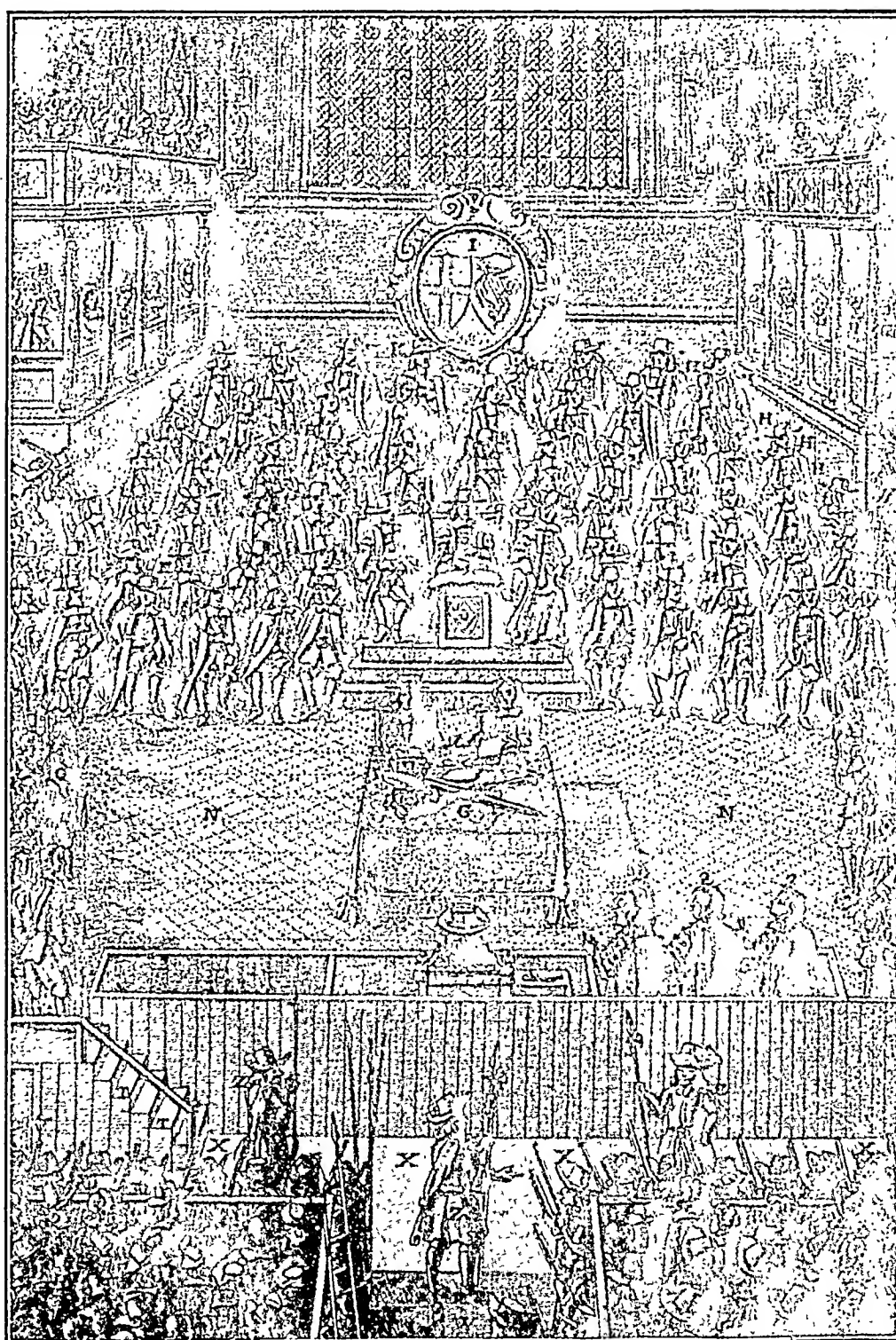
enemy, they beat continually." Here we have the war in a nutshell and the reason for its success. No swearing, no drinking was tolerated among Cromwell's troops. Men intensely in earnest, God-fearing, Bible-reading, hating impiety in every form, fond of prayer-meetings, they constituted, as Cromwell said with pride, "a lovely company." They became the best-trained soldiers in Europe. In discipline and skill and valor Cromwell's "Ironsides" profoundly impressed the imagination of that day and their desperate courage and fiery zeal swept all before them. Memorable, indeed, were their victories at Marston Moor (1644) and at Naseby (1645), under the

inspiring leadership of this Huntingdon gentleman-farmer, now become "an almost ideal general of cavalry — furious in the charge, rapid in insight, wary, alert, and master of himself," as one of his biographers justly says. "God made them as stubble to our swords. . . . Give glory, all the glory, to God," wrote Cromwell concerning Marston Moor. "God our Strength" was the watchword of the day of Naseby. "He seldom fights without some text of Scripture to support him," wrote a chaplain of this pious and pulverizing general.

Defeat of Charles. Beneath the impact of warriors energized as were these, every one of whom considered himself a divinely appointed agent for the chastisement of the wicked, the royal armies were scattered like chaff. The forces of Parliament were everywhere victorious. In 1647 Charles was driven to take refuge with the Scotch army, which forthwith surrendered him to Parliament. The Civil War was over.

With the surrender of the person of the King the crisis was safely passed. Royal pretensions were defeated, the danger of absolute rule was averted, Parliament was supreme. But a new crisis began at once to develop, intricate, obscure, fateful. No sooner had the war ceased than party spirit in Parliament revived in full vigor. Political warfare as bitter and destructive as the military warfare raged in England for several years.

And first, there was a triangular contest between the King, the Parliament, and the army. The King, though a prisoner, had many supporters and represented the principle of authority based upon centuries of history. Parliament represented the principle of representative government and favored making the Presbyterian form of church organization and doctrine the established and sole religious system of the land, to which all should be compelled to conform. The army demanded the effective guarantee of civil liberty and, what was new and startling, real religious toleration. It was opposed to Presbyterian domination in the state, as it was opposed to the restoration of the monarch to this throne. The toleration praised by Cromwell and by Milton, a greater intellect, excluded, it is true, the Catholics from its protecting circle, but was broad and spacious enough for all shades of Protestantism and represented a great advance upon the previous religious thought of Englishmen. Whether in action these Independents would live up to the liberality of their thought remained, of course, to be seen.



TRIAL OF CHARLES THE FIRST

A, the King; *B*, the Lord President, Bradshaw; *G*, table with mace and sword; *H*, benches for Commoners; *I*, arms of the Commonwealth, which the usurpers have caused to be affixed; *K*, Oliver Cromwell; *M*, spectators.

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Events quickly happened which landed the army in the saddle and made the idol of the army the real ruler of England. In 1648 Parliament was negotiating with the captive King with a view to his restoration to power on the basis of his acceptance of Parliament's view concerning religious organization. Charles, a born intriguer, spun out the negotiations, exultant at the prospect of splitting his enemies. At the same time Parliament showed its fierce intolerance in passing certain legislation which Cromwell had long opposed.

Pride's Purge. The army, vigorously opposed to any restoration of the King and to the religious intolerance of Parliament, was indignant at the turn things were taking. Its remonstrances passing unheeded, it struck, and struck hard. On the morning of December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride was stationed with a body of troops at the door of the House of Commons for the purpose of excluding such members of the House as were displeasing to the army officers. Over forty members were arrested and on the following day more than sixty others, and many who were not arrested were prevented from entering the Chamber. This outrage is known in history as Pride's Purge. There was no trace of legality in it. It was an act of pure military violence and it showed that the army was stronger than Parliament. The army installed itself in the place of power, and power uncontrolled save by its own will. The whole previous system of English government reeled under this terrific blow. Parliament and Monarchy were scorned and flouted by the soldiery. The House of Commons continued, it is true, but in a mutilated state, a mere phantom, entirely dependent upon the army. By the monstrous exclusion of over a hundred and forty members it now counted only fifty or sixty regular attendants and was called in the coarse language of the people the "Rump."

Trial and Execution of Charles I. It was this body which, under orders from the army, created a High Court of Justice to try the King. On January 20, 1649, the trial began. Charles refused to make any defense, flatly denying the authority of the Court. The Court consisted of only the bitterest enemies of the King, for only such would consent to act as members of it. On January 27, Charles was sentenced to death as a tyrant and a traitor to his country. Three days later he was beheaded in front of his palace of Whitehall, an enormous crowd looking on. In this supreme and awful moment he bore himself with unflinching fortitude.

England a Republic. The monarch had fallen, but had the monarchy? Charles I left a son, known in history as Charles II. But Charles II was not destined to begin his reign until many eventful years had intervened. The "Rump Parliament," as the mutilated fragment of the House of Commons was derisively called, voted that henceforth England should be a Commonwealth, that is, a republic, instead of a kingdom. The monarch was gone, the House of Lords had ceased to exist, the House of Commons, such as it was, was the sole surviving institution of old England.

But during this period the real ruler was Oliver Cromwell, the idol of the army. It had been the army that had effected this transformation of the government; it was the army that now formed the real center of power. The army had been essentially the creation of Cromwell, and it was the strongest military force in Europe. Had the republic not had the army behind it, it could not have long endured, as unquestionably the great majority of Englishmen were monarchists to the core. The government of the Commonwealth was government by a minority.

Cromwell Conquers Ireland. The new régime found itself encompassed on all sides with enemies. Disruptive passions were everywhere unloosed; wild ideas were in the air. The three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland were falling apart; a general dissolution of the state and of society seemed impending. Ireland proclaimed Charles II King, and Irish Catholics and Irish royalist Protestants were organizing to overthrow the Commonwealth. The Scotch were tending in the same direction. Meanwhile foreign countries, horrified by the execution of the King, looked askance and glowered.

Through this mass of dangers Oliver Cromwell, the man of the hour, hacked his way with swiftness and success and made Britain more unified than she had ever been, more powerful, and more feared and respected abroad. The immediate point of danger was Ireland, and thither Cromwell was dispatched. He fell upon the unhappy land like a thunderbolt. His campaign opened with an incident that has left a deep stain upon his name, the storming of Drogheda (September 3, 1649) or rather the "massacre" of two thousand people, after the storming, and in a frenzy of rage, quarter being refused. Ireland was thoroughly conquered, and was ruled with ruthless severity. A large part of the land was confiscated and handed over

to Englishmen, and the native landowners became fugitives in the poor and desolate parts of their country. Cromwell's "settlement" of Irish affairs has been hated ever since with a deep and abiding hatred. To this day the peasants of Ireland speak of the "Curse of Cromwell."

Cromwell Defeats the Scotch. Scotland's turn came next. Charles II had landed there from France, whither he had fled upon the death of his father. The whole Scottish nation was behind him, and a large part of the people of England were only waiting until it should be safe for them to support his cause. Cromwell's conquest of Scotland was even more rapid than that of Ireland. At Dunbar, on September 3, 1650, he seized his opportunity and added to his roll of victories another resounding name. His army advanced to the charge with the watchword, "The Lord of Hosts." The clash was fierce but lasted only an hour. Above the roar of the battle Cromwell was heard shouting, "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered," and as the tide turned he sang the 117th Psalm, "O praise the Lord, all ye nations; praise him, all ye people." The victory was complete, 3000 of the enemy killed on the field, thousands more in the subsequent chase, 10,000 prisoners, all the artillery taken, 15,000 stand of arms, 200 flags.

A year later another battle and another victory, that of Worcester, and Cromwell sheathed his sword, his military career at an end. Charles II fled to the Continent, there to spend a decade in exile.

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," sang Milton in the sonnet which he wrote at this time in honor of the Lord-General. Cromwell was now fifty-two years of age and at the height of his power and prestige. His return to London was one long triumphal journey. The House of Commons formally thanked him for his services, voted him a large income and placed at his disposal Hampton Court, a palace erected by the magnificent Woolsey in his hour of pride. Cromwell was now virtually dictator.

Cromwell and Parliament. The ideal of the "Commonwealth Men" was a high one, that of a free state controlled by the elected representatives of the people and guaranteeing liberty of thought and speech, but the difficulty in the way of the realization of this ideal lay in the fact that were a new Parliament freely elected it would probably prove a royalist body. The people of England had resented the arbitrary conduct of the King, Charles I, but they were monarchists

still, not republicans. They believed neither in a Commonwealth, nor in religious liberty, the very things in which the army passionately believed. Cromwell and his friends had no desire to set up government by the army. They wished government by civilians, government by an executive and a Parliament. But they were not to have their wish. Cromwell, finding it impossible long to work with Parliament, finally brought it to a violent end. During a turbulent session of the House of Commons, his patience being exhausted he summoned the soldiers to enter. Pointing at the Speaker, he said, "Fetch him down," and indicating Algernon Sidney, he ordered the soldiers to "put him out." Picking up the mace, the symbol of the authority of the House, he said, "What shall we do with this bauble? Here, take it away," and gave it to a musketeer. He ordered the House cleared of all its members and as they passed out, he shouted: "It is you that have forced me to do this, for I have sought the Lord night and day that He would rather slay me than put me on the doing of this work!" He then commanded that the doors be locked, and went back to Whitehall (1653).

This is one of the most famous scenes in English history and one of the most outrageous. It remains as one of the blots upon Cromwell's career. The Huntingdon farmer had eclipsed Charles I, king by divine right, in the art of destroying venerable institutions. No great sympathy need be wasted upon Parliament. It was only a Rump and after its various "purges" and proscriptions had become a mere semblance of a legislature. Strictly it rested upon no more solid basis of legality than did Cromwell himself. Yet it stood, after all, for the old tradition of Parliament, and many of the old associations clustered about it in men's minds. Its destruction by military force and amid a torrent of unrestrained abuse was a grave and lamentable shock to the public mind. Moreover it did not decrease Oliver's difficulties as he proceeded on his stormful way. As a detail, it shows us Cromwell in one of the few moments in his life when he completely lost his temper.

The English constitution was no more. Every political institution of England now lay in ruins. King, Lords, and Commons had been overthrown. Cromwell alone remained standing amid this welter of ruin, and Cromwell for the rest of his life was practically dictator, without the title of king but with more power than any Stuart ever wielded.

Attempts, not very successful, were made to cover up this Cromwellian dictatorship, which Cromwell himself did not for a moment desire but which he felt was imposed upon him by God. Having destroyed the Long Parliament, he called another composed of "persons fearing God," specially selected by himself and the officers of the army at the suggestion of the "godly clergy." This proved such an impracticable and crotchety assembly that it passed away unregretted after a life of five months. It is known in history as Praise-god Barebone's Parliament, after the rather unusual name of one of its members. Before ending its existence this Parliament formally resigned its powers into the hands of the Lord-General.

Cromwell as Lord Protector. For nearly five years, from 1653 to 1658, Cromwell bore the title of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth. He was king in all but name, and more than king in power. His authority nominally rested upon an Instrument of Government, a document drawn up by the leading officers of the army, the first and only written constitution England has ever had. The Instrument established a Parliament also, and Cromwell called several Parliaments during his "reign," but could work with them no better than with former ones and dismissed them or broke them as occasion required. The important feature of the history of these years is the rule of the one man. Cromwell never succeeded in bringing about that permanent settlement in the institutions and life of England which he ardently desired and which he recognized as so necessary after the many turbulent and destructive years that had passed since the Stuarts first challenged the liberties of Englishmen. Cromwell could not build a system and an order that could endure, could not rally the people of England about him in enthusiastic and hearty coöperation, for the simple reason that his ideas and those of the majority did not agree. In this respect his work proved ephemeral. He could only build on shifting sands. His rule was really a military rule and he was more despotic than ever Charles I had been. But his aims and his character were far higher. He was honest and upright and unselfish, and the fundamental things for which he stood were unquestionably for the good of England. And as one of his biographers, Frederic Harrison, correctly says: "In the whole modern history of Europe, Oliver is the one ruler into whose presence no vicious man could ever come; whose service no vicious man might enter."

Cromwell's Foreign Policy. In one respect his rule shone with a peculiar¹ splendor. His foreign policy was one of great success. He had one of the qualities without which no ruler can be truly great ; he surrounded himself with able men, and used their services to the utmost. He was himself a man of large mould and fitted for large affairs. This was as apparent in his foreign policies as in his domestic. In the great contest that was going on between France and Spain, he took sides with France. Both were Catholic countries, but one was tolerant, protecting its Protestants in a considerable way by the Edict of Nantes ; the other represented the very essence of intolerance. Moreover, apart from this, England had her special reasons for disliking Spain, a country that was strenuously opposed to England's claims in the field of American commerce and colonization.

"His greatness at home," wrote Clarendon, a contemporary and by no means a friendly critic of Cromwell, "was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad." The English and the French won a great victory over Spain, and England thereby gained Dunkirk, and the island of Jamaica in the West Indies. The period of the Commonwealth and the Protectorate was also the period of the great struggle between England and Holland for commercial supremacy, and England by her Navigation Act of 1651, and by the naval war that followed, achieved here also a large measure of success. England again became a European power of the first rank as she had not been since the time of the Plantagenets. Foreign nations feared and courted her. "There is not a nation in Europe," said Cromwell, "but is very willing to ask a good understanding with you," in which modest phrase lay a great and justifiable pride. The Venetian ambassador to England declared that the court of Cromwell was the most brilliant and the most respected in Europe ; that six kings had sent ambassadors to seek his interest and regard. Louis XIV sent a mission of great magnificence to the Protector to present to him a sword of honor, studded with precious stones. It was not an Englishman, but a foreigner, who later said, "Cromwell, with his lofty character, is the most enlightened statesman who ever adorned the Protestant world."

The Death of Cromwell. At the zenith of his power, and in his fifty-ninth year, Cromwell died, on the third of September, 1658, the anniversary of two of his most famous victories, Dunbar and Worcester. After a public funeral of great pomp, his body was borne to Westminster Abbey and there buried.

The Restoration, 1660. Then the system he had built up rapidly collapsed. His son, Richard, succeeded him as Protector, but, utterly unequal to the situation, was forced to abdicate after a few months. Then Charles II, son of Charles I, came from France, and the historic monarchy was restored. Lords and Commons also were restored amid manifestations of popular approval. The day of the attempt at religious toleration was over, and the reign of Charles II was one of pronounced religious oppression, oppression not only of Catholics but of Presbyterians and Independents as well. There was a great revulsion, also, from the austere morality of Puritanism, and the new reign was one of lax moral standards. And a touch of ignoble savagery was added to the record by the order of the House of Commons that Cromwell's body should be taken from the Abbey, that it should be hung from the gallows of Tyburn, and that the head should be fixed upon a pole and set up in front of Westminster Hall. This odious deed was done.

In regard to the fundamental issue which lay at the center of all the troubled history narrated in this chapter, the relation of King and Parliament and their respective powers, nothing was definitely settled. That problem went over to the next century, as we shall see. Charles II had the same high conception of the prerogatives of the King as had his Stuart predecessors, the same dislike of Parliament, but he was too prudent to force the issue to the breaking point, too little disposed to run the risk of being sent "on his travels" again. And so he died in bed as King of England, in 1685.

Reign of James II, 1685-1688. But his brother, James II, had no such modicum of discretion, and therefore he spent three years only in Whitehall. He was an avowed Catholic, his wife was Catholic, and he showed unmistakably that he desired the restoration of Catholicism in England. This possibility Englishmen were in no mood to tolerate, and the famous Revolution of 1688 was the result. Mary, James' daughter, was a Protestant, and had married William of Orange, the leader of the Protestants of the Continent. William and Mary were invited to England by the Protestants of every shade. James fled to France. Parliament drew up another of the great documents of English liberty, the Bill of Rights (1689) by which the King was forbidden to suspend or violate the laws, to levy taxes or raise troops without the consent of Parliament, to deny his subjects the full exercise of the right of petition, or to curtail the right of

trial by jury William and Mary, accepting these provisions, were recognized by Parliament as the lawful sovereigns of England.

The Revolution of 1688. Such is what is called "The Glorious Revolution" of 1688. What it signified is this: Parliament, not the King, was the supreme power of the state, since Parliament, not Divine Right, could determine the succession to the throne. Parliament had rejected James II, lawful King, and had not put in his place his son, his lawful successor. It was evident that if Parliament could do this, could set aside a legitimate monarch for one more to its taste, then Parliament, and not the monarchy, was paramount. Other struggles were necessary to fashion out of this parliamentary supremacy that form of government which we call the "cabinet system" and which we know to-day. But an important milestone in the progress of English constitutional development and of popular liberty was set up by the revolutionists of 1688.

QUESTIONS

I. What are the chief characteristics of modern history? Why is England so important during this period? What is the historical significance of the House of Stuart? Why is the reign of James I a turning point in history?

II. What were the personal characteristics of Charles I? Show how Charles I attempted to rule without Parliament. For what is John Hampden remembered? What was the Petition of Right? What were the causes of England's Civil War? Who were the supporters of the King? Who were the supporters of Parliament?

III. Who was Oliver Cromwell? How did he reform the army? Describe his military achievements. What were his relations with the Long Parliament? What was the Commonwealth? What was the Instrument of Government? Describe Cromwell's foreign policy.

IV. What was the Restoration? What is the significance of the reigns of Charles II and James II? What was the Revolution of 1688?

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CHAPTER II

FRANCE UNDER LOUIS XIV

Reign of Louis XIV, 1643-1715. When Louis XIV assumed command of the state, upon the death of Mazarin, in 1661, the golden age of monarchy began for France and for Europe. From that time forth, for a century and a half, one nation occupied the center of the stage, France, powerful in the sphere of action, influential in the realm of thought. France was the most conspicuous and important state in Europe by reason of her vitality and energy and ambition, by reason of her large resources in men and in wealth, and also because of her form of government which was well adapted to enable her to assume an aggressive and expansive policy. Her prosperity and her power shone against the background of a continent divided into small states and into two or three large ones which, like Austria and Spain, were declining in strength, although still far from being negligible quantities. France was the most coherent, compact state in Europe. She had solved more of her essential problems than had the other nations, and the energies of her people had developed to a higher pitch. France, Austria, and Spain had long been involved in struggles with each other for supremacy. The changing fortunes of their tense and bitter rivalry had been shown in the murderous Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) through which Europe had only recently passed, the longest, most general, and most devastating war the Continent had ever known, whose outcome indicated unmistakably the waxing of France and the waning of the other two. That was ended by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), but the rivalry was to carry over into the reign of Louis XIV and, indeed, was largely to dominate it, although its issue was no longer seriously in doubt.

Louis XIV has himself described the general situation which he faced when he took charge of the government in 1661. "Everything was quiet everywhere," he writes in his memoirs, "no movement nor semblance of movement anywhere in the kingdom that

could interrupt or hamper my plans. Peace was established with my neighbors probably for as long a time as I should myself desire."

Warlike Ambitions of Louis XIV. Louis saw himself master at home and able to give peace or war to Europe, whichever he might prefer. That he would choose war was the most certain thing in the world. In the first place war was regarded as a fixed and permanent factor of civilization as then constituted. If it ceased for a moment, it was expected to reappear, just as bad weather was expected to follow good. Princes considered war a natural function of royalty. In the second place Louis' imagination was absorbed in the achievement of his own glory, and the greatest glory, as he believed, had always fallen to the lot of the world's warriors and conquerors, its Alexanders, Cæsars, Charlemagnes. Louis intended to play a great historic rôle, to be a great actor upon the human stage. "The praise of history," he said, "is something exquisite." He would show the world that "there was still a King on earth." "To have a crown is not everything, one must know how to wear it," was another of his opinions. Holding such traditional views, it is not surprising that Louis was almost continually at war for over half a century, and that he sought domination of Europe by arms.

He had an able minister of war in Louvois (lō-vwä'), a man who loved "order" and "system" and who displayed prodigious activity, a sense for detail and a capacity for general views, in his great work of perfecting the army and making it the most powerful Europe had yet seen. Louis also had in Vauban (vō-bon') a great military engineer, who revolutionized the art of attacking and defending fortified positions. Vauban constructed along the exposed frontiers a first and second line of fortifications which really closed France and which, toward the end of the reign, sufficed to check and stop the invasion of the country.

Louis Invades the Spanish Netherlands. With such aids as Louvois and Vauban and with an able body of commanders, of whom Turenne (tū-ren') and Condé (côn-dā') were the chief, Louis could go far — and he did, although his armies would seem to us very small, probably never more than 200,000 men. In the spring of 1667, the international situation proving propitious and a satisfactory pretext being forthcoming, Louis suddenly attacked Spain, an old enemy and now a mediocre opponent. The attack was made upon the Spanish Netherlands, that is, upon what we know as Belgium.



LOUIS XIV, AFTER G. DE LA HAYE
From *Le Grand Siècle*, by Emile Bourgeois.

The southern part of the Netherlands was speedily overrun. The campaign was a short one, and remarkably successful. There was no serious resistance.

But this rapid success alarmed Europe. The Dutch, particularly, became greatly excited, fearing, as the French minister wrote home, lest their own republic should be lost within two years and Holland should merely become "a maritime province of France." They persuaded England and Sweden to enter an alliance against Louis. This Triple Alliance and its offer of mediation, accompanied by a threat of war if not accepted, Louis decided to accept. The result was the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (āks-lā-shā-pel') (1668), a treaty between France and Spain, by which Louis abandoned his sweeping pretensions to the Spanish Netherlands, but retained about a dozen of the towns he had conquered. Louis thus pushed



VAUBAN

From an original picture by Lebrun in the War Office at Paris.

back his frontiers where, as he said, they were "a little close." His entrance into his new cities was a dazzling event, carriages of gold and crystal, saddle cloths embroidered in gold, courtiers blazing with diamonds, ladies bright with silks and plumes and laces. A Frenchman who witnessed the scene wrote that "all that is known of the magnificence of Solomon and the grandeur of the King of Persia is not to be compared with the pomp that surrounded the King on this trip."

But, despite appearances, the King of France was in anything but an agreeable mood. He had been blocked by Holland, and he knew it. "Cut to the quick," as he said, by this insolent and ungrateful people, and irritated particularly by a medal struck in Holland and representing "Joshua arresting the Sun in his Course,"

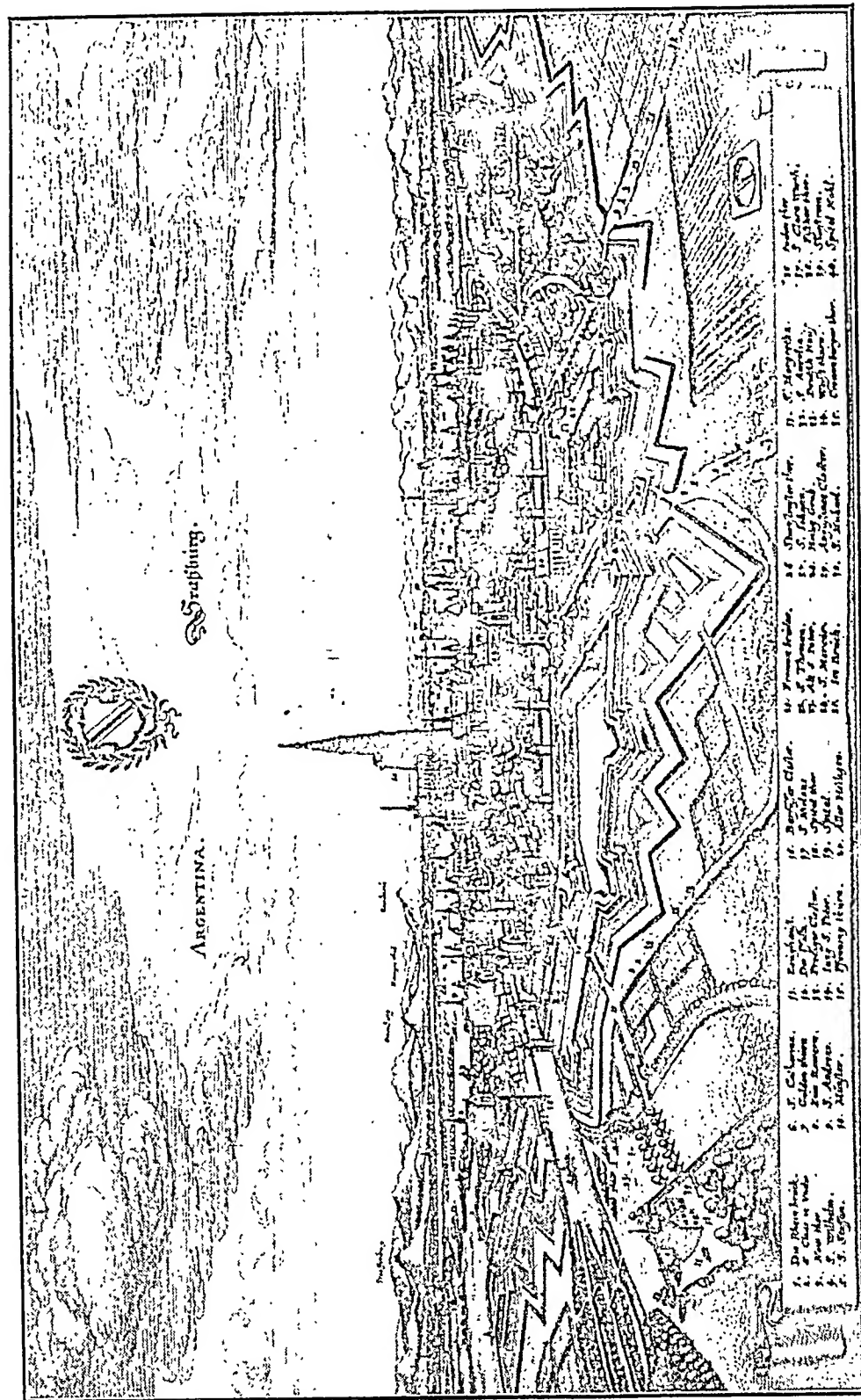
Louis resolved to annihilate that country. He went about this project with his accustomed deliberation and sagacity. He spent four years in preparation, diplomatic and military. He built up an imposing alliance to coöperate with him, and he broke up the Triple Alliance, by winning England and Sweden away. Thus he completely isolated Holland. Then he fell upon her like a thunderbolt.

The War with Holland. Louis did not deign formally to declare war. He merely announced it, April 6, 1672, by a placard in which he attributed it to the "little satisfaction" he had found in the Dutch States-General. His campaign was a series of easy and stunning triumphs. He besieged four towns at one and the same time and the four fell, in fact, in four days (June 4-7, 1672). Utrecht (ū'-trekt) also was captured. Holland was panic-stricken. Amsterdam thought itself lost, the enemy being at the gates. One last resource the Dutch had, their dikes. These they now cut and the country all around was inundated. Amsterdam became an island of the Zuyder Zee.

Holland thus gained time for negotiations and, under the resolute leadership of William of Orange, she built up an imposing alliance against Louis. The war, begun in so triumphal a manner, dragged on for several years, but in the end Louis was willing to make peace, the Peace of Nimwegen (nim'-wā-gen) (1678), if only he could show a string of advantageous annexations. Once more Spain was selected to pay the piper. She was forced to relinquish Franche-Comté (fronsh-kôn-tā') to France and also certain additional towns in the Netherlands.

Louis' Annexations. Thus by 1679 Louis XIV had added to France, Dunkirk, Franche-Comté, and half of Flanders, and peace had just been made, practically according to the terms he had laid down. The City of Paris expressed public opinion when it officially bestowed upon him the title of "Great."

Nevertheless the King was not as satisfied as he appeared to be. He had had to abate much from his hopes of 1672. Holland, which he had intended to destroy, was still intact, was, indeed, very much alive. Louis was fully conscious that he had maintained himself against a multitude of enemies, and yet he felt that the work was of an unfinished character. He showed his real feeling by disgracing his minister of foreign affairs, as if it were he who had been responsible for what, after all, had been a failure.



STRASBOURG IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

From an old print.

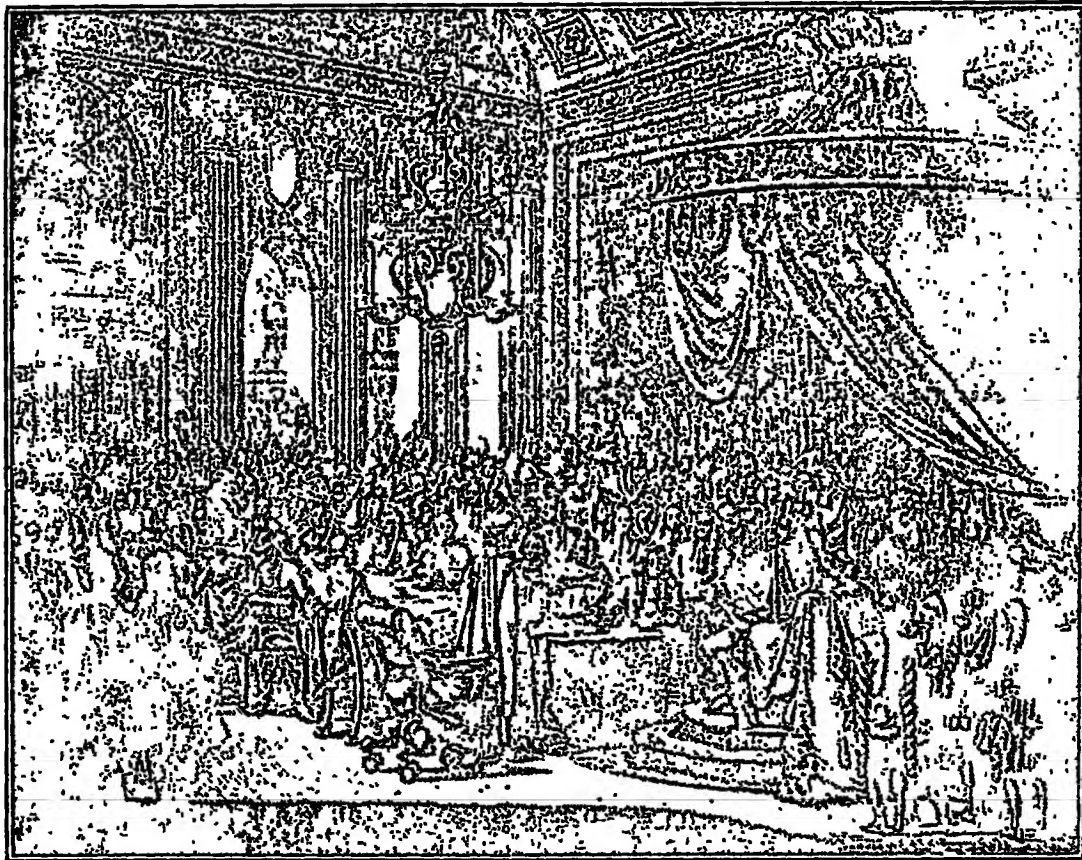
To cover up his partial discomfiture and to aggrandize his states in time of peace as in time of war, Louis now instituted certain so-called "Chambers of Reunion," or packed courts, whose duty it was to determine just how much territory the King of France had acquired under the terms of various treaties, including those of Nimwegen and Westphalia. Some of the phrases used in those treaties were vague or elastic. The duty of the "Chambers" was to determine just what was included in the case of each cession. Their decisions, anything but judicial in character, yielded rich results. It was thus that extensive possessions were acquired toward the east, particularly in Alsace. Only the free city of Strasbourg was left untouched. In September, 1681, that city was "reunited" outright, without legal formality, and in the following month the King entered it in a gilded coach, drawn by eight horses. Three years later the Emperor signed a treaty recognizing these transfers. Louis' policy of annexation was apparently as successful in times of peace as in times of war.

These continued aggressions aroused the apprehensions of Europe again, and a new coalition against Louis began to form. This was hastened by an act which Louis committed at home, and which showed the same arrogant disregard of all established rights, namely, his persecution of the Protestants.

Louis XIV and the Protestants. Since Henry IV had issued the Edict of Nantes (nants) in 1598 the position of the Protestants, or Huguenots, of France seemed reasonably satisfactory. They enjoyed many essential religious and civil rights, and they prospered greatly. They were richer, man for man, than the Catholics, and they showed great vigor in many lines of activity, a vigor and energy partly derived, no doubt, from the fighting stock from which they came. There were, perhaps, a million and a half of them out of a total population of nineteen million.

Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIV showed, from the beginning, his dislike of the Protestants and of Protestantism. In his nature there was no spirit of toleration. He was offended by the presence in the kingdom of men who differed from him in opinion. For many years, however, the Edict of Nantes continued to stand, only now it was interpreted as narrowly as possible, so that the liberties granted were considerably reduced in practice. Beyond the strict letter of the law, no favors of any kind. This

policy, however, soon gave way to one of partial and sporadic attack, then gradually more serious blows began to fall upon the heads of the devoted Huguenots. Ways were found or invented of destroying many of their churches. Finally in 1679 the government began to adopt more rigorous measures, and for six years a relentless, comprehensive plan of bribery, intimidation, and general oppression was



REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES, 1685

From an old print, reproduced in Erdmannsdörfer's *Deutsche Geschichte*
von 1648-1740.

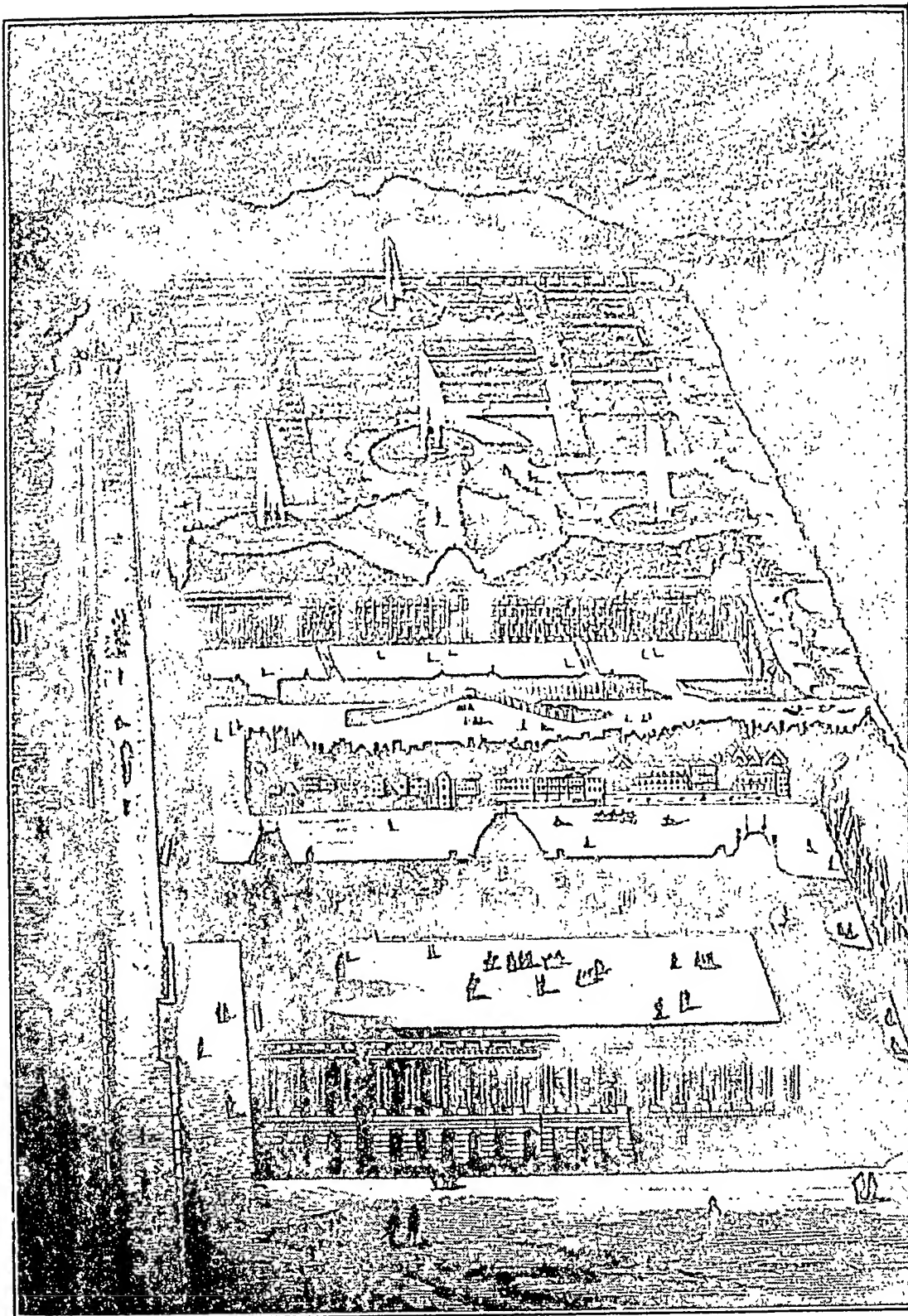
carried out, culminating in a pitiless campaign to force the conversion of the Protestants to Catholicism. One method, forever infamous, was the quartering upon Protestant families of rough and licentious soldiers or dragoons. So great was the terror inspired by these *dragonnades*, as they were called, that, rather than endure them entire communities announced their "conversion," 22,000 in Béarn (bā-är'), 60,000 in the district of Bordeaux, within a space of two weeks.

Finally, in 1685, Louis formally revoked the Edict of Nantes, which had been in force for eighty-seven years. He ordered the demolition of all Protestant churches, the closing of Protestant schools, the baptism by Catholic priests of all children who should be born to Protestants, the banishment of all Huguenot ministers.

France, by this act, lost perhaps a quarter of a million of her most energetic and vigorous people, for the Huguenots emigrated in large numbers to England, Holland, Brandenburg, America, carrying with them their devotion to their religion, their intelligence and industry, and their hatred of Louis XIV. All this force went to strengthen foreign countries, which were destined to be the enemies of France. In 1697 twenty-five per cent of the population of Berlin consisted of Huguenot refugees.

Personal Characteristics of Louis XIV. Not only Louis' policy, but also his personality, profoundly impressed the Europe of his day. Louis XIV was the perfect pattern of a prince. He was twenty-two years old when he took his position easily, naturally, quite to the manner born, in the very center of the stage. He had come to the throne in 1643, but, being only a child, the direction of affairs had lain in other hands, particularly in those of Mazarin (maz'-a-rin), a diplomatist and statesman trained in the school of Richelieu (rēsh-lyé'). But upon the death of Mazarin in 1661 Louis resolved to be king in fact as well as in name. He had a commanding presence in which grace and dignity and seriousness were so happily combined that he seemed taller than he was, for he was only of medium height. As a youth he was fond of novels and of poetry, was proficient in tournaments, ran well, was an excellent dancer, knew how to take his part in theatricals and was not averse to masquerades and jokes. The young lords and ladies who shared his pleasures had, however, the taste or the discretion never to overstep the mark, never to cross the awful line that separated friendliness from familiarity.

Louis enjoyed being King. The profession was one that pleased him thoroughly and he did not conceal his delight in it. He himself wrote some reflections on it, one of which was that "the trade of King is grand, noble, delightful." But Louis did not make the mistake of thinking it an easy trade. He was careful to study its requirements and conscientious in discharging its duties. He did not plunge ahead recklessly, making important decisions without reflection. He was prudent, circumspect, not trusting to, nor



THE LOUVRE AND THE TUILERIES

From an old print, reproduced in Philippson's *Das Zeitalter Ludwigs XIV*

expecting, any sudden illumination from on high. He took kingship seriously, both on its practical and its decorative, its prosaic and its symbolical, sides. He was a hard, habitual, methodical worker, shirking nothing, ever eager to learn. And every day he gave the same close attention to the pleasures and diversions of the court as to great policies of state, and, while about him every one seemed active and agitated, he alone seemed calm. For fifty years, despite more or less bad health, stomach trouble, and acute headaches, due, no doubt, to some extent to his enormous eating and to bad teeth, Louis kept up this regimen of work, methodical, without haste and without rest, always at the same tasks at the same hours. "With an almanac and a watch you could tell three hundred leagues away just what he was doing," wrote Saint Simon.

This man, who thus showed exemplary and steadfast application to his business, was, however, of only ordinary ability, of only ordinary intelligence. Louis' general education had been poor. He had learned little from his tutors and sometimes he himself felt his deficiencies. "It is bitterly humiliating," he once wrote concerning his lack of knowledge of history, "to be ignorant of things which every one else knows." His military education, however, resulted in his being an excellent rider, able to sit his saddle fifteen hours running, if necessary, in making him a fearless soldier, and in giving him a respectable knowledge of the organization of an army and of the conduct of a campaign. In diplomacy he had had his training at the hands of Mazarin, who was certainly broken to all the intrigues of European politics, and who inoculated him with maxims of very doubtful ethical quality. One of these, which Louis learned thoroughly and took well to heart, was that a ruler must be ready to sacrifice every scruple, even personal honor, for the advantage of the state; another was that every man can be bought and that, therefore, a ruler should seek to know every man's price; another was that distrust of every human being is the beginning of all wisdom for a monarch.

Such were some of the traits of character, such the training of the man who was destined to give his name to his age, who took the sun as his emblem, sole source of light and life, who was known as the Sun-King, and whose pride was as the pride of Pharaoh.

The Creator of Versailles. One of the sins to which Louis XIV confessed when dying was his excessive passion for building. Kings



ROYAL COURT OF THE CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES

From a painting by J. B. Martin.

have generally been inclined to be builders, to leave imposing memorials of their reigns in works of architecture, but no King of France ever built so much as Louis XIV. His supreme and remarkable achievement was the creation of the palace of Versailles (vēr'sä'y'). It was the most monumental royal residence in Europe. Begun in 1661, it was a quarter of a century in building. Emanating from Louis' own thought, it was his work, in inception, in development, in completion. Nothing that he did in his long life absorbed so completely his attention or gave him such constant and supreme satisfaction. Not only the building but its interior decoration proceeded year after year under the watchful, critical eye of the King. Every marble, every fresco, every chandelier, had to pass the royal censorship. Every art and artist in France was called upon for contributions to the stupendous whole. The result was such a palace as the world had never seen. Resplendent with gold and marble, glittering with mirrors, adorned with paintings, tapestries, medallions depicting the history of the reign, the triumphs of the King, the whole set in the midst of a wonderful park, itself a work of art, with endless lawns, avenues, vistas, terraces, with lakes, fountains, groves, peopled with bronze and marble statues, with shrubbery cut and kept in geometrical forms, all harmoniously and elaborately combined, — the palace of Versailles, when completed, amazed the world by its splendor. What was more, it satisfied the King. Here he lived and moved and had his being. Here lived the court, also, consisting of the great nobles whom Louis had cured of their war-like and independent habits, and whom he had converted into social satellites and parasites. Versailles was the paradise of the spoiled children of fortune. The spectacle offered by this animated, æsthetic, artificial society was rare and curious. Versailles was the coronation and the apotheosis of the pride of one man. And no one of all the gilded throng that crowded the drawing-rooms and terraces enjoyed Versailles as much as did the central figure of the pageant.

Such was the setting, such the rich and spacious background, against which the comedy and tragedy of absolute monarchy in the age of its perfection was played. Versailles represents a moment in French history, that of monarchy unapproachable, and unapproached elsewhere. Nothing could be added to that particular conception.

Louis' Encouragement of Art and Letters. "The love of glory takes precedence over everything else in my soul," Louis admits

with candor. It was unfortunate both for him and for France and for Europe that in his mind glory was largely synonymous with success in war. But Louis desired to make his reign memorable in every line of activity, and great was his success, aided, as he was, by his enlightened and energetic minister, Colbert, whose eye was everywhere, whose powers of work were so unremitting and so concentrated that he was able to fill the equivalent of half a dozen ministries of to-day, and to touch the national life at very many points.

Colbert sought to direct and stimulate the intellectual and artistic life of France toward the one end, the exaltation and the glory of the King, which, in his opinion, was the only worthy end of Frenchmen in every branch of human endeavor. By the careful encouragement of academies of painting, sculpture, architecture, music, and literature, by helping scientists of every kind, mathematicians, physicists, chemists, astronomers, he sought to enrich and refine the civilization, the culture and learning and taste of France, and to identify the person and the prestige of the King with all these high exploits.



COLBERT

Louis entered sympathetically into all these plans of his minister. He knew that when men spoke of the Augustan age they meant that Augustus had seen, in his day, what Louis intended posterity should see in his, namely, that the promotion and encouragement of arts and letters is one of the highest and most enduring distinctions of a great prince. The French literature of the seventeenth century has a long roll of distinguished names. Molière (mō-lyār'), Racine (rà-sēn'), La Fontaine (lă fon-tān'), and La Bruyère (lă brü-yār'). Indeed, owing to this illustrious group of writers the language of France started on its conquest of cultivated people everywhere and ulti-

mately came to occupy in the modern world the position which Greek had occupied in the ancient.

Industrial and Commercial Development. But Louis' supreme interest, his heart of hearts, was not in this field of literary and artistic achievement. Nor



PORTRAIT OF MOLIERE

was it in all that varied activity in material things associated with the name of Colbert, activity directed toward the creation of sound and prosperous national finances, toward the founding and promotion of colonies, toward the development of industries and commerce, toward the balanced and comprehensive exploitation of the wonderful natural resources of France. To all of this Colbert gave himself body and soul for more than twenty years, and the wealth and economic power of France in the world were greatly furthered by his ac-

tivity. The King gave support, sometimes vigorous, sometimes languid, to the carefully studied, wide-ranging projects of his diligent and strenuous minister, whose consuming ambition was to make France the richest country in the world. But Louis' heart was elsewhere, unfortunately for France. As we have seen, his real interest was war.

The Last Thirty Years of Louis' Reign. Louis' reign falls into two divisions which are quite sharply distinguished from each other. Up to the time of his revocation of the Edict of Nantes he was greatly successful. His wars and his annexations caused his fame to spread far and wide throughout the world. He continued to reign for thirty years longer, but these were years of increasing difficulty for France, and of a growing and ominous national distress. He had made his country thoroughly hated and feared abroad. He committed other

aggressions and was engaged in other wars : that of the so-called League of Augsburg (âgz'-bêrg) which dragged on for nearly a decade from 1688 to 1697, during which France stood alone against Europe and from which she gained nothing; and particularly that of the Spanish Succession, which lasted from 1701 to 1713, a conflict more widespread than even the Thirty Years' War. This conflict was a struggle for the spoils of the immense Spanish Empire, European and American, the old royal house of Spain having died out. England, Holland, France, the Empire, and other countries participated. All the more important battles went against the French, a new and a humiliating experience for the Grand Monarch. Marlborough, with his victories of Blenheim (blen'-im) and Malplaquet (mäl-plä-kä'), and Prince Eugene of Austria, were the heroes of the war. And out of it England acquired the most — Gibraltar and Minorca from Spain, and Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, and the Hudson Bay region from France, thus beginning the expulsion of France from North America. Austria gained the Spanish Netherlands, which were henceforth called the Austrian Netherlands; and she also gained important territories in Italy — Milan and Naples. France only gained the recognition of a grandson of Louis XIV as King of Spain, Philip V, but she was forced to agree that France and Spain should never be united.

The End of the Reign. Louis had thus lived to taste the bitterness of defeat. His last years were years of gloom. He lost his son and his grandson, and when he died in 1715 he left his kingdom to his great-grandson, a child of five. And to this child he left a troubled inheritance, a country whose population had fallen from nineteen million to seventeen, a state exhausted, impoverished, and approaching bankruptcy, a people in distress and misery, already murmuring faint thoughts of revolution, all as a result of a selfish and overweening ambition. Such was the ending of the longest reign in history, a reign of seventy-two years.

Saint Simon says that when his subjects heard of the death of Louis XIV they "trembled with joy" and "thanked God for their deliverance."

QUESTIONS

I. Why was France so important during the modern period? Why was Louis XIV inclined toward warlike policies? Who were his chief military aids? Describe Louis' campaigns against Spain and Holland. What obstacles did he

encounter in those wars? What did he gain from them? What were the "Chambers of Reunion"?

II. Who were the Huguenots? What was Louis XIV's policy concerning them? What great Edicts affected them? What were the effects of Louis' handling of religious questions?

III. What were the personal characteristics of Louis XIV? What was his conception of kingship? What was his education? What was his relation to Versailles? What did he do for the encouragement of arts and sciences and letters? Why is Louis' reign called the Augustan age of French literature?

IV. Who was Colbert? What did he do for the industrial and commercial development of France? What was at stake in the War of the Spanish Succession?

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CHAPTER III

EUROPE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ENGLAND

The Reign of Louis XV, 1715–1774. The reign of Louis XIV has carried us well into the eighteenth century, to which, indeed, it was a natural introduction. It was followed by another long reign, that of Louis XV, which lasted from 1715 to 1774, a reign in which absolute monarchy, as developed so completely and so brilliantly under the Grand Monarch, continued to function in France, arousing, as the century wore on, greater and greater discontent among the people of that country until they finally rose in insurrection and swept the whole system away in the famous French Revolution, ending tragically the career of Louis' successor, Louis XVI.

England the Enemy of France. But France, though the leading country on the continent of Europe all through this period, was, after all, only one of the numerous actors upon the historic stage. The states of Europe were many and of every shape and size. Only a few of the most significant can be treated in this chapter. Of these the one that was destined to be the most persistent enemy of France and of French ideas was England. For her, indeed, the eighteenth century was to be most momentous, in the changes that it brought, both at home and within the empire as a whole.

The House of Hanover. The evolution of the parliamentary system of government had, as every student knows, been long in progress, but it was greatly furthered by the advent in 1714 of a new royal dynasty, the House of Hanover, still at this hour the reigning family, although as a result of the European War the title has been changed by proclamation of July 17, 1917, to that of the House of Windsor. The struggle between Crown and Parliament, which had been long proceeding and had become tense and violent, as we have seen, in the seventeenth century in connection with the attempts of the Stuart kings to make the monarchy all-powerful and supreme,

ended finally in the eighteenth century with the victory of Parliament and the establishment of what is known as the parliamentary or cabinet system of government, a system destined in the nineteenth century to be widely adopted by other nations.

In 1688 Parliament, by mere legislative act, had altered the line of succession by passing over the direct, legitimate claimant because he was a Catholic, and by calling to the throne William and Mary because they were Protestants, but in so doing it did not pass outside the House of Stuart. Queen Anne, who succeeded William and who ruled from 1701 to 1714, was a Stuart. But in 1701 Parliament again determined the line of succession by again passing over the legitimate claimant because he was a Catholic and by providing that in case Queen Anne should die without direct heirs, as she did, the throne should pass to George, Elector of Hanover, a petty German state, and the reason for this action was the same as for that of 1688, namely, because England was resolved upon having a Protestant as king. Thus the older branch of the royal family was set aside, and a younger or collateral branch was put in its place. This was a plain defiance of the ordinary rules of descent which generally underlie the monarchical system everywhere. It showed that the will of Parliament was superior to the monarchical principle, that, in a way, the monarchy was elective. Still other important consequences followed from this act.

The Early Hanoverians. George I, at the time of his accession to the English throne in 1714 fifty-four years of age, was a German. He continued to be a German prince, more concerned with his electorate of Hanover than with his new kingdom. He did not understand a word of English and, as his ministers were similarly ignorant of German, he was compelled to resort to poor Latin when he wished to communicate with them. He was King from 1714 to 1727, and was followed by his son, George II, who ruled from 1727 to 1760 and who, though he knew English, spoke it badly and was far more interested in his petty German principality than in imperial Britain.

Development of Cabinet Government. The first two Georges, whose chief interest in England was the money they could get out of it, allowed their ministers to carry on the government for them and did not even attend the meetings of the ministers where question of policy were decided. For forty-six years this royal abstention

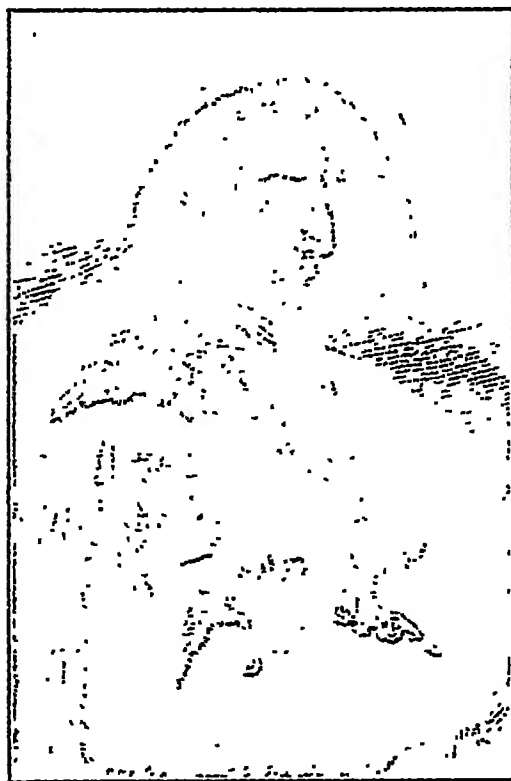
continued. The result was the establishment of a régime never seen before in any country. The royal power was no longer exercised by the King, but was exercised by his ministers, who, moreover, were members of Parliament. In other words, to use a phrase that has become famous, the King reigns but does not govern. Parliament really governs, through a committee of its members, the ministers.

The ministers must have the support of the majority party in Parliament, and during all this period they, as a matter of fact, relied upon the party of the Whigs. It had been the Whigs who had carried through the revolution of 1688 and who were committed to the principle of the limitation of the royal power in favor of the sovereignty of Parliament. As George I and George II owed their throne to this party, and as the adherents of the other great party, the Tory, were long supposed to be supporters of the discarded Stuarts, England entered upon a period of Whig rule, which steadily undermined the authority of the monarch. The Hanoverian kings owed their position as kings to the Whigs. They paid for their right to reign by the abandonment of the powers that had hitherto inhered in the monarch.

The change that had come over their position did not escape the attention of the monarchs concerned. George II, compelled to accept ministers he detested, considered himself "a prisoner upon the throne." "Your ministers, Sire," said one of them to him, "are but the instruments of your government." George smiled and replied, "In this country the ministers are king."

England's Gains in the Seven Years' War. Besides the introduction of this unique form of government the other great achievement of the Whigs during this period was an extraordinary increase in the colonial possessions of England, the real launching of Britain upon her career as a world power, as a great imperial state. This sudden, tremendous expansion was a result of the Seven Years' War, which raged from 1756 to 1763 in every part of the world, in Europe, in America, in Asia, and on the sea. Many nations were involved and the struggle was highly complicated, but two phases of it stand out particularly and in high relief, the struggle between England and France, and the struggle between Prussia on the one hand and Austria, France, and Russia on the other. The Seven Years' War remains a mighty landmark in the history of England and of Prussia, its two conspicuous beneficiaries.

William Pitt, the Elder. England found in William Pitt, later Earl of Chatham, an incomparable leader, a great orator of a declamatory and theatrical type, an incorruptible statesman, a passionate patriot, a man instinct with energy, aglow with pride and



WILLIAM PITT, EARL OF CHATHAM

confidence in the splendor of the destinies reserved for his country. Pitt infused his own energy, his irresistible driving power, into every branch of the public service. Head of the ministry from 1757 to 1761, he aroused the national sentiment to such a pitch that he turned a war that had begun badly into the most glorious and successful that England had ever fought. On the sea, in India, and in America, victory after victory over the French rewarded the nation's extraordinary efforts. Pitt boasted that he alone could save the country. Save it he surely did. He was the greatest of war ministers, imparting his indomitable resolution to multitudes of others.

No one, it was said, ever entered his office without coming out a braver man. His triumph was complete when Wolfe defeated Montcalm at Quebec, upon the Plains of Abraham (1759).

By the Peace of Paris (1763), which closed this epochal struggle, England acquired from France disputed areas of Nova Scotia, all of Canada, and the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River, and also acquired Florida from Spain. From France, too, she snatched at the same time supremacy in India. Thus England had become a veritable world-empire under the inspiring leadership of the "Great Commoner." Her horizons, her interest, had grown vastly more spacious by this rapid increase in military renown, in power, in territory. She had mounted to higher influence in the

world, and that, too, at the expense of her old historic enemy, just across the Channel.

Reign of George III, 1760-1820. But all this prestige and greatness were imperiled and gravely compromised by the reign that had just begun. George III had, in 1760, come to the throne which he was not to leave until claimed by death sixty years later. "The name of George III," writes an English historian, "cannot be penned without a pang, can hardly be penned without a curse, such mischief was he fated to do the country." Unlike his two predecessors, he was not a German, but was a son of England, had grown up in England and had been educated there, and on his accession, at the age of twenty-two, had announced in his most famous utterance that he "gloried in the name of Briton." But wisdom is not a birthright, and George III was one of the least wise of monarchs and one of the most obstinate.

His mother, a German princess, attached to all the despotic notions of her native land, had frequently said to him, "George, be a king." This maternal advice, that he should not follow the example of the first two Georges but should mix actively in public affairs, fell upon fruitful soil. George was resolved not only to reign, but to govern in the good old monarchical way. This determination brought him into a sharp and momentous clash with the tendency and the desire of his age. The historical significance of George III lies in the fact that he was resolved to be the chief directing power in the state, that he challenged the system of government which gave that position to Parliament and its ministers, that he intended to break up the practices followed during the last two reigns and to rule personally as did the other sovereigns of the world. As the new system was insecurely established, his vigorous intervention brought on a crisis in which it nearly perished.

George III and Parliament. George III, bent upon being king in fact as well as in name, did not formally oppose the cabinet system of government, but sought to make the cabinet a mere tool of his will, filling it with men who would take orders from him, and aiding them in controlling Parliament by the use of various forms of bribery and influence. It took several years to effect this real perversion of the cabinet system, but in the end the King absolutely controlled the ministry and the two houses of Parliament. The Whigs, who since 1688 had dominated the monarch and had successfully asserted

the predominance of Parliament, were gradually disrupted by the insidious royal policy, and were supplanted by the Tories, who were always favorable to a strong kingship and who now entered upon a period of supremacy which was to last until well into the nineteenth century.

The Ministry of Lord North. After ten years of this mining and sapping the King's ideas triumphed in the creation of a ministry which was completely submissive to his will. This ministry, of which Lord North was the leading member, lasted twelve years, from 1770 to 1782. Lord North was a minister after the King's own heart. He never pretended to be the head of the government, but accepted and executed the King's wishes with the ready obedience of a lackey. The royal autocracy was scarcely veiled by the mere continuance of the outer forms of a free government.

The American Revolution. Having thus secured entire control of ministry and Parliament, George III proceeded to lead the British Empire straight toward destruction, to what an English historian has called "the most tragical disaster in English history." The King and his tools initiated a policy which led swiftly and inevitably to civil war. For the American Revolution was a civil war within the British Empire. The King had his supporters both in England and in America; he had opponents both in America and England. Party divisions were much the same in the mother country and in the colonies, Whigs versus Tories, the upholders of the principle of self-government against the upholders of the principle of the royal prerogative. In this momentous crisis, not only was the independence of America involved, but parliamentary government as worked out in England, was also at stake. Had George III triumphed not only would colonial liberties have disappeared, but the right of Parliament to be predominant in the state at home would have vanished. The Whigs of England knew this well, and their leaders, Pitt, Fox, Burke, gloried in the victories of the rebellious colonists.

Fall of Lord North. The struggle for the fundamental rights of free men, for that was what the American Revolution signified for both America and England, was long doubtful. France now took her revenge for the humiliations of the Seven Years' War by aiding the thirteen colonies, hoping thus to humble her arrogant neighbor, grown so great at her expense. It was the disasters of the American

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION 45

War that saved the parliamentary system of government for England by rendering the King unpopular, because disgracefully unsuccessful. In 1782 Lord North and all his colleagues resigned. This was the first time that an entire ministry had been overthrown.

Significance of the American Revolution. George the Third's attempt to be master in the state had failed and although the full consequences of his defeat did not appear for some time, nevertheless they were decisive for the future of England. The King might henceforth reign, but he was not to govern. To get this cardinal principle of free government under monarchical forms established, an empire was disrupted. From that disruption flowed two mighty consequences. The principles of republican government gained a field for development in the New World, and those of constitutional or limited monarchy a field in one of the famous countries of the Old. These two types of government have since exerted a powerful and increasing influence upon other peoples desirous of controlling their own destinies. Their importance as models worthy of imitation has not yet been exhausted.

GERMANY — THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE

Germany, the Battlefield of Europe. Turning to the east of France we find Germany, the country that was to be the chief battlefield of Europe for many long years, and that was to undergo the most surprising transformations. Germany was a collection of small states. She had a form of unity, at least she pretended to have, in the so-called Holy Roman Empire. How many states were included in it, it is difficult to say ; at least 360, if in the reckoning are included all the nobles who recognized no superior save the emperor, who held their power directly from him and were subject to no one else. There were more than fifty free or imperial cities, holding directly from the emperor and managing their own affairs, and numerous ecclesiastical states, all independent of each other. Then there were small states like Baden and Württemberg and Bavaria and many others. In all this empire there were only two states of any importance in the general affairs of Europe — Prussia and Austria.

This empire with its high-sounding names, "Holy" and "Roman," was incredibly weak and inefficient. Its emperor, not heredi-

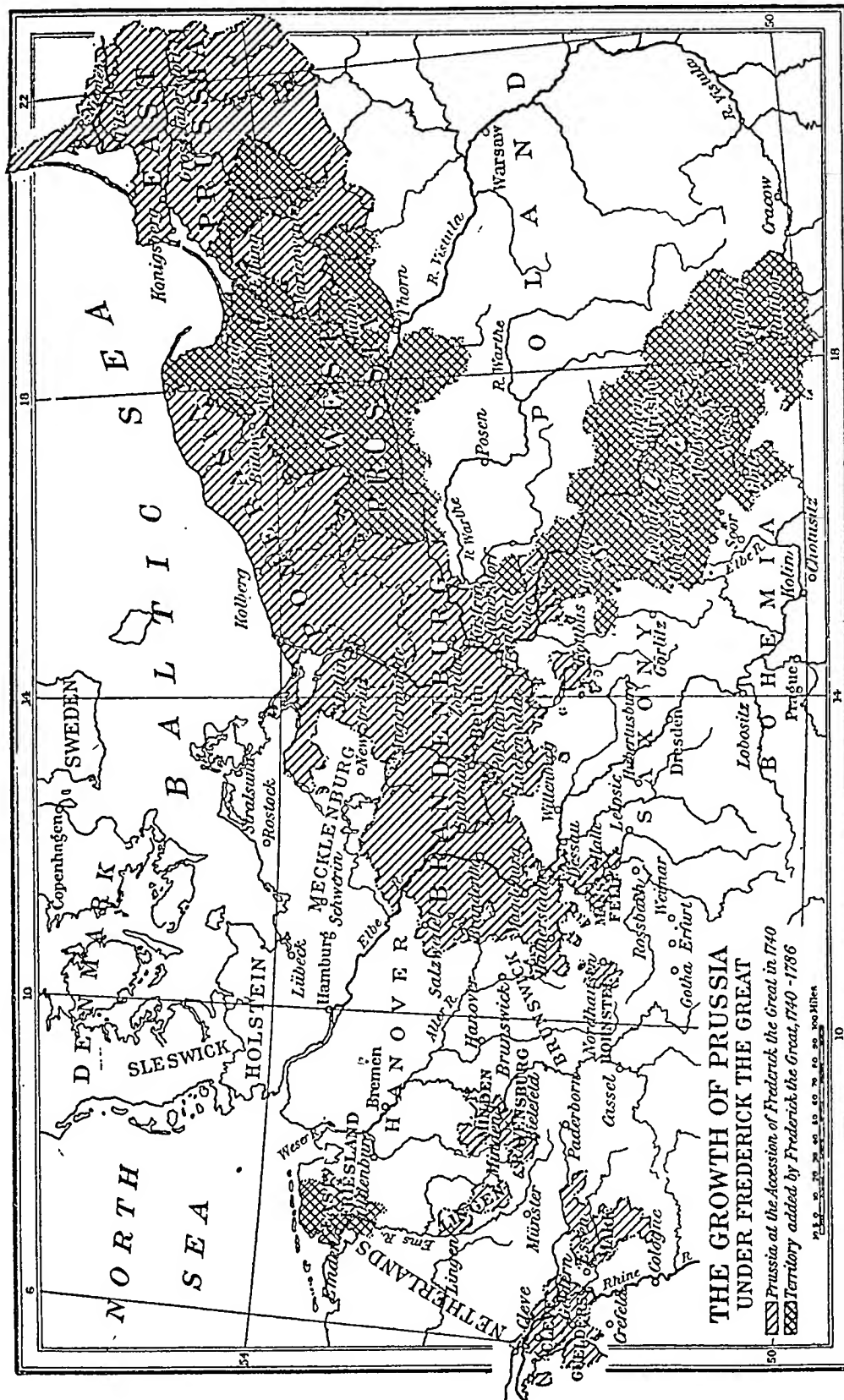
tary but elective, was nothing but a pompous, solemn pretense. He had no real authority, could give no orders, could create no armies, could follow out no policies, good or bad, for the German princes had during the course of the centuries robbed him of all the usual and necessary attributes of power. He was little more than a gorgeous figure in a pageant. There were, in addition, an imperial diet or national assembly and an imperial tribunal, but they were as palsied as was the emperor.

What was important in Germany was not the empire, which was powerless for defense, useless for any serious purpose, but the separate states that composed it, and indeed only a few of these had any significance.

THE RISE OF PRUSSIA

Prussia and the Hohenzollerns. Prussia as a kingdom dated only from 1701, but the heart of this state was Brandenburg, and Brandenburg had begun a slow upward march as early as the fifteenth century, when the Hohenzollerns came from South Germany to take control of it. In the sixteenth century the possessions of this family were scattered from the region of the Rhine to the borders of Russia. How to make them into a single state, responsive to a single will, was the problem. Prussian rulers were hard-working, generally conceiving their mission soberly and seriously as one of service to the state, not at all as one inviting to personal self-indulgence. They were hard-headed and intelligent in developing the economic resources of a country originally little favored by nature. They were attentive to the opportunities afforded by German and European politics for the advancement of rulers who had the necessary intelligence and audacity. In the long reign of Frederick II, called the Great (1740-1786), and unquestionably far and away the ablest of all the rulers of the Hohenzollern dynasty, we see the brilliant and faithful expression of the most characteristic features, methods, and aspirations of this vigorous royal house.

Importance of the Army in Prussia. Every Prussian ruler felt himself first of all a general, head of an army which it was his pride to increase. Thus the Great Elector, who had ruled from 1640 to 1688, had inherited an army of less than 4000 men, and had bequeathed one of 24,000 to his successor. The father of Frederick II had inherited one of 38,000 and had left one of 83,000. Thus Prussia



with a population of two and a half millions had an army of 83,000, while Austria with a population of 24,000,000 had one of less than 100,000. With this force, highly drilled and amply provided with the sinews of war by the systematic and rigorous economies of his father, Frederick was destined to go far. He is one of the few men who have changed the face of Europe. By war, and the subsidiary arts that minister unto it, Frederick pushed his small state into the very forefront of European politics. Before his reign was half over he had made it one of the Great Powers, everywhere reckoned as such, although in population, area, and wealth, compared with the other Great Powers, it was small indeed.

The Early Years of Frederick. As a youth all of Frederick's tastes had been for letters, for art, for music, for philosophy and the sciences, for conversation, for the delicacies and elegancies of culture. The French language and French literature were his passion and remained his chief source of enjoyment all through his life. He wrote French verses, he hated military exercises, he played the flute, he detested tobacco, heavy eating and drinking, and the hunt, which appeared to his father as the natural manly and royal pleasures. The thought that this youth, so indifferent or hostile to the stern, bleak, serious ideals of duty incumbent upon the royal house for the welfare of Prussia, so interested in the frivolities and fripperies of life, so carelessly self-indulgent, would one day be king and would probably wreck the state by his incompetence and his levity, so enraged the father, Frederick William I, a rough, boorish, tyrannical, hard-working, and intensely patriotic man, that he subjected the Crown Prince to a Draconian discipline which at times attained a pitch of barbarity, caning him in the presence of the army, boxing his ears before the common people, compelling him from a prison window to witness the execution of his most intimate friend, who had tried to help him escape from this odious tyranny by attempted flight from the country. In such a furnace was the young prince's mettle steeled, his heart hardened. Frederick came out of this ordeal self-contained, cynical, crafty, but sobered and submissive to the fierce paternal will. He did not, according to his father's expression, "kick or rear" again. For several years he buckled to the prosaic task of learning his future trade in the traditional Hohenzollern manner, discharging the duties of minor offices, familiarizing himself with the dry details of administration, and invested with larger

GERMANY IN 1789

Hohenzollern Lands	Wettin Lands	Wittelsbach Lands
Prussia	Albertine	Bavaria
Franconian line	Ernestine	Palatinate
Oldenburg Lands		Hapsburg Lands
Denmark	Imperial Cities	
Holstein and Oldenburg	Ecclesiastical States	

Scale of Miles
0 20 40 60 80 100



responsibilities as his reformation seemed, in the eyes of his father, satisfactorily to progress.

Accession of Frederick. When Frederick came to the throne in 1740 at the age of twenty-eight he came equipped with a keen intellect, with a character of iron, and with an ambition that was soon to set the world in flame. He ruled for forty-six years and before half his reign was over it was evident that he had no peer in Europe. It was thought that he would adopt a manner of life quite different from his father's. Instead, however, there was the same austerity, the same simplicity, the same intense devotion to work, the same singleness of aim, that aim being the exaltation of Prussia. The machinery of government was not altered, but it was now driven at unprecedented speed by this vigorous, aggressive, supple personality. For Frederick possessed supreme ability and displayed it from the day of his accession to the day of his death. He was, as Lord Acton has said, "the most consummate practical genius that, in modern times, has inherited a throne."

The Attack upon Silesia. Frederick's first important act revealed the character and the intentions of the ruler. For this man, who as a youth had loathed the life of a soldier and had shirked its



FREDERICK THE GREAT

From an engraving by Cunejo, after the painting by Cunningham.

obligations as long as he could, was now to prove himself one of the great military commanders of the world's history. In the very year in which he became king he suddenly and without warning invaded Silesia, a large and rich province belonging to Austria and recognized as hers by a peculiarly solemn treaty signed by Prussia. But Frederick wanted it and considered the moment opportune as an inexperienced young woman, Maria Theresa (mä-rē'-ä te-rē'-sä), had just ascended the Austrian throne. "My soldiers were ready, my purse was full," said Frederick concerning this famous raid. Of all the inheritance of Maria Theresa, "Silesia," said he, "was that part which was most useful to the House of Brandenburg." "Take what you can," he also remarked, "you are never wrong unless you are obliged to give back." "If there is anything to be gained by being honest, honest we will be; and if it is necessary to deceive, let us be scoundrels." In these utterances Frederick paints himself and his reign in imperishable colors. Success of the most palpable sort was his reward. Neither plighted faith, nor chivalry toward a woman, nor any sense of personal honor ever deterred him from any policy that might promise gain to Prussia.

The Silesian Wars. Frederick seized Silesia with ease in 1740, so unexpected was the attack. He thus added to Prussia a territory larger than Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island combined, and a population of over a million and a quarter. But having seized it, he was forced to fight intermittently for twenty-three years before he could be sure of his ability to retain it. The first two Silesian wars (1740-1748) are best known in history as the wars of the Austrian Succession. The third was the Seven Years' War, a world conflict, as we have seen, involving most of the great states of Europe, but important to Frederick mainly because of its relation to his retention of Silesia.

The Seven Years' War. It was the Seven Years' War (1756-1763) that made the name and fame of Frederick ring throughout the world. But that deadly struggle several times seemed about to engulf him and his country in utter ruin. Had England not been his ally, aiding with her subsidies and with her campaigns against France, in Europe, Asia, America, and on the high seas, thus preventing that country from fully coöperating against Prussia, Frederick must have failed. The odds against him were stupendous. He, the ruler of a petty state with not more than 4,000,000 inhab-

itants, was confronted by a coalition of Austria, France, Russia, Sweden, and many little German states, with a total population perhaps twenty times as large as Prussia's. This coalition had already arranged for the division of his kingdom. He was to be left only Brandenburg, the primitive core of the state, the original territory-given to the House of Hohenzollern in 1415 by the emperor.

Conquest of Saxony. Practically the entire continent was united against this little state which a short time before had hardly entered into the calculations of European politics. But Frederick was undaunted. He overran Saxony, a neutral country, seized its treasury because he needed it, and, by a flagrant breach of international usage, forced its citizens to fight in his armies, which were thus considerably increased. When reproached for this unprecedented act he laconically replied that he rather prided himself on being original.

The war thus begun had its violent ups and downs. Attacked from the south by the Austrians, from the east by the Russians, and always outnumbered, Frederick, fighting a defensive war, owed his salvation to the rapidity of his manoeuvres, to the slowness of those of his enemies, to his generally superior tactics, and to the fact that there was an entire lack of coördination among his adversaries. He won the battle of Rossbach in 1757, his most brilliant victory, whose fame has not yet died away. With an army of only 20,000 he defeated a combined French and German army of 55,000 in an engagement that lasted only an hour and a half, took 16,000 prisoners, seventy-two cannon, and sustained a loss of less than a thousand men himself. Immense was the enthusiasm evoked by this Prussian triumph over what was reputed to be the finest army in Europe. It mattered little that the majority of the conquered army were Germans. The victory was popularly considered one of Germans over French, and such has remained its reputation ever since in the German national consciousness, thus greatly stirred and vivified.

Two years later Frederick suffered an almost equally disastrous defeat at the hands of the Austrians and Russians at Kunersdorf. "I have had two horses killed under me," he wrote the night after this battle, "and it is my misfortune that I still live myself. . . . Of an army of 48,000 men I have only 3000 left. . . . I have no more resources and, not to lie about it, I think everything is lost."

Later, after another disaster, he wrote : " I should like to hang myself, but we must act the play to the end." In this temper he fought on, year after year, through elation, through depression, with defeat behind him and defeat staring him in the face, relieved by occasional successes, saved by the incompetence and folly of his enemies, then plunged in gloom again, but always fighting for time and for some lucky stroke of fortune, such as the death of a hostile sovereign with its attendant interruption or change of policy. The story is too crowded, too replete with incident, to be condensed here. Only the general impression of a prolonged, racking, desperate struggle can be indicated. Gritty, cool, alert, and agile, Frederick managed to hold on until his enemies were willing to make peace.

End of the Seven Years' War. Frederick came out of this war with his territories intact but not increased. Silesia he retained, but Saxony he was forced to relinquish. He came out of it, also, prematurely old, hard, bitter, misanthropic, but he had made upon the world an indelible impression. His people had been decimated and greatly impoverished; nevertheless he was the victor and great was his renown. He had conquered Silesia in a month and had then spent many years fighting to retain it. All that he had won was fame, but that he enjoyed in full and overflowing measure.

The Later Years of the Reign. Frederick lived twenty-three years longer, years of unremitting and very fruitful toil. In a hundred ways he sought to hasten the recuperation and the development of his sorely visited land, draining marshes, clearing forests, encouraging industries, opening schools, welcoming and favoring immigrants from other countries. Indeed over 300,000 of these responded to the various inducements offered, and Frederick founded more than 800 villages. He reorganized the army, replenished the public treasury, remodeled the legal code. In religious affairs he was the most tolerant ruler in Europe, giving refuge to the Jesuits when they were driven out of Catholic countries — France, Portugal, Spain — and when their order was abolished by the Pope himself. " In Prussia," said he, " every one has the right to win salvation in his own way."

In practice this was about the only right the individual possessed, for Frederick's government was unlimited, although frequently enlightened, despotism. His was an absolute monarchy, surrounded by a privileged nobility, resting upon an impotent mass of peasantry.

His was a militarist state and only nobles could become general officers. Laborious, rising at three in summer, at four in the winter, and holding himself tightly to his mission as "first servant to the King of Prussia," Frederick knew more drudgery than pleasure. But he was a tyrant to his finger tips, and we do not find in the Prussia of his day any room made for that spirit of freedom which was destined in the immediate future to wrestle in Europe with this outworn system of autocracy.

The First Partition of Poland. In 1772 the conqueror of Silesia proceeded to gather new laurels of a similar kind. In conjunction with the monarchs of Russia and Austria he partially dismembered Poland, a crime of which the world has not yet heard the last. The task was easy of accomplishment, as Poland was defenseless. Frederick frankly admitted that the act was that of brigands, and his opinion has been ratified by the general agreement of posterity.

Frederick the Great and Germany. When Frederick died in 1786, at the age of seventy-four, he left his kingdom nearly doubled in size and with a population more than doubled. In all his actions he thought, not of Germany, but of Prussia, always Prussia. Germany was an abstraction that had no hold upon his practical mind. He considered the German language boorish, "a jargon, devoid of every grace," and he was sure that Germany had no literature worthy of the name. Nevertheless, he was regarded throughout German lands, beyond Prussia, as a national hero, and he filled the national thought and imagination as no other German had done since Luther. His personality, his ideas, and his methods became an enduring and potent factor in the development of Germany.

RUSSIA

The Beginnings of Russia. Lying beyond Austria and Prussia, stretching away indefinitely into the east, was another great power in European politics, Russia, whose history at this time we are not at liberty to neglect. Though the largest state on the continent, Russia did not enter upon the scene of European politics as a factor of importance until very late, indeed until the eighteenth century. During that century she took her place among the great European powers and her influence in the world went on increasing down to the outbreak,

in 1914, of the European War. Her previous history had been peculiar, differing in many and fundamental respects from that of her western neighbors. She had lived apart, unnoticed and unknown. She was connected with Europe by two ties, those of race and religion. The Russians were a Slavic people, related to the Poles, the Bohemians, the Serbs, and the other branches of that great family which spreads over Eastern Europe. And as early as the tenth century they had been converted to Christianity, not to that form that prevailed in the West, but to the Orthodox Greek form, which had its seat in Constantinople. The missionaries who had brought religion and at the same time the beginnings of civilization had come from that city. After the conquest of Constantinople by the infidel Turks in 1453 the Russians considered themselves its legitimate heirs, the representatives of its ideas and traditions. Constantinople and the Eastern Empire of which it had been the capital exercised over their imaginations a spell that only increased with time.

Russia's Connections with Asia. But the great central fact of Russian history for hundreds of years was not her connection with Europe, which, after all, was slight, but her connection with Asia, which was close and profound in its effects. The Principality of Muscovy, as Russia was then called from its capital, Moscow, was conquered by the Mongols, barbarians from Asia, in the thirteenth century, and for nearly three hundred years Russian princes paid tribute and made occasional visits of submission to the far-off Great Khan. Though constantly resenting this subjection, they did not escape its effects. They themselves became half-Asiatic. The men of Russia dressed in Oriental fashion, wearing the long robes with long sleeves, the turbans, and slippers of the East. They wore their hair and beards long. The women were kept secluded and were heavily veiled when in public. A young girl saw her husband for the first time the day of her marriage. There was no such thing as society as we understand the term. The government was an Oriental tyranny, unrestrained, regardless of human life. In addressing the ruler a person must completely prostrate himself, his forehead touching the floor, a difficult as well as a degrading attitude for one human being to assume toward another.

In time the Russians threw off the Mongol domination, after terrible struggles, and themselves in turn conquered northern Asia, that

is, Siberia. A new royal house came to the throne in 1613, the House of Romanoff, which ruled in Russia until 1917.

Peter the Great, 1689–1725. But the Russians continued to have only the feeblest connection with Europe, knowing little of its civilization, caring less, content to vegetate in indolence and obscurity. Out of this dull and laggard state they were destined to be roughly and emphatically roused by one of the most energetic rulers known to history, Peter the Great, whose reign of thirty-six years (1689–1725) marks a tremendous epoch, both by what it actually accomplished and by what it indicated ought to be the goal of national endeavor.

Peter's Boyhood. As a boy Peter had been given no serious instruction, no training in self-control, but had been allowed to run wild, and had picked up all sorts of acquaintances and companions, many of them

foreigners. It was the chance association with Europeans living in the foreign quarter of Moscow that proved the decisive fact of his life, shaping his entire career. From them he got a most irregular, haphazard, but original education, learning a little German, a little Dutch, some snatches of science, arithmetic, geometry. His chief boyish interest was in mechanics and its relation to the military art. With him playing soldier was more serious than with most boys. He used to build wooden fortresses, surrounded with walls and moats and bastions. Some of his friends would defend the redoubt while he and the others attacked it. Sometimes lives were



PETER THE GREAT

From an engraving by Anderloni.

lost, always some were wounded. Such are the fortunes of war, though not usually of juvenile war. "The boy is amusing himself," was the comment of his sister, who was exercising the regency in his name. Passionately fond of military games, Peter was also absorbingly interested in boats and ships, and eagerly learned all he could of navigation, which was not much, for the arts of shipbuilding and navigation were in their very infancy in Russia.

The Accession of Peter. Learning that his sister Sophia was planning to ignore his right to the throne and to become ruler herself, he dropped his sham fights and his sailing, swept his sister aside into a nunnery, and assumed control of the state. Convinced that Europe was in every way superior to Russia, that Russia had everything to gain and nothing to lose from a knowledge of the ways and institutions of the western countries, Peter's policy from the beginning to the end of his reign was to bring about the closest possible connection between his backward country and the progressive and brilliant civilization which had been built up in England, France, Holland, Italy, and Germany.

The Policy of the "Open Window." But even with the best intentions this was not an easy task. For Russia had no point of physical contact with the nations of Western Europe. She could not freely communicate with them, for between her and them was a wall consisting of Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Russia was nearly a land-locked country. Sweden controlled all that coast line along the Baltic which ultimately became Russian, Turkey controlled all the coast line of the Black Sea. The only port Russia possessed was far to the north, at Archangel, and this was frozen during nine months of the year. To communicate freely and easily with the West, Russia must "open a window" somewhere, as Peter expressed it. Then the light could stream in. He must have an ice-free port in European waters. To secure this he fought repeated campaigns against Turkey and Sweden. With the latter power there was intermittent war for twenty years, very successful in the end, though only after distressing reverses. He conquered the Baltic Provinces from Sweden, Courland, Esthonia, and Livonia, and thus secured a long coast line. Russia might now have a navy and a merchant fleet and sea-borne commerce. "It is not land I want, but water," Peter had said. He now had enough, at least to begin with.

Peter's Travels. Meanwhile he had sent fifty young Russians of the best families to England, Holland, and Venice to learn the arts and sciences of the West, especially shipbuilding and fortifications. Later he had gone himself for the same purpose, to study on the spot the civilization whose superiority he recognized and intended to impose upon his own country, if that were possible. This was a famous voyage. Traveling under the strictest incognito, as "Peter Mikailovitch," he donned laborer's clothes and worked for months in the shipyards of Holland and England. He was interested in everything. He visited mills and factories of every kind, asking innumerable questions: "What is this for? How does that work?" He made a sheet of paper with his own hands. During his hours of recreation he visited museums, theaters, hospitals, galleries. He saw printing presses in operation, attended lectures on anatomy, studied surgery a little, and even acquired some proficiency in the humble and useful art of pulling teeth. He bought collections of laws, and models of all sorts of machines, and engaged many officers, mechanics, printers, architects, sailors, and workmen of every kind, to go to Russia to engage in the task of imparting instruction to a nation which, in Peter's opinion, needed it and should receive it, willy-nilly.

Peter's Reforms. After his return Peter began with energy his transformation of Russia, as he described it. Some of his reforms concerned manners and customs, others economic matters, others matters purely political. Peter at once fell upon the long beards and Oriental costumes, which, in his opinion, symbolized the conservatism of Old Russia, which he was resolved to shatter. Arming himself with a pair of shears, he himself clipped the liberal beards and moustaches of many of his nobles, and cut their long coats at the knee. They must set the style and the style must be that of France and Germany. Having given this sensational exhibition of his imperial purpose, he then compromised somewhat, allowing men to wear their beards long, but only on condition of submitting to a graduated tax upon those ornaments. The approbation of the emperor, the compulsion of fashion, combined with considerations of economy, rapidly wrought a surprising change in the appearance of the manhood of Russia. Barbers and tailors were stationed at the entrances of towns to facilitate the process by slashing the offending members until they conformed to European standards.

Women were forbidden to wear the veil and were released from the captivity of the harem, or *teren*, as it was called in Russia. Peter had attended the "assemblies" of France and England and had seen men and women dancing and conversing together in public. He now ordered the husbands and fathers of Russia to bring their wives and daughters to all social entertainments. The adjustments were awkward at first, the women frequently standing or sitting stiffly apart at one end of the room, the men smoking and drinking by themselves at the other. But finally society as understood in Europe emerged from these temporary and amusing difficulties. Peter gave lessons in dancing to some of his nobles, having himself acquired that accomplishment while on his famous trip. They were expected, in turn, to pass the art on to others.

Creation of an Army and a Navy. The organs of government, national and local, were remodeled by the adoption of forms and methods known to Sweden, Germany, and other countries, and the state became more efficient and at the same time more powerful. The army was enlarged, equipped, and trained mainly in imitation of Germany. A navy was created and the importance of the sea to the general life of the nation gradually dawned upon the popular intelligence. The economic development of the country was begun, factories were established, mines were opened, and canals were cut. The church was brought into closer subjection to the state. Measures were taken against vagabondage and robbery, widely prevalent evils. Education of a practical sort was encouraged. Peter even undertook to reform the language of Russia, striking out eight of the more cumbersome letters of the alphabet and simplifying the form of some of the others.

All these changes encountered resistance, resistance born of indolence, of natural conservatism, of religious scruples — was it not impious for Holy Russia to abandon her native customs and to imitate the heretics of the West? But Peter went on smashing his way through as best he could, crushing opposition by fair means and by foul, for the quality of the means was a matter of indifference to him, if only they were successful. Here we have the spectacle of a man who, himself a semi-barbarian, was bent upon civilizing men more barbarous than he.

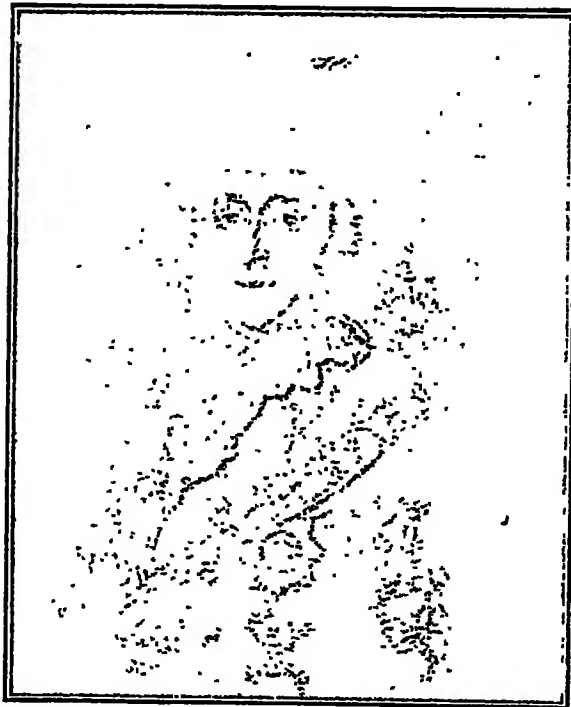
The Founding of St. Petersburg. As the ancient capital, Moscow, was the stronghold of stiff conservatism, was wedded to all the

old ideas and customs, Peter resolved to build a new capital on the Baltic. There, on islands and marshes at the mouth of a river which frequently overflowed, he built at frightful cost in human life and suffering the city of St. Petersburg. Everything had to be created literally from the ground up. Forests of piles had to be driven into the slime to the solid earth beneath to furnish the secure foundations. Tens of thousands of soldiers and peasants were drafted for the work. At first they had no implements, but were forced to dig with sticks and carry the rubbish away in their coats. No adequate provisions were made for them; they slept unprotected in the open air, their food was insufficient, and they died by thousands, only to be replaced by other thousands. All through the reign the desperate, rough process went on. The will of the autocrat, rich in expedients, triumphed over all obstacles. Every great landowner was required to build in the city a residence of a certain size and style. No ship might enter without bringing a certain quantity of stone for building purposes. St. Petersburg was cut by numerous canals, as were the cities of Holland. The Tsar required the nobles to possess boats. Some of them, not proficient in the handling of these novel craft, were drowned. Toward the close of his reign Peter transferred the government to this city which stood on the banks of the Neva, a monument to his imagination, his energy, and his persistence, a city with no hampering traditions, with no past, but with only an untrammelled future, an appropriate expression of the spirit of the New Russia which Peter was laboring to create.

Personal Characteristics. Peter was, indeed, a strange leader for a people which needed above all to shake itself free from what was raw and crude, he was himself so raw and crude. A man of violent passions, capable and guilty of orgies of dissipation, of acts of savage cruelty, hard and fiendish in his treatment even of those nearest to him, his sister, his wife, and his son, using willingly as instruments of progress the atrocious knout and wheel and stake, Peter was neither a model ruler, nor a model man. Yet, with all these traits of primal barbarism in his nature, he had many redeeming points. Good-humored, frank, and companionable under ordinary circumstances, he was entirely natural, as loyal in his friendships as he was bitter in his enmities. Masterful, titanic, there was in him a wild vitality, an immense energy, and he was great in the singleness of his aim. He did not succeed in transforming Russia; that could

not be accomplished in one generation nor in two. But he left an army of 200,000 men, he connected Russia with the sea by the coast line of the Baltic, thus opening a contact with countries that were more advanced, intellectually and socially, and he raised a standard and started a tradition.

Peter's Successors. There followed upon the death of Peter a series of mediocre rulers, under whom it seemed likely that the



CATHERINE II

After the portrait by Shebanoff.

ground gained might be lost. But under Elizabeth (1741-1762) Russia played an important part in the Seven Years' War, thus showing her altered position in Europe, and with the advent of Catherine II (1762-1796) the process of Europeanizing Russia and of expanding her territories and magnifying her position in international politics was resumed with vigor and carried out with success.

Catherine the Great (1762-1796). Catherine was a German princess, the wife of the Tsar Peter III, who, proving a worthless ruler, was de-

posed, after a reign of a few months, then done to death, probably with the connivance of his wife. Catherine became empress, and for thirty-four years ruled Russia with an iron hand. Fond of pleasure, fond of work, a woman of intellectual tastes or at least pretensions, which she satisfied by intimate correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot, and other French philosophers of the day, Catherine passes as one of the "enlightened despots" of her century. Being of western birth, she naturally sympathized with the policy of introducing western civilization into Russia, and gave that policy her vigorous support.

But her chief significance in history is her foreign policy. Three countries, we have seen, stood between Russia and the states of Western Europe — Sweden, Poland, and Turkey. Peter had conquered the first and secured the water route by the Baltic. Catherine devoted her entire reign to conquering the other two. The former she accomplished by infamous means and with rare completeness. By the end of her reign Poland had been utterly destroyed, and Russia had pushed her boundaries far westward until they touched those of Prussia and Austria. Catherine was not able to dismember Turkey as Poland was dismembered, but she gained from her the Crimea and the northern shores of the Black Sea, from the Caucasus to the Dniester. She had even dreamed of driving the Turk entirely from Europe and of extending her own influence down to the Mediterranean by the establishment of a Byzantine empire that should be dependent upon Russia. But any dream of getting to Constantinople was a dream indeed, as the troubled history of a subsequent century was to show. Henceforth, however, Europe could count on one thing with certainty ; namely, that Russia would be a factor to be considered in any rearrangement of the map of the Balkan peninsula, in any determination of the Eastern question.

This rise of Russia, like the rise of Prussia, to a position of commanding importance in European politics, was the work of the eighteenth century. Both were characteristic products of that age.

Features of Eighteenth-Century Society. The more one examines in general the governments of Europe in the eighteenth century, and the policies which they followed or attempted to follow, the less is one impressed with either their wisdom or their morality. One could find in all Europe hardly a trace of what we call democracy. Europe was organized aristocratically, and for the benefit of aristocracies.

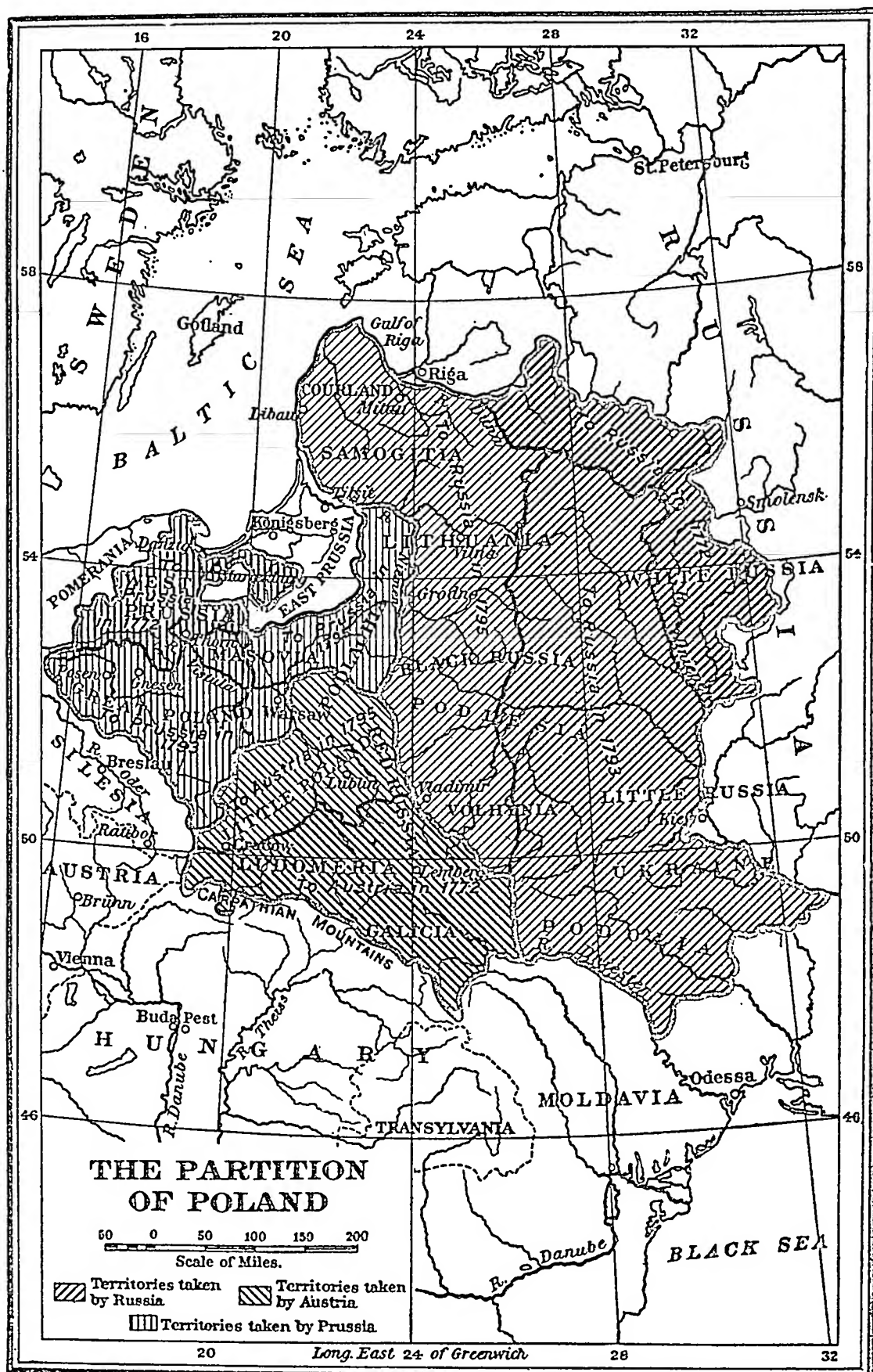
The condition of the vast mass of the people was everywhere deplorable, though varying more or less from country to country. The masses, who were peasants, were weighed down and hemmed in by laws and institutions and customs that took no account of their well-being. In one way or another they were outrageously taxed, so that but a small fraction of what they earned went for their own support. Throughout most of Europe they did not possess what we regard as the mere beginnings of personal liberty, for, except

in England and France, serfdom, with all its paralyzing restrictions, was in force. No one dreamed that the people were entitled to education so that they might be better equipped for life. The great substructure of European society was an unhappy, unfree, unprotected, undeveloped mass of human beings, to whom opportunity for growth and improvement was closed on every side.

These evils were so apparent that now and then they prompted the governing authorities to attempt reform. Several rulers in various countries, Frederick the Great, Catherine II, Maria Theresa, Joseph II, made earnest efforts to improve conditions. These were the "benevolent despots" of the eighteenth century who tried reform from above before the French tried it from below. On the whole they had no great or permanent success, and the need of thorough-going changes remained to trouble the future.

The Old Régime Undermined. The Old Régime in Europe was to be brought tumbling down in unutterable confusion as a result of the storm which was brewing in France and which we are now to study. But that régime had been undermined, the props that supported it had been destroyed, by its own official beneficiaries and defenders. The Old Régime was disloyal to the very principles on which it rested, respect for the established order, for what was old and traditional, for what had come down from the past, regard for legality, for solemn treaty engagements, made only to be broken without scruple, whenever there was any advantage in breaking them. How little regard the monarchs of Europe themselves had for principles which they were accustomed to pronounce sacred, was shown by the part they played in the great events of the eighteenth century already alluded to, the war of the Austrian Succession, and the Partition of Poland. By the first the ruler of Austria, Maria Theresa, was robbed of the large and valuable province of Silesia by Prussia, aided by France, both of which states had recently signed a peculiarly solemn treaty called the Pragmatic Sanction, by which her rights had been explicitly and emphatically recognized. Frederick II, however, wanted the province, took it, and kept it. This case shows how lightly monarchs regarded legal obligations, when they conflicted with their ambitions.

The Partition of Poland. The other case, the Partition of Poland, was the most iniquitous act of the century. Poland was in geographical extent the largest state in Europe, next to Russia. Its



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history ran far back. But its government was utterly weak. Therefore in 1772 Prussia, Austria, and Russia attacked it for no cause



MARIA THERESA

From a pastel formerly in the possession of the Grand Duke Frederick, Vienna.

period in the history of the world. The Old Régime in Europe was rudely shattered by the overthrow of the Old Régime in France, which country, by its astonishing actions, was to dominate the next quarter of a century.

save their own greed, and tore great fragments away, annexing them to their own territories. Twenty years later they completed the process in two additional partitions, in 1793 and 1795, thus entirely annihilating an ancient state. This shows how much regard the monarchs of Europe had for established institutions, for established authorities. This assassination of Poland, this total elimination of a great state from the map of Europe, was one of the most important events of the eighteenth century.

The eighteenth century attained its legitimate climax in its closing decade, a memorable

QUESTIONS

I. How did the House of Hanover come to rule in England? Who were the early Hanoverian kings? Why did the cabinet form of government grow up under them? How did the Seven Years' War contribute to the growth of the British Empire? What is the significance of George III in British history? Why did certain Englishmen rejoice in the successes of the American Revolutionists?

II. What was the Holy Roman Empire? Of how many states was it composed? What were the powers of the Emperor?

III. Describe the early history of Prussia. What were the chief ambitions of the Hohenzollern kings? Describe the youth of Frederick the Great. What wars did Frederick fight and what did he gain by them? What reforms did Frederick carry through? Was Frederick a German patriot?

IV. Trace the early history of Russia. Describe the boyhood of Peter the Great. In what direction did Peter enlarge the boundaries of Russia? What did Peter learn from his travels? How did he reform Russia? Why and how did he found St. Petersburg? What were Peter's personal characteristics?

V. What were the outstanding characteristics of European society in the eighteenth century? Who were the enlightened despots? How was the Old Régime in Europe undermined? What was the significance of the Partition of Poland?

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CHAPTER IV

THE OLD REGIME IN FRANCE

The Old Régime in France. In order to understand the French Revolution it is necessary to examine the conditions and institutions of France out of which it grew ; in other words, the Old Régime, the established order. Putting it in a single phrase the Revolution accomplished the transition from the feudal and absolutist system of the preceding centuries to the democratic system of the modern world. The entire structure of the French state and of French society was remodeled and planted on new and far-reaching principles.

The essence of the feudal system was class divisions and acknowledged privileges for all classes above the lowest. The essence of the new system was the removal of class distinctions, the abolition of privileges, the introduction of the principle of the equality of men, wherever possible. French society was graded from top to bottom, and each grade differed, in legal rights, in opportunities for enjoyment and development, in power.

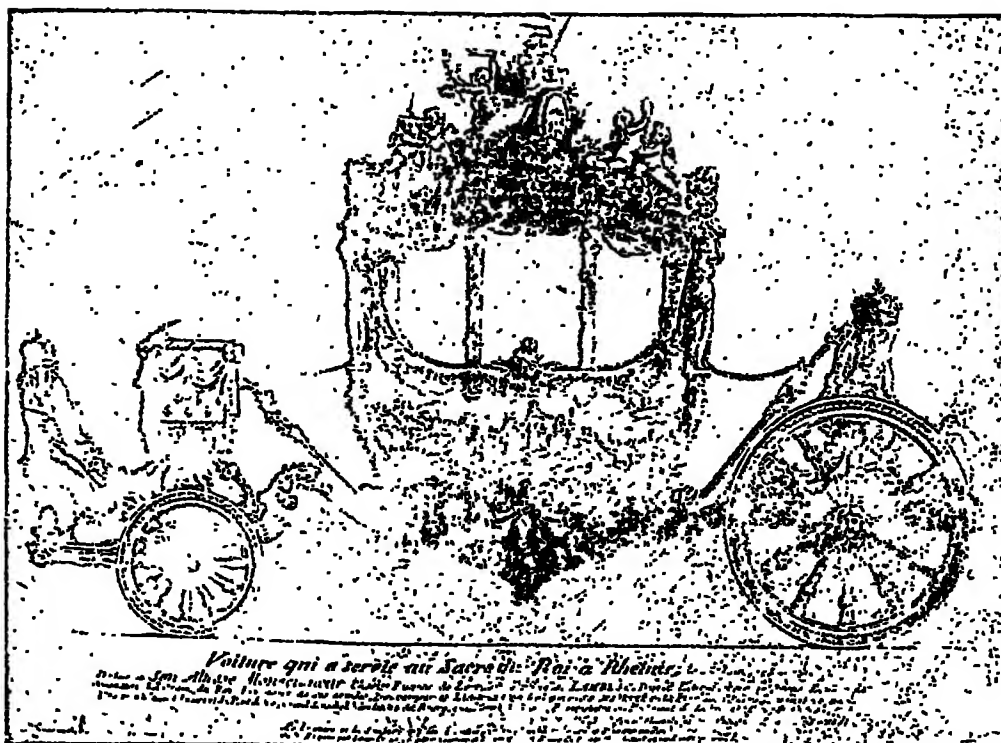
The Principle of Divine Right. The system culminated in the monarch, the lofty and glittering head of the state, the embodiment of the might and the majesty of the nation. The king claimed to rule by the will of God, that is, by divine right, not at all by the consent of the people. He was responsible to no one but God. Consequently in the actual conduct of his office he was subject to no control. He was an absolute monarch. He could do as he chose. It was for the nation to obey. The king made the laws, he levied the taxes, he spent them as he saw fit, he declared wars, made peace, contracted alliances according to his own inclination.

The Splendor of the Court. So commanding a figure required a broad and ample stage for the part he was to play, a rich and spacious background. Never was a being more sumptuously housed. While Paris was the capital of France, the king resided twelve miles away amid the splendors of Versailles. There he lived and moved

and had his being in a palace which, as we have seen, was the envy of every other king in Christendom and which furnished an imposing setting for a most brilliant and numerous court. For the court of Versailles (ver-sālz') which so dazzled Europe was composed of 18,000 people, perhaps 16,000 of whom were attached to the personal service of the king and his family, 2000 being courtiers, the favored guests of the house, nobles who were engaged in a perpetual round of pleasures and who were also busily feathering their own nests by soliciting, of course in polished and subtle ways, the favors that streamed from a lavish throne. Luxury was everywhere the prevailing note. Well may the occupants of the palace have considered themselves, in spirit and in truth, the darlings of the gods, for earth had not anything to show more costly. The king, the queen, the royal children, the king's brothers and sisters and aunts, all had their separate establishments under the spacious roof. The queen alone had 500 servants. The royal stables contained nearly 1900 horses and more than 200 carriages, and the annual cost of this service alone was the equivalent of \$4,000,000. The king's table cost more than a million and a half. As gaiety was unconfined, so necessarily was the expenditure that kept it going. In 1789 the total cost of all this riot of extravagance amounted to not far from \$20,000,000. No wonder that men spoke of the court as the veritable nation's grave.

The Government of France. Such was the dazzling apex of a state edifice that was rickety in the extreme. For the government of France was ill-constructed and the times were decidedly out of joint. That government was not a miracle of design, but of the lack of it. Complicated, ill-adjusted, the various branches dimly defined or overlapping, it was thoroughly unscientific and inefficient. The king was assisted by five councils which framed the laws, issued the orders, conducted the business of the state. Then for purposes of local government France was split up into divisions, but, unfortunately not into a single, simple set. There were forty "governments," so called, thirty-two of which corresponded closely to the old provinces of France, the outcome of her feudal history. But those forty "governments" belied their name. They did little governing, but they furnished many lucrative offices for the higher nobility who were appointed "governors" and who resided generally in Versailles, contributing their part to the magnificent ceremonial of that showy parade ground.

The Intendants. The real, prosaic work was done in the thirty-six "generalities," as another set of divisions was called. Over each of these was an intendant, who was generally of the middle or bourgeois class, accustomed to work. These intendants were appointed by the king to carry on the royal government, each in his own district. They carried out the orders that came from the capital



THE COACH ORNAMENTED WITH SYMBOLS IN WHICH LOUIS XVI WENT TO HIS CORONATION IN 1774

From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*.

and made their reports to it. Their power was practically unrestricted. Upon them depended in large measure the happiness or the misery of the provinces. Judging from the fact that most of them were very unpopular, it must be admitted that this, the real working part of the national government, did not contribute to the welfare of the people. The intendants were rather the docile tools of the misgovernment which issued from the five councils which were the five fingers of the king.

Speaking broadly, local self-government did not exist in France, but

clergyman was a member of the third estate, the richest banker, the most illustrious man of letters, the poorest peasant, the beggar in the streets. Not at all homogeneous, the three chief divisions of this immense mass were the *bourgeoisie* (boor-zhwä-ze'); the artisans, and the peasants.

The bourgeoisie, or upper middle class, comprised all those who were not manual laborers. Thus lawyers, physicians, teachers, literary men, were bourgeois; also merchants, bankers, manufacturers. Many of them were rich. Intelligent, energetic, educated, and well-to-do, this class resented most keenly the existing system. For its members were made to feel in numerous galling ways their social inferiority, and, conscious that they were quite as well educated, quite as well mannered as the nobles, they returned the disdain of the latter with envy and hatred. Having loaned immense sums to the state, they were increasingly anxious, as they saw it verging rapidly toward bankruptcy.



SIEYÈS

From an engraving by Ficsinger, after a drawing by J. Guérin.

They favored therefore a political reorganization which should enable them to participate in the government, to control its expenditures, to assure its solvency, that thus they might be certain of their interest and principal, and that thus abuses which impeded or injured business might be redressed. Their mood was brilliantly expressed by a pamphlet written by one of their members, Abbé Sieyès, which circulated enormously on the eve of the Revolution. "What is the Third Estate?" asked Sieyès. "Everything. What has it been in politics until now? Nothing. What does it desire? To become something."

The Artisans. Belonging to this estate but beneath the bourgeoisie were the artisans — perhaps two million and a half, living in

the towns and cities. They were a comparatively small class because the industrial life of France was not yet highly developed. They were generally organized in guilds, or what we would call to-day trade unions, which had their rules and privileges that gave rise to bickerings galore and that were generally condemned as preventing the free and full expansion of industry and as artificially restricting the right to work.

The Peasantry. The other large division of the third estate was the peasantry. This was by far the largest section. Indeed it was the nation. France was an agricultural country, more than nine-tenths of the population were peasants, more than 20,000,000. About a million of them were serfs, the rest were free men, yet their lot was an unhappy one. The burdens of society fell with crushing weight upon them. They paid fifty-five per cent of what they were able to earn to the state, according to the sober estimate of Turgot. They paid tithes to the clergy and numerous and vexatious feudal dues to the nobles. The peasant paid tolls to the seigneur for the use of the roads and bridges. When he sold his land he paid a fee to the former seigneur. He was compelled to use the seigneur's wine press in making his wine, the seigneur's mill in grinding his grain, the seigneur's oven in baking his bread, always paying for the service. Adding what he paid to the king, the church, and the seigneur, and the salt and excise duties, the total was often not far from four-fifths of his earnings. With the remaining one-fifth he had to support himself and family.

The inevitable consequence was that he lived on the verge of diasaster. Bad weather at a critical moment supervening, he faced dire want, even starvation. It happened that the harvest was bad in 1788 and that the following winter was cruelly severe. According to a foreign ambassador water froze almost in front of the fireplace. It need occasion no surprise that owing to such conditions hundreds of thousands of men became beggars or brigands, driven to frenzy by hunger. It has been estimated that in Paris alone, with a population of 650,000, there were nearly 120,000 paupers. No wonder there were abundant recruits for riots and deeds of violence. The 20,000,000 peasants, who knew nothing of statecraft, who were ignorant of the destructive and subversive theories of Voltaire and Rousseau, were nevertheless daily and hourly impressed with the imperative necessity of reforms by the hard circumstances of their lives. They knew

that the feudal dues would have to be abolished, that the excessive exactions of the state would have to be reduced before their lives could become tolerable. Their reasons for desiring change were different from those of the other classes, but they were more than sufficient.

Such was the situation. On the eve of the Revolution Frenchmen enjoyed no equality of status or opportunity but privileges of the most varied kinds divided them from each other.

Restrictions upon Liberty. Nor did they enjoy liberty. Religious liberty was lacking. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 Protestantism had been outlawed. It was a crime punishable with hard labor to practise that religion. Under Louis XVI the persecution of Protestants was in fact suspended, but it might be resumed at any moment. Protestant preaching was forbidden and consequently could occur only in secret or in lonely places. Jews were considered foreigners and as such were tolerated, but their position was humiliating. Catholics were required by law to observe the requirements and usages of their religion, communion, fast days, Lent. The Church was opposed to toleration and because of this incurred the animosity of Voltaire.

There was no individual liberty. The authorities might arrest any one whom they wished and keep him in prison as long as they chose without assigning reasons and without giving the victim any chance to prove his innocence. There was no such thing as a Habeas Corpus law. There was a large number of state prisons, the most famous being the Bastille, and many of their occupants were there by reason of *lettres de cachet*, or orders for arbitrary arrest, one of the most odious and hated features of the Old Régime.

Nor was there political liberty. The French did not have the right to hold public meetings or to form associations or societies. And of course, as we have seen, they did not elect any assemblies to control the royal government. Liberties which had been in vogue in England for centuries, which were the priceless heritage of the English race on both sides of the Atlantic, were unknown in France.

In view of all these facts it is not strange that Liberty and Equality became the battle cry of the Revolution, embodying the deepest aspirations of the nation.

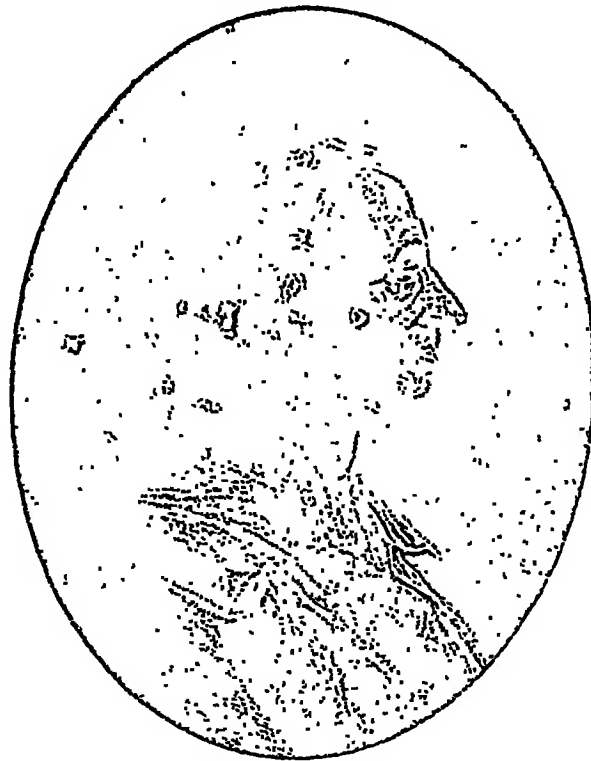
Influence of Literary Men. The French Revolution has been frequently ascribed to the influence of the "philosophers" or writers



PROTESTANT WORSHIP IN THE WILDERNESS

After an anonymous engraving.

of the eighteenth century. This is putting the cart before the horse, not the usual or efficient way of insuring progress. The manifold ills from which the nation suffered only too palpably were the primary cause of the demand for a cure. Nevertheless it was a fact of great importance that all the conditions described above, and many others, were criticized through the century by a group of brilliant writers, whose exposition and denunciation gave vocal expression on a vast scale to the discontent, the indignation, and the longing of the age. Literature was a lusty and passionate champion of reform, and through it a flood of new ideas swept over France. Many of these ideas were of foreign origin, German, American, above all English; many were of native growth. The books, which set forth the new ideas and which issued in such profusion from the facile pens and teeming brains of Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Diderot (de'-drō'), Quesnay (kā'-na'), and many others, stirred the intellectual world to its depths.



MONTESQUIEU

From the engraving by B. L. Henricquez after the picture at the Académie Française

Montesquieu (1689-1755) For three generations the fire of criticism and satire rained upon the foundations of the French monarchy. The campaign was opened by Montesquieu, a member of the nobility of the robe, a lawyer of eminence, a judge of the Parlement of Bordeaux (bor-dō'). His great work, the product of twenty years of labor, was his *Spirit of Laws*, published in 1748. It had an immediate and immense success. Twenty-two editions issued from the press in eighteen months. It was a study in political philosophy, an analysis of the various forms of government known to men, a cold and balanced judgment of their various peculiarities, merits, and

defects. Tearing aside the veil of mystery which men had thrown about their institutions, disregarding contemptuously the claim of a divine origin, Montesquieu examined the various types with the same detachment and objectivity which a botanist shows in the study of his specimens. Two or three leading ideas emerged from the process. One was that the English government was on the whole the best, since it guaranteed personal liberty to all citizens. It was a monarchy which was limited in power, and controlled by an assembly which represented the people of England—in other words, what, in the language of modern political science, is called a constitutional monarchy. Montesquieu also emphasized the necessity in any well-regulated state of separating carefully the three powers of government, the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. In the French monarchy all were blended and fused in the single person of the king, and were subject to no earthly control—and, as a matter of fact, to no divine control that was perceptible.

Voltaire (1694-1778). Very different, but even more memorable, was the work of Voltaire, one of the master minds of European History, whose name has become the name of an era. We speak of the Age of Voltaire as we speak of the Age of Luther and of Erasmus. Voltaire stands for the emancipation of the intellect.

His significance to his times is shown in the title men gave him—King Voltaire. The world has not often seen a freer or more intrepid spirit. Supremely gifted for a life of letters, Voltaire proved himself an accomplished poet, historian, dramatist, even scientist. Well known at the age of twenty-three, he died at the age of eighty-four in a veritable delirium of applause, for his exit from the world was an amazing apotheosis. World-renowned he melted into world history.

Voltaire was a warrior all his life, for multifarious and generally honorable causes. With many weaknesses of character, of which excessive vanity was one, he was a pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night for all who enlisted in the fight for the liberation of mankind. He had personally experienced the oppression of the Old Régime and he hated it with a deep and abiding hatred. He had more than once been thrown into prison by the odious, arbitrary

lettres de cachet because he had incurred the enmity of the great. A large part of his life had been spent in exile because he was not safe in France. By his prodigious intellectual activity he had amassed a large fortune and had become one of the powers of Europe. Show him a case of arbitrary injustice, a case of religious persecution hounding an innocent man to an awful death — and there were such cases — and you would see him taking the field, aflame with wrath against the authors of the monstrous deed. Voltaire was never tiresome, he was always interesting, and he was generally instructive. The buoyancy of his spirit was shown in everything he wrote. A master of biting satire and of pulverizing invective, he singled out particularly for his attention the hypocrisies and cruelties and bigotries of his age and he raked them with a rapid and devastating fire. This brought him into conflict with the State and the Church. He denounced the abuses and iniquities of the laws and the judicial system, of arbitrary imprisonment, of torture.

Voltaire was not primarily a political thinker. He attacked individual abuses in the state and he undermined the respect for authority, but he evidently was satisfied with monarchy as an institution. His ideal of government was a benevolent despotism. He was not a



VOLTAIRE

From the bust by Houdon.

democrat. He would rather be ruled by one lion than by a hundred rats, was the way in which he expressed his preference.

The Church was his chief aversion, as he considered it the gloomy fastness of moldering superstitions, the enemy of freedom of thought,



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU

From an engraving by J. E. Nochez, after A. Ramsay.

the persecutor of innocent men who differed from it, as the seat of intolerance, as the supporter of all kinds of narrow and bigoted prejudices. Voltaire was not an atheist. He believed in God, but he did not believe in the Christian or in the Hebrew God, and he hated the Roman Catholic Church and he constantly attacked it. In eighteenth-century France the Church, as we have seen, presented plenty of vulnerable sides for his fiery shafts.

Rousseau (1712-1778). Very different in tone and tendency was the work of another author, Jean Jacques Rousseau. Montesquieu and Voltaire desired reforms in the interest of individual liberty, desired the end of tyranny. But Rousseau swept far beyond them, desiring a total reorganization of society, because no amount of patching and renovating could make the present system tolerable, because nothing less would render liberty possible. He wrote a magic prose, rich, sonorous, full of melancholy, full of color, of musical cadences, of solemn and pensive eloquence. The past had no

power over him ; he lacked completely the historical sense. The past, indeed, he despised. It was to him the enemy *par excellence*, the cause of all the multiplied ills from which humanity was suffering and must free itself. Angry with the world as it was — his own life had been hard — he, the son of a Genevan watchmaker, had wandered here and there practising different trades, valet, music-teacher, tutor — he had known misery and had no personal reason for thinking well of the world and its boasted civilization. In his first work he propounded his fundamental thesis that man, naturally good and just and happy, had been corrupted and degraded by the very thing he called civilization. Therefore sweep civilization aside, and on the ground freed from its artificial and baneful conventions and institutions erect the idyllic state.

The Social Contract. Rousseau's principal work was his *Social Contract*, one of the most famous and in its results one of the most influential books ever written. Opening with the startling statement that "man was born free and is everywhere in chains," he proceeded to outline a purely ideal state, which was in complete contrast to the one in which he lived. Rousseau repudiated the representative system of government and demanded that the people make the laws themselves directly. Government must be government by majorities. Rousseau's state made no provision for safeguarding any rights of the minority which the majority might wish to infringe. The harmful feature of his system was that it rendered possible a tyranny by a majority over a minority quite as complete and odious and unrestrained as any tyranny of a king could be.

Two of his ideas stood out in high relief — the sovereignty of the people and the political equality of all citizens, two democratic principles which were utterly subversive of the states of Europe as then constituted. These principles powerfully influenced the course of the Revolution and have been preached with fervor and denounced with passion by rival camps ever since. They have made notable progress in the world since Rousseau gave them thrilling utterance, but they have still much ground to traverse before they gain the field, before the reign of democracy everywhere prevails.

The Economists. There were many other writers who, by attacking this abuse and that, contributed powerfully to the discrediting, the sapping of the Old Régime. A conspicuous group of them busied themselves with economic studies and theories, enun-

ciating principles which, if applied, would revolutionize the industrial and commercial life of the nation by sweeping away the numerous restrictions which hampered it and which permeated it with favoritism and privilege, and by introducing the maximum of liberty in commerce, in industry, in agriculture, just as the writers whom we have described enunciated principles which would revolutionize France politically and socially.

All this seed fell upon fruitful soil. Remarkable was to be the harvest, as we shall shortly see.

The Revolution was not caused by the philosophers, but by the conditions and evils of the national life and by the mistakes of the government. Nevertheless these writers were a factor in the Revolution, for they educated a group of leaders, instilled into them certain decisive doctrines, furnished them with phrases, formulas, and arguments, gave a certain tone and cast to their minds, imparted to them certain powerful illusions, encouraged an excessive hopefulness which was characteristic of the movement. They did not cause the Revolution, but they exposed the causes brilliantly, focussed attention upon them, compelled discussion, and aroused passion.

QUESTIONS

I. Describe the court of Versailles. How was the French state organized? Who were the intendants? In what respects was unity lacking in the French nation? What was the system of taxation in vogue?

II. What were the principal class divisions of France? Show how each class was itself subdivided. Why did the French demand liberty and equality? Who were the leading literary men of the period and what was their influence?

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CHAPTER V

BEGINNINGS OF THE REVOLUTION

The National Finances. Under Louis XVI the financial situation of France became more and more serious, until it could no longer be ignored. The cost of the participation in the American Revolution, added to the enormous debt inherited from the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV and to the excessive and unregulated expenditures of the state and the wastefulness of the court, completed the derangement of the national finances and foreshadowed bankruptcy. In the end this crisis forced the monarch to make an appeal to the people by summoning their representatives.

Louis XVI (1774–1793). But before taking so grave a step, the consequences of which were incalculable, the government tried various expedients less drastic, which, however, for various reasons failed. Louis XVI was the unhappy monarch under whom these long accumulating ills culminated. The last of the rulers of the Old Régime, his reign covered the years from 1774 to 1792. It falls into three periods, a brief one of attempted reform (1774–1776) and then a relapse for the next twelve years into the traditional methods of the Bourbon monarchy, and after that the hurricane.

Characteristics of Louis XVI. During his youth no one thought that Louis would ever be monarch ; so many other princes stood between him and the throne that his succession was only a remote contingency. But owing to an unprecedented number of deaths in the direct line this contingency became reality. Louis mounted the throne, from which eighteen years later, by a strange concourse of events, he was hurled. He had never been molded for the high and dangerous office. He was twenty years old and the Queen, Marie Antoinette, but nineteen when they heard of the death of Louis XV, and instinctively both expressed the same thought, "How unhappy are we! We are too young to rule." The new King was entirely untrained in the arts of government. He was good, well-intentioned,



Louis XVI

From the engraving by Nargeot, after the painting by Callet.

he had a high standard of morality and duty, a genuine desire to serve his people. But his mind lacked all distinction, his education had been poor, his processes of thought were hesitating, slow, un-

certain. Awkward, timid, without elegancies or graces of mind or body, no king could have been less to the manner born, none could have seemed more out of place in the brilliant, polished, and heartless court of which he was the center. This he felt himself, as others felt it, and he often regretted, even before the Revolution, that he could not abdicate and pass into a private station which would have been far more to his taste. He was an excellent horseman, he was excessively fond of hunting, he practised with delight the craft of locksmith. He was ready to listen to the advice of wiser men, but, and this was his fatal defect, he was of feeble will. He had none of the masterful qualities necessary for leadership. He was quite unable to see where danger lay and where support was to be found. He was not unintelligent, but his intelligence was unequal to his task. He was a poor judge of men, yet was greatly influenced by them. He gave way now to this influence, which might be good, now to that, which might be bad. He was, by nature, like other princes of his time, a reforming monarch, but his impulses in this direction were intermittent. At the beginning of his reign Louis XVI was subject to the influence of Turgot (tür-gō'), one of the wisest of statesmen.

Later he was subject to that of the Queen — to his own great misfortune and also to that of France.

Marie Antoinette (1755-1793). The influence of women was always great in France under the Bourbon-monarchy, and Marie Antoinette was no exception to the rule. Furthermore that influence was frequently disastrous, and here again in the case of the last queen of the Old Régime there was no exception. If the King proved inferior to his position, the Queen proved no less inferior to hers. She was the daughter of the great Empress Maria Theresa of Austria, and she had been married to Louis XVI in the hope that thus an alliance would be cemented between the two states which had so long been enemies. But, as many Frenchmen disliked everything about this alliance, she was unpopular and exposed to much harsh criticism from the moment she set foot in France. She was beautiful, gracious, and vivacious. She possessed in large measure some of the very qualities the King so conspicuously lacked. She had a strong will, power of rapid decision, a spirit of initiative, daring. But she was lacking in wisdom, in breadth of judgment; she did not understand the temperament of the French people or the spirit of the times.



THE CORONATION OF LOUIS XVI, IN THE CATHEDRAL OF REIMS, 1775

After an engraving by Moreau.

Born to the purple, her outlook upon life did not transcend that of the small and highly privileged class to which she belonged.

She had grown up in Vienna, one of the gayest capitals of Europe. Her education was woefully defective. When she came to France to become the wife of Louis XVI, she hardly knew how to write. She had had tutors in everything, but they had availed her little. She was willful and proud, unthinking and extravagant, intolerant of disagreeable facts, frivolous, impatient of all restraint, fond of pleasure and of those who ministered unto it. She committed many indiscretions both in her conduct and in the kind of people she chose to have about her. Because of these she was grossly calumniated and misjudged.

Marie Antoinette was the center of a group of greedy people who benefited by existing abuses, who were opposed to all reform. Quite unconsciously she helped to aggravate the financial situation and thus to hasten the catastrophe.

Turgot, Controller of Finance (1774-1776). At the beginning of his reign Louis intrusted the management of finances to a man of rare ability and courage, Turgot. Turgot had been intendant of one of the poorest provinces of France. By applying there the principles of the most advanced economists, which may be summed up as demanding the utmost liberty for industry and trade, he had made his province prosperous. He now had to face the problem of the large annual deficit. The continuance of deficits could mean nothing else than ultimate bankruptcy. Turgot announced his program to the King in the words, "No bankruptcy, no increase of taxation, no more borrowing." He hoped to extricate the national finances by two processes, by effecting economies, and by developing public wealth so that the receipts would be larger. The latter object would be achieved by introducing the régime of liberty into agriculture, industry, and commerce.

Turgot was easily able to save many millions by suppressing useless expenditures, but in so doing he offended all who profited from them, and they flew to arms. All who fattened off the old system combined in opposition, and, reënforced by the *parlements* particularly, and by Marie Antoinette, they brought great pressure upon the King to dismiss the obnoxious minister. Louis yielded and dismissed the ablest supporter the throne had. Both monarchs were grievously at fault, the King for his lack of will, the Queen for her



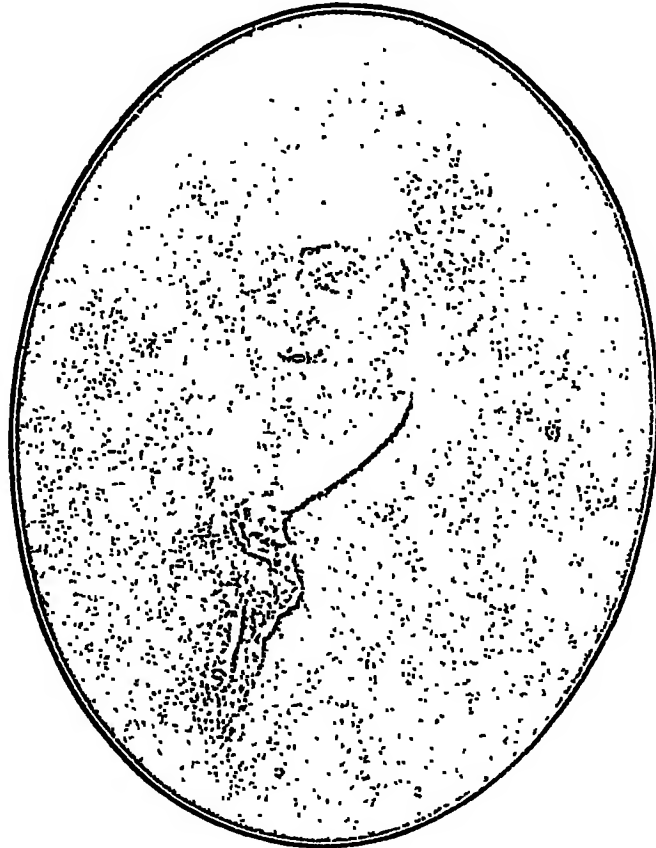
MARIE ANTOINETTE

From the engraving by Geile, after the painting by Vigée le Brun.

willfulness. "M. Turgot and I are the only persons who love the people," said Louis XVI, but he did not prove his love by his acts.

Necker, Director of Finance (1776-1781). This incident threw a flood of light upon the nature of the Old Régime. All reformers

were given warning by the fall of Turgot. No changes that should affect the privileged classes! As the national finances could be made sound only by reforms which would affect those very classes, there was no way out. Reform was blocked. Necker, a Genevan banker, succeeded Turgot. He was a man who had risen by his own efforts from poverty to great wealth. He, too, encountered opposition the instant he proposed economies. He took a step which infuriated the members of the court. He published a financial report, showing the income and the expenditures of the state. This had never been done before, secrecy having hitherto prevailed in such matters. The court was indignant that such high mysteries should be revealed to the masses, particularly as the report showed just how much went annually in pensions to the courtiers, as free gifts for which they rendered no services whatever. For such audacity Necker was overthrown, the King weakly yielding once more to pressure.



TURGOT

After a pastel by Joseph Ducreux.

Calonne. This time the court took no chances, but secured a minister quite according to its taste, in Calonne (kā-lon'). No minister of finance could be more agreeable. Calonne's purpose was to please, and please he did, for a while. The members of the court had only to make their wishes known to have them gratified.

Calonne, a man of charm, of wit, of graceful address, had also a philosophy of the gentle art of spending which was highly appreciated by those about him. "A man who wishes to borrow must appear to

be rich, and to appear rich he must dazzle by spending freely." Money flowed like water during these halcyon times. In three years, in a time of profound peace, Calonne borrowed nearly \$300,000,000.

It seemed too good to be true, and it was, by far. The evil days drew nigh for an accounting. It was found in August, 1786, that the treasury was empty and that there were no more fools willing to loan to the state. It was a rude awakening from a blissful dream. But Calonne now showed, what he had not shown before, some sense. He proposed a general tax which should fall upon the nobles as well as upon the commoners. It was therefore his turn to meet the same opposition from the privileged classes which Turgot and Necker had met. He, too, was balked, and resigned.

The States-General. After trying another treasurer and after another failure, the government finally yielded and summoned the States-General to meet in Versailles on May 1, 1789. A new chapter, of incalculable possibilities, was opened in the history of France. Necker was recalled to head the ministry, and preparations for the coming meeting were made.

The States-General, or assembly representing the three estates of the realm, the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners, was an old institution in France, but one that had never developed as had the Parliament of England. The last meeting, indeed, had been held 175 years before. The institution might have been considered dead. Now, in a great national crisis, it was revived, in the hope that it might pull the state out of the deplorable situation into which the Bourbon monarchy had plunged it, that it might fill the empty treasury. But the States-General was a thoroughly feudal institution and France was tired of feudalism. Its organization no longer conformed to the wishes or needs of the nation. Previously each one of the three estates had had an equal number of delegates, and the delegates of each estate had met separately. It was a three-chambered body, with two of the chambers consisting entirely of the privileged classes. There was objection to this now, since, with two against one, it left the nation exactly where it had been, in the power of the privileged classes. They could veto anything that the Third Estate alone wanted; they could impose anything they chose upon the Third Estate, by their vote of two to one. In other words, if organized as hitherto, they could prevent all reform which in any way affected themselves, and yet such reform was an absolute necessity.

Necker's Indecision. Necker, now showing one of his chief characteristics which was to make him impossible as a leader in the new era, half settled the question and left it half unsettled. He, like the King, lacked the power of decision. It was announced that the Third Estate should have as many members as the two other orders combined. Whether the three bodies should still meet and vote separately was not decided, but was left undetermined. But of what avail would be the double membership of the Third Estate — representing more than nine-tenths of the population — unless all three met together, unless the vote was by individuals, not by chambers ; by head, as the phrase ran, and not by order? In dodging this question

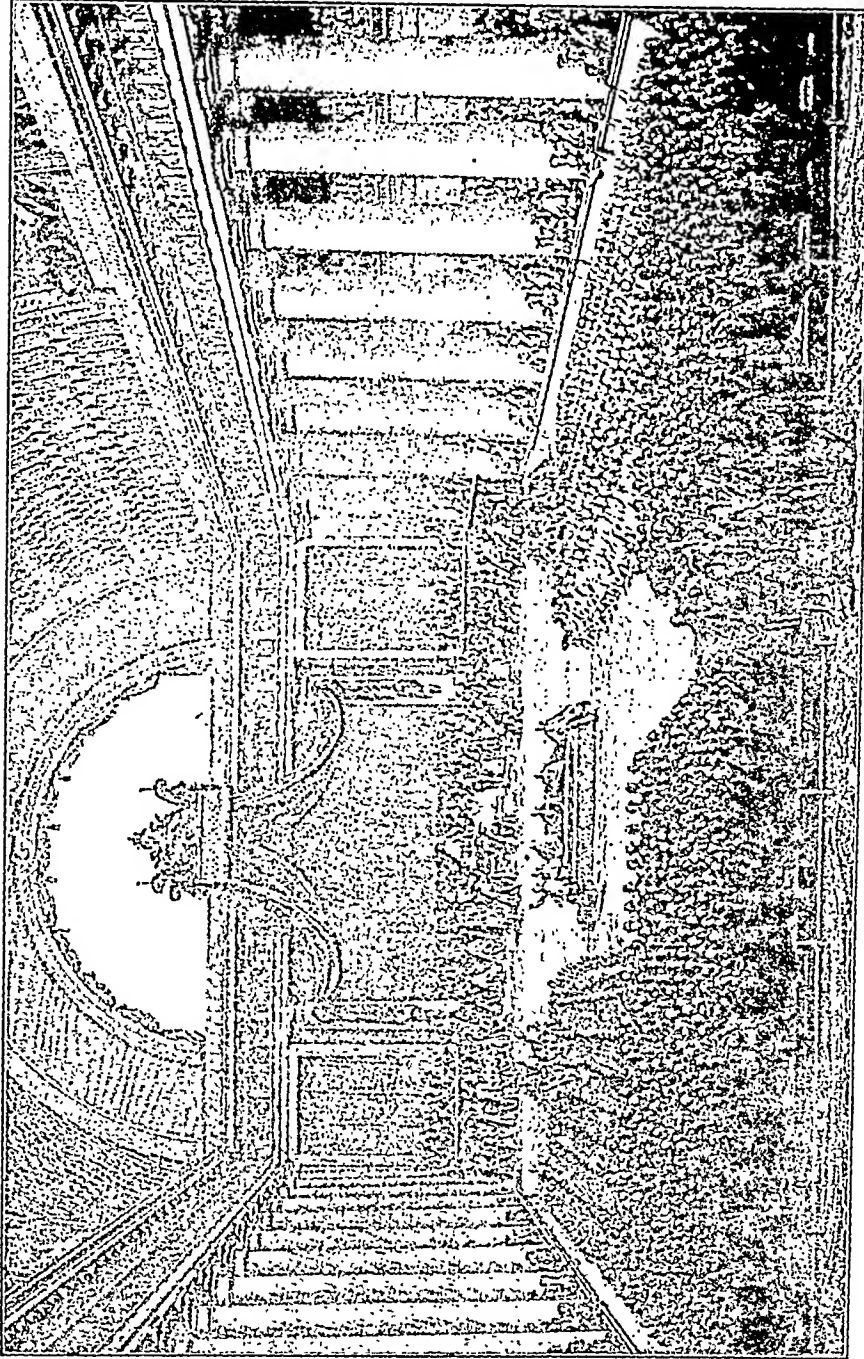
Necker was merely showing his own incapacity for strong leadership and was laying up abundant trouble for the immediate future.

The Opening of the States-General. The States-General met on May 5, 1789. There were about 1200 members, of whom over 600 were members of the Third Estate. Each of the three orders had elected its own members. At the same time the voters, and the vote was nearly universal, had drawn up *cahiers* (pronounced kă-yă') or statements of grievances and suggestions for reform. These expressed a general demand that arbitrary government should cease, that a constitution should be established guaranteeing individual liberty, that in the future the States-General should meet regularly at stated times, and should share the law-making power and alone should vote the taxes, and that taxes should henceforth be paid by all. The Third Estate demanded the suppression of feudal dues.

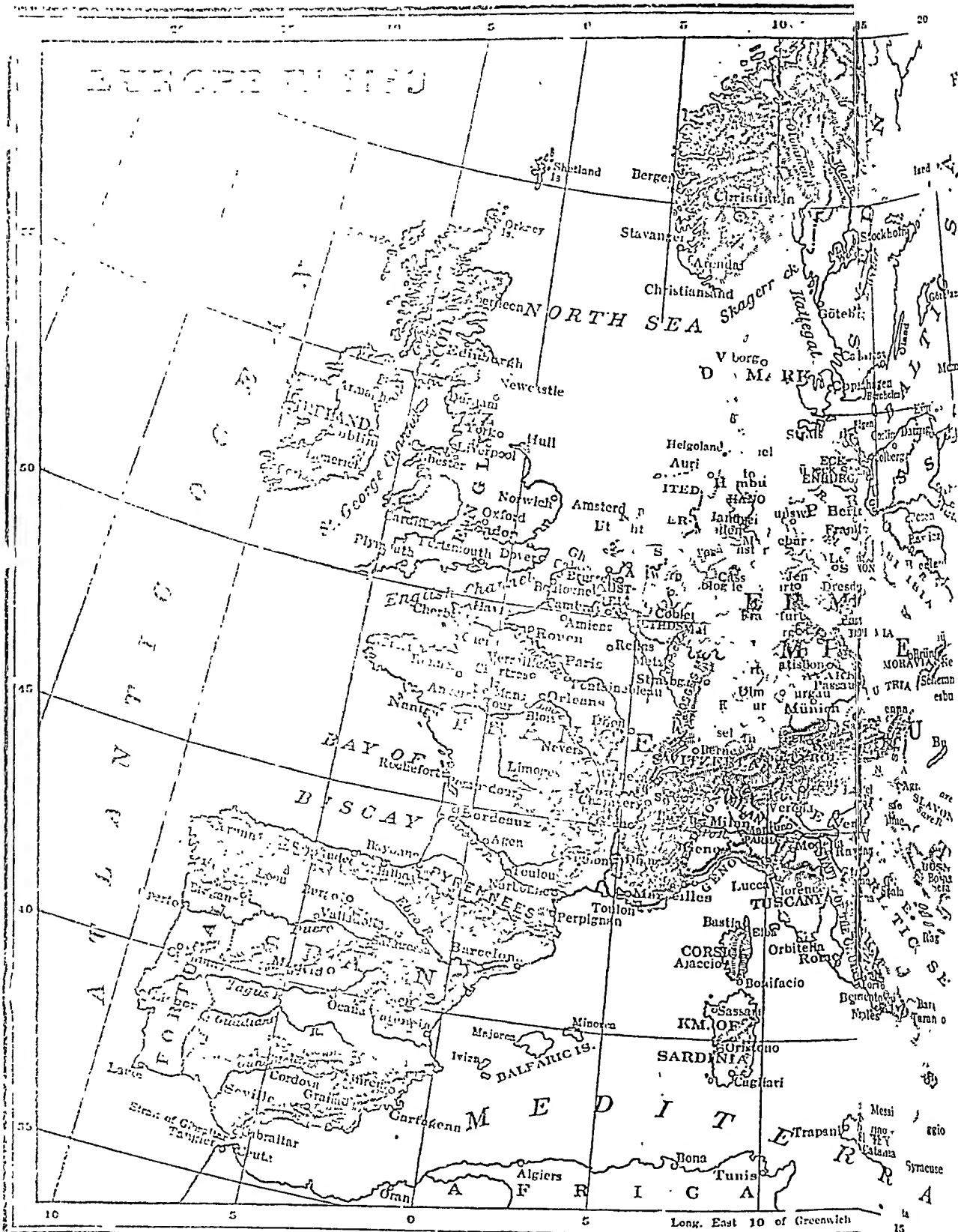


NECKER

After a drawing by J. S. Duplessis.



THE OPENING OF THE STATES-GENERAL
After an engraving by Moreau.



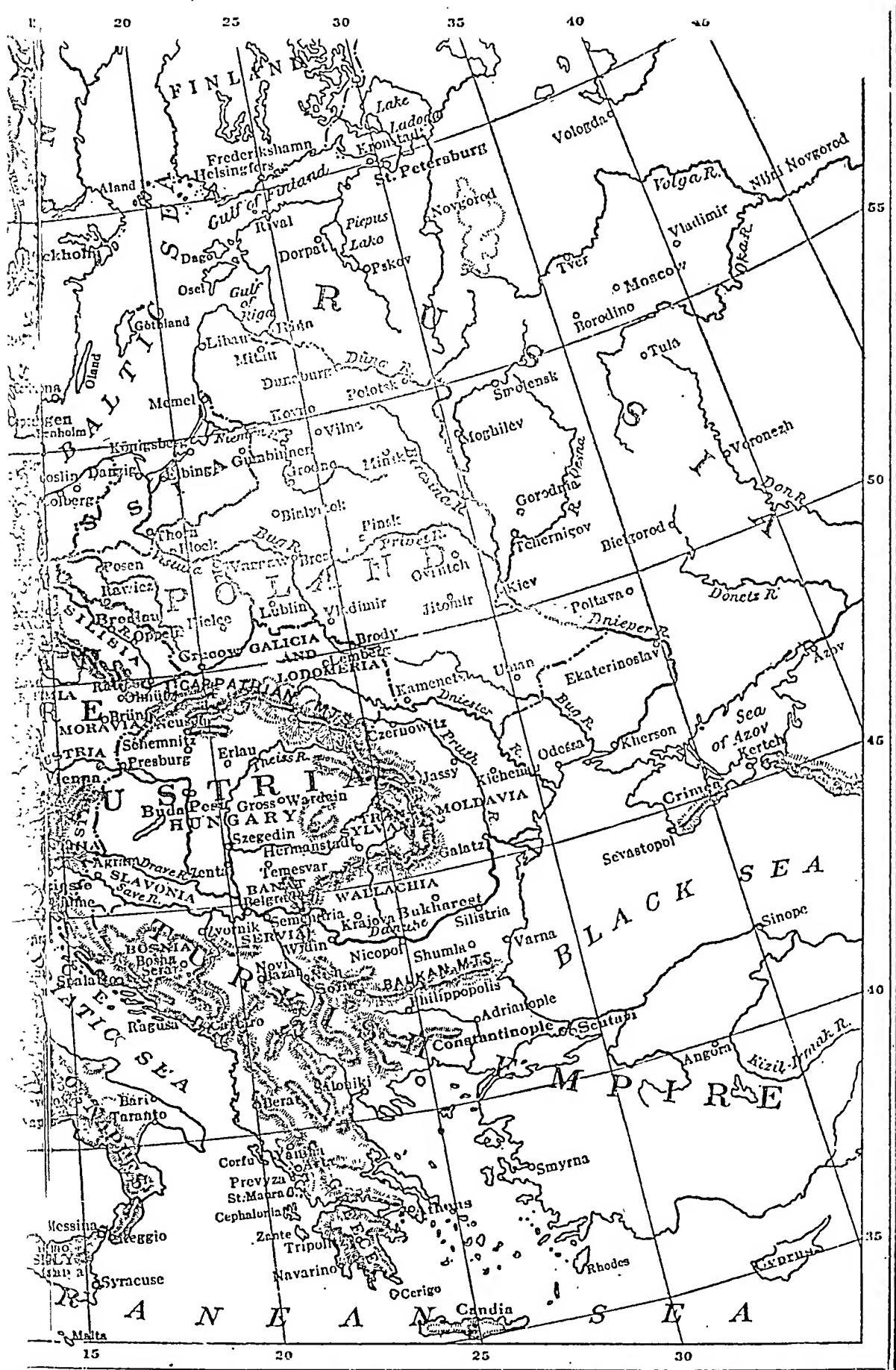
EUROPE AND MEDITERRANEAN

NORTH SEA

BAY OF BISCAY

MEDITERRANEAN

Long. East 10 of Greenwich



There was in their *cahiers* no hint of a desire for a violent revolution. They all expressed a deep affection for the King, gratitude for his summoning of the States-General, faith that the worst was over, that now, in a union of all hearts, a way would easily be discovered out of the unhappy plight in which the nation found itself.

An immense wave of hopefulness swept over the land. But this optimism proved short-lived, and all because of the fundamental question which the government had left undecided in summoning the States-General.

A conflict between the orders began on May 6 which lasted until the end of June and which ended in embittering relations which at the outset had seemed likely to be cordial. Should the voting be by order or by member, should the assembly consist of three chambers or of one? Until organized the States-General could do no business, and no organization could be effected until this crucial question was settled. Week after week went by and the dangerous deadlock continued. Finally on June 17 the Third Estate, after repeated and fruitless attempts to persuade the two privileged orders to unite with it in forming a single chamber, took the momentous step of declaring itself the National Assembly, a distinctly revolutionary proceeding

Attempted Suppression of the States-General. The King now, under pressure from the court, made a decision highly unwise in itself and foolishly executed. When, on June 20, the members of the Third Estate went to their usual meeting place they found the entrance blocked by soldiers. They were told that there was to be a special royal session later and that the hall was closed in order that necessary arrangements might be made for it, a pretext as miserable as it was vain. What did this action mean? No one knew, but every one was apprehensive that it meant that the assembly itself, in which such earnest hopes had centered, was to be brought to an untimely end and the country plunged into greater misery than ever by the failure of the great experiment. For a moment the members were dismayed and utterly distracted. Then, as by a common impulse, they rushed to a neighboring building in a side street, which served as a tennis court. There a memorable session occurred, in the large, unfinished hall. Lifting their president, the distinguished astronomer, Bailly, to a table, the members surged about him, ready,

it seemed, for extreme measures. There they took the famous Tennis Court Oath. All the deputies present, with one single exception, voted "never to separate, and to reassemble wherever circumstances shall require, until the constitution of the kingdom shall be established."

The Royal Session, June 23. On the 23d occurred the royal session on which the privileged classes counted. The King pronounced the recent acts of the Third Estate illegal and unconstitu-



COSTUMES OF THE THREE ORDERS

tional, and declared that the three orders should meet separately. He rose and left the hall while outside the bugles sounded around his coach. The nobility, triumphant, withdrew from the hall; the clergy also. But in the center of the great chamber the Third Estate remained, in gloomy silence. This was one of the solemn, critical moments of history. Suddenly the master of ceremonies advanced, resplendent in his official costume. "You have heard the King's orders," he said. "His Majesty requests the deputies of the Third Estate to withdraw." Behind the grand master, at the door, soldiers were seen. Were they there to clear the hall? The King had given his orders. To leave the hall meant abandonment

of all that the Third Estate stood for; to remain meant disobedience to the express commands of the King and probably severe punishment.

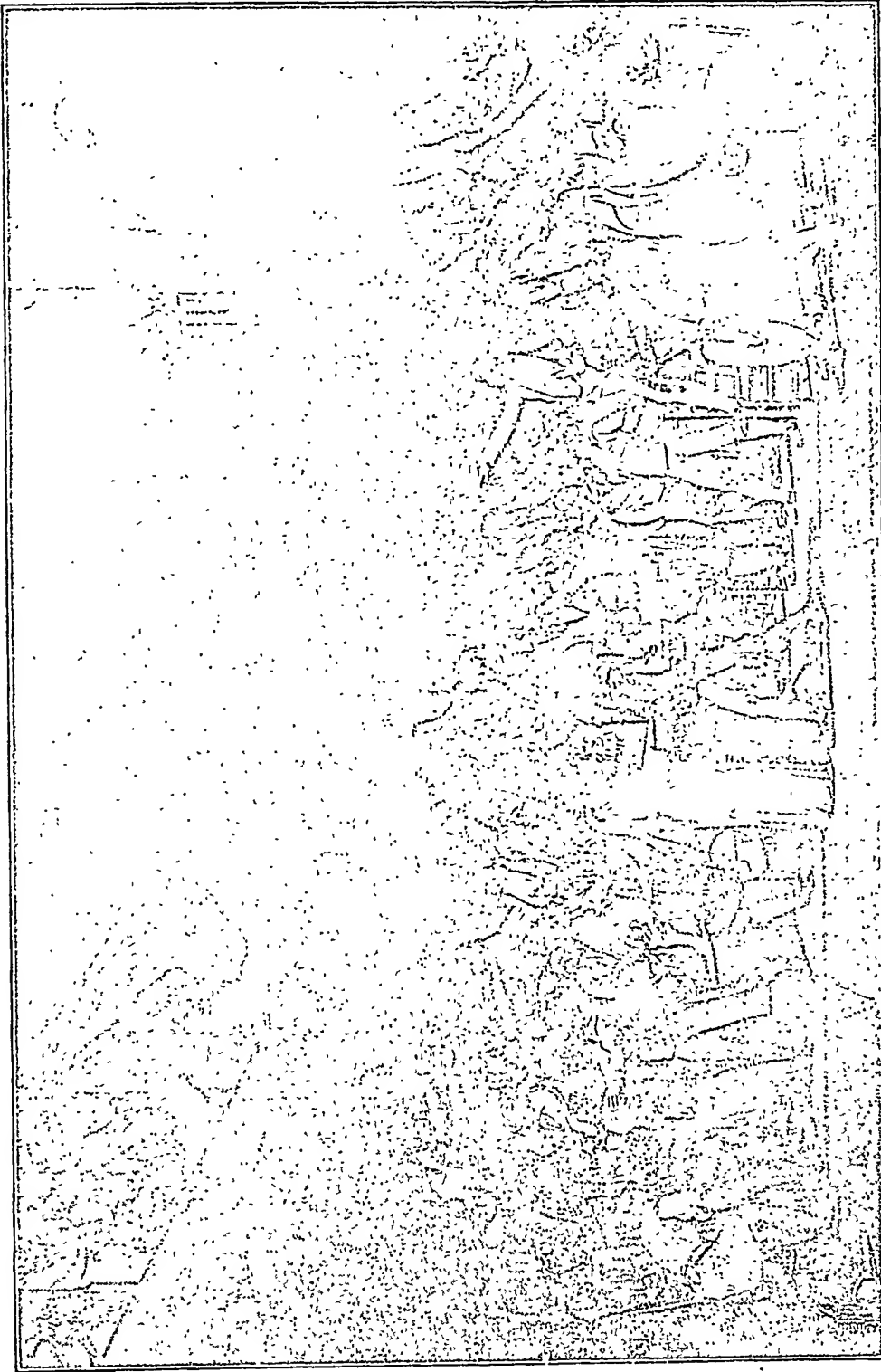
The occasion brought forth its man. Mirabeau, a noble whom his fellow nobles had refused to elect to the States-General and who had then been chosen by the Third Estate, now arose and advanced impetuously and imperiously toward the master of ceremonies, de Brézé, and with thunderous voice exclaimed, "Go tell your master that we are here by the will of the people and that we shall not leave except at the point of the bayonet." Then on motion of Mirabeau it was voted that all persons who should lay violent hands on any members of the National Assembly would be "infamous and traitors to the nation and guilty of capital crime." De Brézé reported the defiant eloquence to the king. All eyes were fixed upon the latter. Not knowing what to do, Louis made a motion indicating weariness, then said: "They wish to remain, do they? Well, let them."



MIRABEAU

From an engraving by Fiesinger, after a drawing by J. Guérin.

Nobility and Clergy Join the Third Estate. Two days later a majority of the clergy and a minority of the nobility went over to the Assembly. On June 27 the king commanded the nobility and clergy to sit with the Third Estate in a single body. Thus the question was finally settled, which should have been settled before the first meeting in May. The National Assembly was now complete. It immediately appointed a committee on the constitution. The National Assembly, accomplished by this fusion of the three estates, adopted the title Constituent Assembly because of the character of the work it had to do.



THE TENNIS COURT OATH
After the painting by David.

Dismissal of Necker. No sooner was this crisis over than another began to develop. A second attempt was made by the King, again inspired by the court, to suppress the Assembly or at least to intimidate it, to regain the ground that had been lost. Considerable bodies of soldiers began to appear near Versailles and Paris. On July 11 Necker and his colleagues, favorable to reform, were suddenly dismissed and Necker was ordered to leave the country immediately. What could all this mean but that reaction and repression were coming and that things were to be put back where they had been? The Assembly was in great danger, yet it possessed no physical force. What could it do if troops were sent against it?

The Fall of the Bastille, July 14, 1789. The violent intervention of the city of Paris saved the day and gave the protection which the nation's representatives lacked, assuring their continuance. Paris was on the side of the Assembly, and when the news of the dismissal of Necker arrived it took fire. Rumors of the most alarming character spread rapidly. Popular meetings were addressed by impromptu and impassioned orators. The people began to pillage the shops where arms were to be found. Finally they attacked the Bastille, a fortress commanding the eastern section of the city and also a state prison of odious reputation, a symbol of arbitrary government. After a confused and bloody battle of several hours the fortress was in their hands. They had lost about two hundred men, killed or wounded. The crowd savagely murdered the commander of the fortress and several of the Swiss Guard. Though characterized by these and other acts of barbarism, nevertheless the seizure of the Bastille was everywhere regarded in France and abroad as the triumph of liberty. Enthusiasm was widespread. The Fourteenth of July was declared the national holiday and a new flag, the tricolor, the red, white, and blue, was adopted in place of the old white banner of the Bourbons, studded with the fleur-de-lis. At the same time, quite spontaneously, Paris gave itself a new form of municipal government, superseding the old royal form, and organized a new military force, the National Guard, which was destined to become famous. Three days later Louis XVI came to the capital and formally ratified these changes.

The War upon the Châteaux. Similar changes were shortly made all over France. Municipal governments on an elective basis and national guards were created everywhere in imitation of Paris.

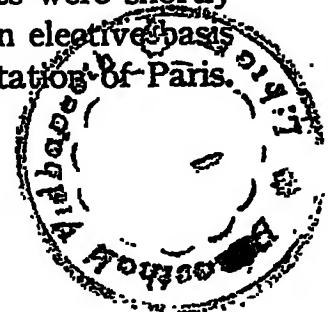
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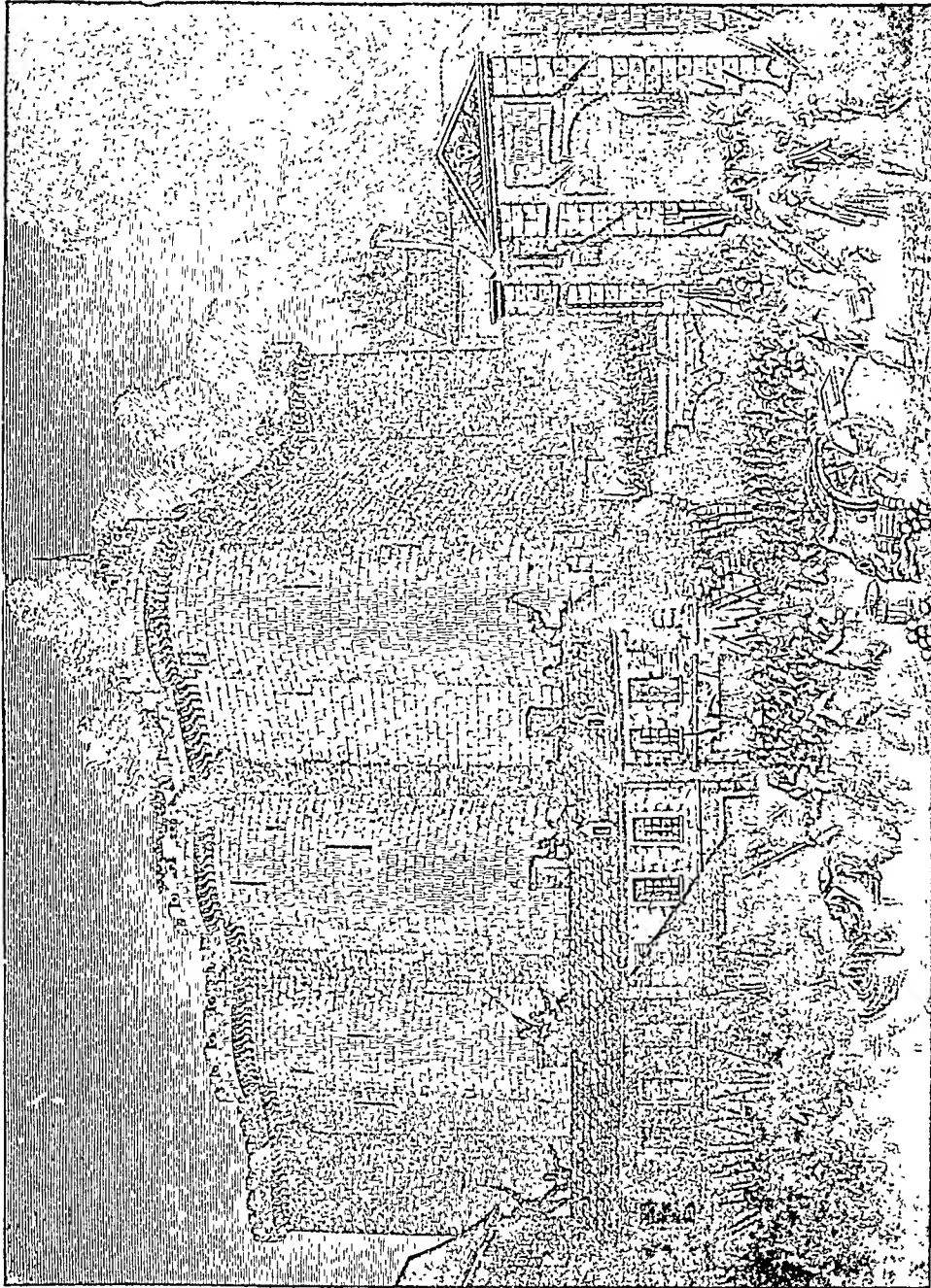
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THE STORMING OF THE BASTILLE, JULY 14, 1789
Drawing by Prieur, engraved by Berthault.

The movement extended to rural France. There the peasants, impatient that the Assembly had let two months go by without suppressing the feudal dues, took things into their own hands. They turned upon their oppressors and made a violent "war upon the châteaux," destroying the records of feudal dues if they could find them or if the owners gave them up; if not, frequently burning the châteaux themselves in order to burn the odious documents. Day after day in the closing week of July, 1789, the destructive and incendiary process went on amid inevitable excesses and disorders. By this method feudalism was abolished — not legally but practically. It remained to be seen what the effect of this victory of the people would be upon the National Assembly.

Abolition of Feudalism, August 4, 1789. On the Fourth of August a committee on the state of the nation made a report to the Assembly, describing the incidents which were occurring throughout the length and breadth of the land, châteaux burning, unpopular tax collectors assaulted, millers hanged, lawlessness triumphant. It was night before the stupefying report was finished. Suddenly at eight o'clock in the evening, as the session was about to close, a nobleman, the Viscount of Noailles (nō-ī'), rushed to the platform. The only reason, he said, why the people had devastated the châteaux was the heavy burden of the seigniorial dues, odious reminders of feudalism. These must be swept away. He so moved and instantly another noble, the Duke d'Aiguillon (ā-gūē-yôn'), next to the king the greatest feudal lord in France, seconded the motion. A frenzy of generosity seized the Assembly. Noble vied with noble in the enthusiasm of renunciation. The Bishop of Nancy renounced the privileges of his order. Parish priests renounced their fees. Judges discarded their distinctions. Right of chase, rights of tithes, went by the board. Cities and provinces gave up their privileges, Brittany, Burgundy, Lorraine (lo-rān'), Languedoc (lang'-wē-dok). A veritable delirium of joy swept in wave after wave over the Assembly. Far into the night the excitement continued amid tears, embraces, rapturous applause, and by three in the morning thirty decrees, more or less, had been passed and the most extraordinary social revolution that any nation has known had been voted. Serfdom was abolished. The feudal dues were dead. Tithes were abandoned; the guilds, with their narrow restrictions, were swept away; no longer were offices to be purchasable, but

henceforth all Frenchmen were to be equally eligible to all public positions ; justice was to be free ; provinces and individuals were all to be on the same plane. Distinctions of class were abolished. The principle of equality was henceforth to be the basis of the state. Such were the famous decrees of the Fourth of August.

Louis XVI proclaimed the "Restorer of French Liberty." Years later participants in this memorable session, in which a social revolution was accomplished or at least decreed, spoke of it with excitement and enthusiasm. The astonishing session was closed



THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN TO VERSAILLES, OCTOBER 5, 1789

After an anonymous water-color.

with a Te Deum in the chapel of the royal palace at the suggestion of the Archbishop of Paris, and Louis XVI, who had had no more to do with all this than you or I, was officially proclaimed by the Assembly the "Restorer of French Liberty."

The Counter-Revolutionists. But soon the clouds began to gather again and soon a new storm broke. Inevitably there was a division of opinion concerning such sensational and sweeping changes and shortly two parties appeared, sharply distinguished from each other, the upholders of the revolution thus far accomplished and those who wished to undo it and to recover their lost advantages. The latter were called counter-revolutionists. From this time on they were a factor, frequently highly significant, in the history of modern France. Although after the Fourteenth of July the more

stiff-necked and angry of the courtiers, led by the Count of Artois (är-twä'), brother of the King, had left the country and had begun that "emigration" which was to do much to embroil France with Europe, yet many courtiers still remained and, with the powerful aid of Marie Antoinette, played upon the feeble monarch. The Queen, victim of slanders and insults, was temperamentally and intellectually incapable of understanding or sympathizing with the reform movement. She stiffened under the attacks, her pride was fired, and she did what she could to turn back the tide, with results highly disastrous to herself and to the monarchy. Again, two months went by and yet the King did not ratify or accept the decrees of August 4, which, without his acceptance, lacked legal force. Certain articles of the constitution had been already drafted, and these, too, had not yet received the royal sanction. Was the King plotting something, or were the plotters about him getting control of him once more? The people lived in an atmosphere of suspicion; also thousands of them were on the point of starvation, and the terror of famine reënforced the terror of suspicion.

The March of the Women to Versailles. Out of this wretched condition of discontent and alarm was born another of the famous incidents of the Revolution. Early in October rumors reached Paris that at a banquet offered at Versailles to some of the crack regiments which had been summoned there the tricolor had been stamped upon, that threats had been made against the Assembly, and that the Queen, by her presence, had sanctioned these outrages. On October 5 several thousand women of the people, set in motion in some obscure way, started to march to Versailles, drawing cannon with them. It was said they were going to demand the reduction of the price of bread and at the same time to see that those who had insulted the new national flag should be punished. They were followed by thousands of men, out of work, and by many doubtful characters. Lafayette, hastily gathering some of the Guards, started after them. That evening the motley and sinister crowd reached Versailles and bivouacked in the streets and in the vast courtyard of the royal palace. All night long obscure preparations as for a battle went on. On the morning of the 6th the crowd forced the gates, killed several of the guards, and invaded the palace, even reaching the entrance to the Queen's apartments. The Queen fled to the apartments of the King for safety. The King finally appeared on a balcony, surrounded

by members of his family, addressed the crowd, and promised them food. The outcome of this extraordinary and humiliating day was that the King was persuaded to leave the proud palace of Versailles and go to Paris to live in the midst of his so-called subjects. At two o'clock the grim procession began. The entire royal family, eight persons, packed into a single carriage, started for Paris, drawn at a walk, surrounded by the women and by bandits who carried on pikes the heads of the guards who had been killed at the entrance to the palace. "We are bringing back the baker, and the baker's wife, and the baker's son!" shouted the women. At eleven o'clock that night Louis XVI was in the Tuileries (twē'le-riz).

The Government Transferred to Paris. Ten days later the Assembly followed. The King and the Assembly were now under the daily supervision of the people of Paris. In reality they were prisoners. Versailles was definitely abandoned. From this moment dates the great influence of the capital. A single city was henceforth always in a position to dominate the Assembly. The people could easily bring their pressure to bear for they were admitted to the thousand or more seats in the gallery of the Assembly's hall of meeting and they considered that they had the freedom of the place, hissing unpopular speakers, vociferating their wishes. Those who could not get in congregated outside, arguing violently the measures that were being discussed within. Now and then someone would announce to them from the windows how matters were proceeding in the hall. Shouts of approval or disapproval thus reached the members from the vehement audience outside.

QUESTIONS

I. What were the personal characteristics of Louis XVI? Of Marie Antoinette? What were the causes of the financial distress of the French government? What was the policy of Turgot? What did Necker accomplish? Why was Calonne forced to resign?

II. Why were the States-General summoned in 1789? What were the States-General? What was the first problem raised after they had met? What were the cahiers? What was the Tennis Court Oath? By what process were the States-General transformed into the National Assembly? What was the significance of that change?

III. Describe the storming of the Bastille. What was the "war on the châteaux"? Why is August 4, 1789, a famous date in the French Revolution? Who were the Counter-Revolutionists? What was the significance of the march of the women to Versailles?

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CHAPTER VI

THE MAKING OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Declaration of the Rights of Man. The National Assembly had begun work upon the constitution while still in Versailles and the first fruit of its labors was the Declaration of the Rights of Man, a statement of the rights which belong to men because they



LAFAYETTE

From an engraving by Lavachez, after Duplessis-Bertaux.

are human beings, which are not the gift of any government. The Declaration was drawn up in imitation of American usage. Lafayette, a hero of the American Revolution, and now a prominent figure in the French, brought forward a draft of a declaration just before the storming of the Bastille (bas-tēl'). This notable document was worked out by the Assembly in August and was later accepted by the King.

It has been called "the most remarkable fact in the history of the growth of democratic and republican ideas" in France, "the gospel of modern times." The seventeen articles of the Declaration asserted that men are free and equal, that the people are sovereign, that law is an expression of the popular will, and that in the making

of it the people may participate, either directly, or indirectly through their representatives, and that all officials possess only that authority which has been definitely given them by law. The Declaration asserted those liberties of the person, of free speech, free assembly, justice administered by one's peers, which had been worked out in England and America. These principles were the opposite of those of the Old Régime. If incorporated in laws and institutions, they meant the permanent abolition of that system.

As a matter of fact the expectation of its authors that the Declaration would constitute a new evangel for the world has not proved an entire exaggeration. When men wish anywhere to recall the rights of man it is this French document that they have in mind. The Declaration long ago passed beyond the frontiers of France. It has been studied, copied, or denounced nearly everywhere. It has been an indisputable factor in the political and social evolution of the modern world. During the past century, many a nation aspiring to liberty has sought its principles in this French Declaration.

The Constitution of 1791. The constitution was only slowly elaborated. Some of its more fundamental articles were adopted in 1789. But numerous laws were passed in 1790 and 1791, which were really parts of the constitution. Thus it grew piece by piece. Finally all this legislation was revised, retouched, and codified into a single document, which was accepted by the King in 1791. Though sometimes called the Constitution of 1789, it is more generally and more correctly known as the Constitution of 1791. It was the first written constitution France had ever had.

The form of government was to be monarchical. But whereas formerly the king had been an absolute, henceforth he was to be a limited, a constitutional ruler. Whereas formerly he had taken what he chose out of the national treasury for his personal use, now he was to receive a salary or civil list of the definite amount — and no more of 25,000,000 francs. He was to appoint the ministers or heads of the cabinet departments, but he was forbidden to select members of the legislature for such positions. The English system of parliamentary government was deliberately avoided because it was believed to be vicious in that ministers could bribe or influence the members of Parliament to do their will, which might not at all be the will of the people. Ministers were not even to be permitted to come before the legislature to defend or explain their policies.

The King's Veto. A departure from the principle of the separation of powers, in general so closely followed, was shown in the granting of the veto power to the king. The king, who had hitherto made the laws, was now deprived of the law-making power, but he could prevent the immediate enforcement of an act passed by the legislature. There was much discussion over this subject in the Assembly. Some were opposed to any kind of veto; others wanted one that should be absolute and final. The Assembly compromised and granted the king a suspensive veto, that is, he might prevent the application of a law voted by two successive legislatures, namely, for a possible period of four years. If the third legislature should indicate its approval of the law in question, then it was to be put into operation whether the king assented or not.

The Legislature. The legislative power was given by the Constitution of 1791 to a single assembly of 745 members, to be elected for a term of two years. Several of the deputies desired a legislature of two chambers, and cited the example of England and America. But the second chamber in England was the House of Lords, and the French, who had abolished the nobility, had no desire to establish an hereditary chamber.

How was this legislature to be chosen? By the voters. But the suffrage was not to be universal but was to be limited to those who paid a certain amount of taxes. As a matter of fact, there were about four million of these "active" citizens, as they were called, and about three million of those who were "passive," that is, who did not have the franchise.

An Elective Judiciary. The judicial power was completely revolutionized. Hitherto judges had bought their positions, which carried with them titles and privileges and which they might pass on to their sons. Henceforth all judges, of whatever rank in the hierarchy, were to be elected. Their terms were to range from two to four years. The jury, something hitherto unknown to France, was now introduced for criminal cases. Hitherto the judge had decided all cases.

France divided into Departments. For purpose of administration and local government a new system was established. The old thirty-two provinces were abolished and France was divided into eighty-three *departments* of nearly uniform size. The departments were divided into *arrondissements*, these into *cantons*, and these into

municipalities or communes. These are terms which have ever since been in vogue.

France decentralized. France from being a highly centralized state, became one highly decentralized. Whereas formerly the Central Government was represented in each province by its own agents or office-holders, the intendants and their subordinates, in the departments of the future the Central Government was to have no representatives. The electors, described above, were to choose the local departmental officials. It would be the business of these officials to carry out the decrees of the Central Government. But what if they should disobey?

Defects of Constitution. The Constitution of 1791 represented an improvement in French government; yet it did not work well and did not last long. As a first experiment in the art of self-government it had its value, but it revealed inexperience and poor judgement in several points which prepared trouble for the future. The executive and the legislature were so sharply separated that communication between them was difficult and suspicion was consequently easily fostered. The king might not select his ministers from the legislature, he might not, in case of a difference of opinion with the legislature, dissolve the latter, as the English king could do, thus allowing the voters to decide between them. The king's veto was not a weapon strong enough to protect him from the attacks of the legislature yet it was enough to irritate the legislature, if used. The distinction between active and passive citizens was in plain and flagrant defiance of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and inevitably created a discontented class. The administrative decentralization was so complete that the efficiency of the national government was gone. France was split up into eighty-three fragments and the coordination of all these units, their direction toward great national ends in response to the will of the nation as a whole, was rendered extremely difficult, and in certain cases impossible.

The work of Constituent Assembly very extensive. The work of reform carried out by the Constituent Assembly was on an enormous scale, immensely more extensive than that of our Federal Convention. We search history in vain for an companion piece. It is unique. Its destructive work proved durable and most important. Much of its constructive work

however, proved very fragile. Mirabeau expressed his opinion in "The disorganization of the kingdom could not be better worked out."

The lands of the Church declared national property. The States-General had been summoned to provide for the finances of the country. As the problem grew daily more pressing, as various attempts to meet it proved futile, as bankruptcy was imminent, the Assembly finally decided to sell for the state the vast properties of the Church. The argument was that the Church was not the owner but was merely the administrator, enjoying only the use of the vast wealth which has been bestowed upon it by the faithful, but bestowed for public, national purposes, namely, the maintenance of houses of worship, schools, hospitals; and that if the state would otherwise provide for the carrying out of the intentions of these numerous benefactors, it might apply the property, which was the property of the nation, not of the Church as a corporation, to whatever uses it might see fit. Acting on this theory a decree was passed by the Assembly declaring these lands *national*. They constituted perhaps a fourth or a fifth of the territory of France and represented immense wealth, amply sufficient, it was believed, to set the public finances right.

The assignats or paper money. But such property could only be used if converted into money and that would be a slow process, running through years. The expedient was devised of issuing paper money, as the government needed it, against this property as security. This paper money bore the name of *assignats*. Persons receiving such *assignats* could not demand gold for them, as in the case of most of our paper money but could use them in buying these lands. There was value, therefore, behind these paper emissions. The danger in the use of paper money, however, always is the inclination, so easy to yield to, to issue far more paper than the value of the property behind it. This proved a temptation which the revolutionary assemblies did not have strength of mind or will to resist. At first the *assignats* were issued in limited quantities as the state needed the money, and the public willingly accepted them. But later larger and larger emissions were made, far out of proportion to the value of the national domains. This meant the rapid depreciation of the paper. People would not accept it at its face value, as they had at first been willing to do. The value of the Church property was estimated in 1789 as 4,000,000,000 francs. Between 1789 and 1796 over 45,000,000,000 of *assignats* were issued. In 1789 an *assignat* of 100 francs was accepted for 100 francs in coin. But by

1791 it had sunk from par to 82, and by 1796 to less than a franc. This was neither an honest nor an effective solution of the perplexing financial problem. It was evasion, it was in its essence repudiation. The Constituent Assembly did nothing toward solving the problem that had occasioned its meeting. It left the national finances in a worse welter than it had found them in.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy. Another piece of legislation concerning the Church, much more serious in its effects upon the cause of reform, was the Civil Constitution of the Clergy. By act of the Assembly the number of dioceses was reduced from 134 to 83, one for each department. The bishops and priests were henceforth to be elected by the same persons

who elected the departmental officials. The clergy were to receive salaries from the state; were, in other words, to become state officials. The income of most of the bishops would be greatly reduced; that of the parish priests, on the other hand, would be considerably increased.

This law was not acceptable to sincere Catholics and was denounced by the Pope. Whereupon the Assembly voted that all the members of the clergy must take an oath to support the law. Only four of the 134 bishops consented to do so. Perhaps a third of the parish priests consented. Those who consented were called the juring, those who refused, the non-juring or refractory clergy. In due time elections were held as provided by the law and those elected were called the constitutional clergy. France witnessed the spectacle of two bodies of priests, one non-juring, chosen in the old way, the other elected by the voters indirectly. The scandal was great and



AN ASSIGNAT

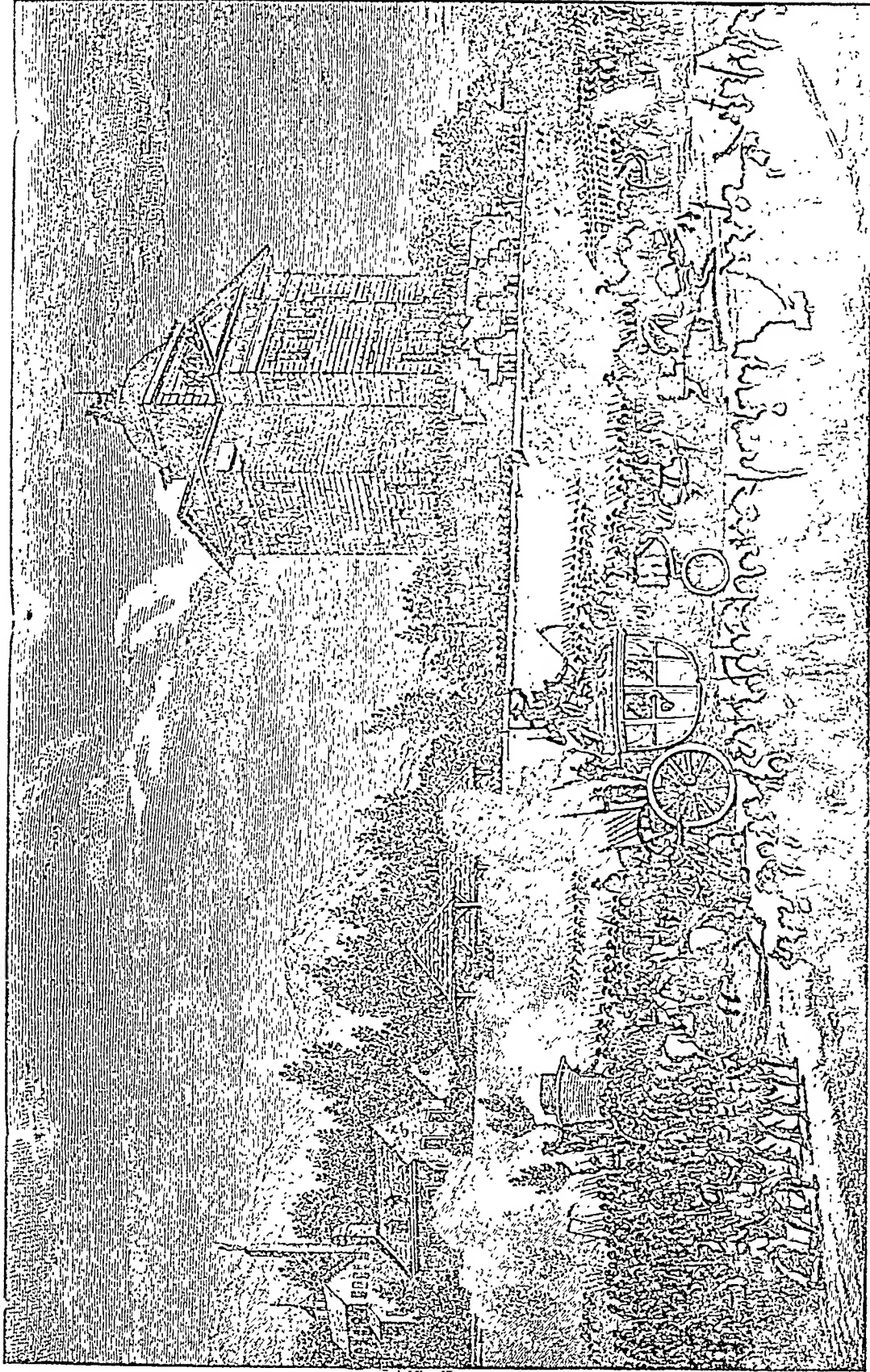
Redrawn from a photograph.

religious discord was introduced into every city and hamlet. The faithful supported the one body, the state supported the other — and the state embarked upon a long and unsuccessful struggle to impose its will in a sphere where it did not belong.

Effects of this Law. Most fatal were the consequences. One was that it made the position of Louis XVI, a devout Catholic, far more difficult and exposed him to the charge of being an enemy of the Revolution, if he hesitated in his support of measures which he could not and did not approve. Another was that it provoked in various sections, notably in Vendée (von-dā'), the most passionate civil war France had ever known. Multitudes of the lower clergy, who had so far favored and greatly helped the Revolution, now turned against it for conscientious reasons.

The Flight to Varennes. "I would rather be King of Metz than remain King of France in such a position," said Louis XVI, as he signed the decree requiring an oath to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, "but this will end soon." The meaning of which remark was soon revealed. Louis XVI, humiliated by his loss of power and now wounded in his conscience, planned to escape from Paris, to go to the eastern part of France, where there were French troops on which he thought he could rely. Then, surrounded by faithful adherents, he could reassume the kingly rôle and come back to Paris, master of the situation.

Disguised as a valet the King, accompanied by the Queen, disguised as a Russian lady, escaped from the Tuileries in the night of June 20, 1791, in a clumsy coach. All the next day they rolled over the white highways of Champagne (sham-pān') under a terrible sun, reaching at about midnight the little village of Varennes (vā-ren') not far from the frontier. There they were recognized and arrested. The National Assembly sent three commissioners to bring them back. The return was for these two descendants of long lines of kings a veritable ascent of Calvary. Outrages, insults, jokes, ignominies of every kind, were hurled at them by the crowds that thronged about them in the villages through which they passed — a journey without rest, uninterrupted, under the annihilating heat, the suffocating dust of June. Reaching Paris they were no longer overwhelmed with insults, but were received in glacial silence by enormous throngs who stood with hats on, as the royal coach passed by. The King was impassive, but "our poor Queen," so wrote a friend, "bowed her



THE RETURN FROM VARENNES. ARRIVAL IN PARIS
From a Dutch engraving.

head almost to her knees." Rows of National Guards stood, arms grounded, as at funerals. At seven o'clock that night they were in the Tuileries once more. Marie Antoinette had in these few days of horror grown twenty years older. Her hair had turned quite white, "like the hair of a woman of seventy."

Effects of the King's Flight. The consequences of this woeful misadventure were extremely grave. Louis XVI had shown his real feelings. The fidelity of his people to him was not entirely destroyed but was badly shaken. They no longer believed in the sincerity of his utterances, his oaths to support the Constitution. The Queen was visited with contumely, being regarded as the arch-conspirator. The throne was undermined. A republican party appeared. Before this no one had considered a republic possible in so large a country as France. Republics were for small states like those of ancient Greece or medieval Italy. Even the most violent revolutionists, Robespierre, Danton, Marat, were, up to this time, monarchists. Now, however, France had a little object lesson. During the absence of the King, the government of the Assembly continued to work normally. In the period following, during which Louis XVI was suspended from the exercise of his powers, government went on without damage to the state. A king was evidently not indispensable. It has been correctly stated that the flight to Varennes created the republican party in France, a party that has had an eventful history since then, and has finally, after many vicissitudes, established its supremacy.

But this republican party was very small. The very idea of a republic frightened the Constituent Assembly, even after the revelation of the faithlessness of the King. Consequently, in a revulsion of feeling, the Assembly, after a little, restored Louis XVI to his position, finished the Constitution, accepted his oath to support it, and on September 30, 1791, this memorable body declared its mission fulfilled and its career at an end.

A Self-denying Ordinance. The National Assembly before adjournment committed a final and unnecessary mistake. In a mood of fatal disinterestedness it voted that none of its members should be eligible to the next legislature or to the ministry. Thus the experience of the past two years was thrown away and the new constitution was intrusted to hands entirely different from those that had fashioned it.

QUESTIONS

I. What was asserted in the Declaration of the Rights of Man? What were the principal provisions of the constitution of 1791? What legislation did the Constituent Assembly enact concerning the property of the Church? What were the *assignats*? How was the organization of the Church altered by the Civil Constitution of the Clergy? What was the effect of this Civil Constitution of the Clergy upon the Church? Upon the Revolution?

II. What were the reasons for the King's flight to Varennes? What were the consequences of that venture? What was the government of France after the King's flight? What self-denying ordinance did the Constituent Assembly adopt before it dissolved?

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CHAPTER VII

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

The Legislative Assembly (October 1, 1791–September 20, 1792). The Constitution of 1791 was now to be put into force. France was to make the experiment of a limited monarchy in place of the old absolute monarchy, gone forever. In accordance with the provisions of the document a legislature was now chosen. Its first session was held October 1, 1791. Elected for a two-year term, it served for less than a single year. Expected to inaugurate an era of prosperity and happiness by applying the new principles of government in a time of peace, to consolidate the monarchy on its new basis, it was destined to a stormy life and to witness the fall of the monarchy in irreparable ruin. A few days before it met Paris, adept, as always, in the art of observing fittingly great national occasions, had celebrated "the end of the Revolution." The Old Régime was buried. The new and modernized one was now to be installed.

The Assembly favorable to the Monarchy. But the Revolution had not ended. Instead, it shortly entered upon a far more critical stage. The reasons for this unhappy turn were grave and numerous. Would the King frankly accept his new position, with no mental reservations, honestly, entirely? If so, and if he would by his conduct convince his people of his loyalty to his word, of his intention to rule as a constitutional monarch, to abide by the reforms thus far accomplished, with no thought of upsetting them, then there was an excellent chance that the future would be one of peaceful development, for France was thoroughly monarchical in tradition, in feeling, and in conviction. The Legislative Assembly was as monarchical in its sentiments as the Constituent had been. But if the King's conduct should arouse the suspicion that he was intriguing to restore the Old Régime, that his oaths were insincere, then the people would turn against him and the experiment of a constitutional monarchy might prove brief. France had no desire to be a republic, but she had a fixed and resolute aversion to the Old Régime.

DECREE AGAINST THE NON-JURING PRIESTS 110

Decree against the Non-juring Priests. Unfortunately for the peace of France, the Revolution, as it progressed, encountered more and more opposition, both at home and abroad. Every measure passed made enemies of those disadvantageously affected by it. The number grew, and with that growth went a corresponding increase in popular passion. For instance, as we have seen, the religious question had been interjected into the Revolution by the Constituent Assembly in so acute a form as deeply to offend the consciences of many devout Catholics, the King included. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy gave rise to a bitter civil war. In Vendée several thousand peasants, led by the refractory or non-juring priests, rose against the elected, constitutional priests and drove them out of the pulpits and churches. When the National Guards were sent among them to enforce the law they flew to arms against them, and civil war began. The Assembly forthwith passed a decree against the refractory priests, which only made a bad matter worse. Louis XVI vetoed this decree, legitimately using the power given him by the Constitution. This veto, accompanied by others, offended public opinion, and weakened the King's hold upon France. It would have been better for Louis had he never been given the veto power, since every exercise of it placed him in opposition to the Assembly and inflamed party passions.

Louis XVI and the Emigrés. Another source of trouble came from the *émigrés*, that is, from the royal princes and the nobles who had emigrated from France, either because they no longer felt safe there, or because they thought that by going to foreign countries they might induce their rulers to intervene in French affairs and restore the Old Régime. This emigration, mostly of the privileged classes, had begun directly after the storming of the Bastille. The Count d'Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI, had left France on July 15, 1789. The emigration became important in 1790, after the decree abolishing all titles of nobility, a decree that deeply wounded the pride of the nobles, and it was accelerated in 1791, after the flight to Varennes and the suspension of the King. It was later augmented by great numbers of non-juring priests and of bourgeois, who put their fidelity to the Catholic Church above their patriotism.

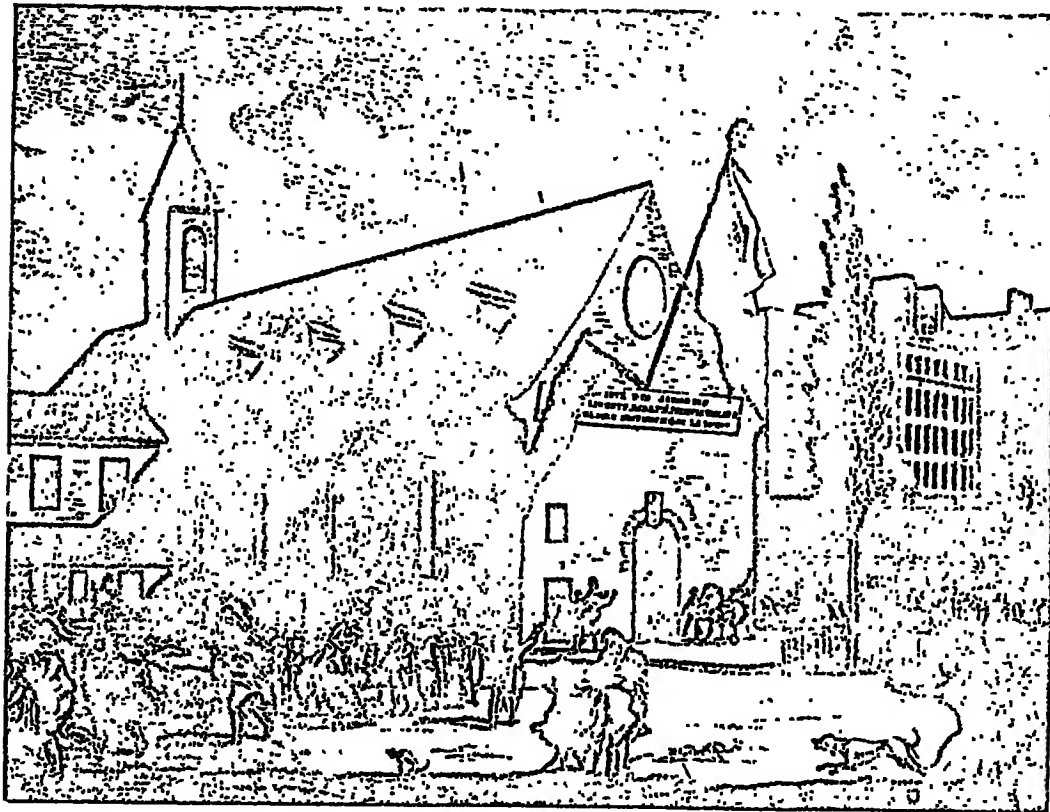
Decrees against the Emigrés. It has been estimated that during the Revolution a hundred and fifty thousand people left France in this way. Many of them went to the little German states

on the eastern frontier. There they formed an army of perhaps 20,000 men. The Count of Provence, brother of Louis XVI, was the titular leader and claimed that he was the Regent of France on the ground that Louis XVI was virtually a prisoner. The *émigrés* ceaselessly intrigued in the German and other European courts, trying to instigate their rulers to invade France, particularly the rulers of Austria and Prussia, important military states, urging that the fate of the French monarch was a matter that concerned all monarchs, for sentimental reasons and for practical, since, if the impious revolution triumphed in France, there would come the turn of the other kings for similar treatment at the hands of rebellious subjects. In 1791 the *émigrés* succeeded in inducing the rulers of Austria and Prussia to issue the Declaration of Pillnitz announcing that the cause of Louis XVI was the cause of all the monarchs of Europe. This Declaration was made conditional upon the coöperation of all the countries and, therefore, it was largely bluster and had no direct importance. It was not sufficient to bring on war. But it angered France and increased suspicion of the King. The Legislative Assembly passed two decrees, one declaring that the Count of Provence would be deprived of his eventual rights to the throne if he did not return to France within two months, the other declaring that the property of the *émigrés* would be confiscated and that they themselves would be treated as enemies, as guilty of treasonable conspiracy, if their armaments were not dispersed by January 1, 1792 ; also stating that the French princes and public officials who had emigrated should be likewise regarded as conspiring against the state and would be exposed to the penalty of death, if they did not return by the same date.

Louis XVI vetoed these decrees, thereby becoming more unpopular and deepening the suspicion of himself. He did, however, order his two brothers to return to France. They refused to obey.

The Rise of Political Clubs. Certain new factors in domestic politics of which the world was to hear much in the coming months now manifested themselves. Political clubs began to loom up threateningly as possible rivals even of the Assembly. The two most conspicuous of these were the Jacobin and the Cordelier clubs. These had originated at the very beginning of the Revolution, but it was under the Legislative Assembly and its successor that they showed their power.

The Jacobin Club. The Jacobin Club was destined to the greater notoriety. It was composed of members of the Assembly and of outsiders, citizens of Paris. As a political club the members held constant sessions and debated with great zeal and freedom the questions which were before the Assembly. Its most influential leader at this time was Robespierre (rōbes-pyār'), a radical democrat but at the same time a convinced monarchist, a vigorous opponent of



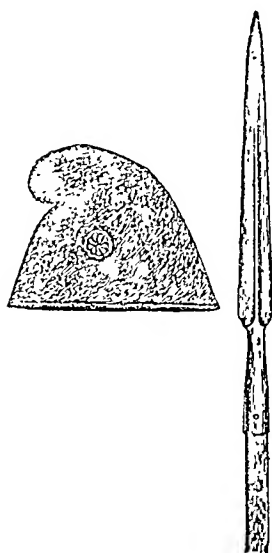
THE JACOBIN CLUB

From a Dutch engraving, after Duplessis-Bertaux.

the small republican party which had appeared momentarily at the time of the epoch-making flight to Varennes. The Jacobin Club grew steadily more radical as the Revolution progressed and as its more conservative members dropped out or were eliminated. It also rapidly extended its influence over all France. Jacobin clubs were founded in over 2000 cities and villages. Affiliated with the mother club in Paris, they formed a vast network, virtually receiving orders from Paris, developing great talent for concerted action. The discipline that held this voluntary organization together was re-

markable and rendered it capable of great and decisive action. The Jacobin Club gradually became a rival of the Assembly itself and at times exerted a preponderant influence upon it, yet the Assembly was the legally constituted government of all France, while the club was merely a self-constituted body of private citizens.

The Cordelier Club. The Cordelier Club was still more radical. Its membership was derived from a lower social scale. It was more



LIBERTY CAP AND
PIKE

democratic. Moreover, since the flight to Varennes it was the hot-bed of republicanism. Its chief influence was with the working classes of Paris, men who were enthusiastic supporters of the Revolution, anxious to have it carried farther, easily inflamed against any one who was accused as an enemy, open or secret, of the Revolution. These men were crude and rude but tremendously energetic. They were the stuff of which mobs could be made, and they had in Danton (dăn-tŭn'), a lawyer, with an exceptional power of downright and epigrammatic speech, an able, astute, and ruthless leader. The Cordelier Club, unlike the Jacobin, was limited to Paris; it had no branches throughout the departments. Like the Jacobins the Cordeliers contracted the habit of bringing physical pressure to bear upon the

Government, of seeking to impose their will upon that of the representatives of the nation, the King and the Assembly. Both clubs were redoubtable machines for influencing the public. They would support the Assembly as long as its conduct met their wishes, but not longer. Both were enthusiastic believers in the Revolution; both were suspicious of the King. Their members adopted and wore the *bonnet rouge* or red-cap, which resembled the Phrygian cap of antiquity, the cap worn by slaves after their emancipation. This was now, as it had been then, the symbol of liberty.

The Girondists. There was in the Legislative Assembly a group of men called the Girondists, because many of their leaders, Vergniaud (vern-yō'), Isnard (is-när'), Buzot, and others, came from that section of France known as the Gironde, in the southwest of France. The Girondists have enjoyed a poetic immortality ever since imaginative

histories of the Revolution issued from the pensive pen of the poet Lamartine, who portrayed them as pure and high-minded patriots caught in the swirl of a wicked world. The description was inaccurate. They were not disinterested martyrs in the cause of good



MADAME ROLAND

A portrait taken from the cover of a bonbonnière in the Carnavalet Museum.
From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*.

government. They were a group of politicians whose discretion was not as conspicuous as their ambition. They paid for that vaulting emotion the price which it frequently exacts. They knew how to make their tragic exit from life bravely and heroically. They did

not know, what is more difficult, how to make their lives wise and profitable to the world. They were a group of eloquent young men, led by a romantic young woman. For the real head of this group that had its hour upon the stage and then was heard no more in the deafening clamor of the later Revolution was Madame Roland, their bright particular star. Theirs was a bookish outlook upon the world. They fed upon Plutarch, and boundless was their admiration for the ancient Greeks and Romans. They were republicans because those glorious figures of the earlier time had been republicans; also because they imagined that, in a republic, they would themselves find a better chance to shine and to irradiate the world. Dazzled by these prototypes, they burned with the spirit of emulation. The reader must keep steadily in mind that the Girondists and the Jacobins were entirely distinct groups. They were, indeed, destined later to be deadly rivals and enemies.

Opening of a Long War, April 20. 1792. Such then were some of the new players grouped around the margin of the scene, ready to play their parts in the hot drama of the times; such the new and electric quality in the atmosphere. More serious still were the war clouds that were rapidly gathering and that now burst, setting fire to all this inflammable material. At the beginning of the Revolution nothing seemed less likely than a conflict between France and Europe. France was pacifically inclined and there were no outstanding subjects of dispute. Moreover, the rulers of the other countries were very willing to have France occupied with domestic problems, as they were themselves meditating the second partition of Poland and wished to be let alone while they committed that monstrous iniquity. But gradually they came to see the menace to themselves in the new principles proclaimed by the French, the sovereignty of the people and the equality of all citizens. And the *émigrés* of Coblenz and Worms were urging them on with redoubled energy and were themselves forming armies for the invasion of their country. By 1792 the crisis was coming to a head. The stage was set. The background was the whole fabric of the European state system, now shaking unawares. The action began with the declaration of war by France against Francis II, ruler of Austria, and nephew of Marie Antoinette, a declaration which opened a war which was to be European and world-wide, which was to last twenty-three long years, was to deform and twist the Revolution out of all resemblance

to its early promise, was, as by-products, to give France a Republic, a Reign of Terror, a Napoleonic empire, a Bourbon overthrow and restoration, and was to end only with the catastrophic incident of Waterloo.

War declared by France. The war was precipitated by the French, who sent an ultimatum to the Emperor concerning the *émigrés*. Francis replied by demanding the restoration to the German princes in Alsace of their feudal rights, which had been abolished by the Revolution, and, in addition, the repression in France "of anything that might alarm other States." War was declared on April 20, 1792. It was desired by all the parties of the Legislative Assembly. Only seven members voted against it. The supporters of the King wanted it, believing that it would enable him to recover power once more by rendering him popular as the leader in a victorious campaign and by putting at his disposal a strong military force. Girondists and Jacobins wanted it for precisely the opposite reason, as likely to prove that Louis was secretly a traitor, in intimate relations with the enemies of France. This once established, the monarchy could be swept aside and a republic installed. Only Robespierre and a few others opposed it on the ground that war always plays into the hands of the rich and powerful, and that it inevitably leads to a military dictatorship.

The War a Turning-point in History. This war was a startling and momentous turning-point in the history of the Revolution. It had consequences, some of which were foreseen, most of which were not. It reacted profoundly upon the French and before it was over it compromised their own domestic liberty and generated a military despotism of greater efficiency than could be matched in the long history of the House of Bourbon.

French Reverses. First and foremost among the effects of the war was this : it swept the illustrious French monarchy away and put the monarchs to death. The war began disastrously. Instead of easily conquering Belgium, which belonged to Francis II, as they had confidently expected to, the French suffered severe reverses. One reason was that their army had been badly disorganized by the wholesale resignation or emigration of its officers, all noblemen. Another was the highly treasonable act of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette, who informed the Austrians of the French plan of campaign. This treason of their sovereigns was not known to the French, but it was suspected, and it was none the less efficacious.

The Insurrection of June 20, 1792. At the same time that French armies were being driven back, civil war, growing out of the religious dissensions, was threatening in France. The Assembly, facing these troubles, indignantly passed two decrees, one ordering the deportation to penal colonies of all refractory or non-juring priests, the other providing for an army of 20,000 men for the protection of Paris.

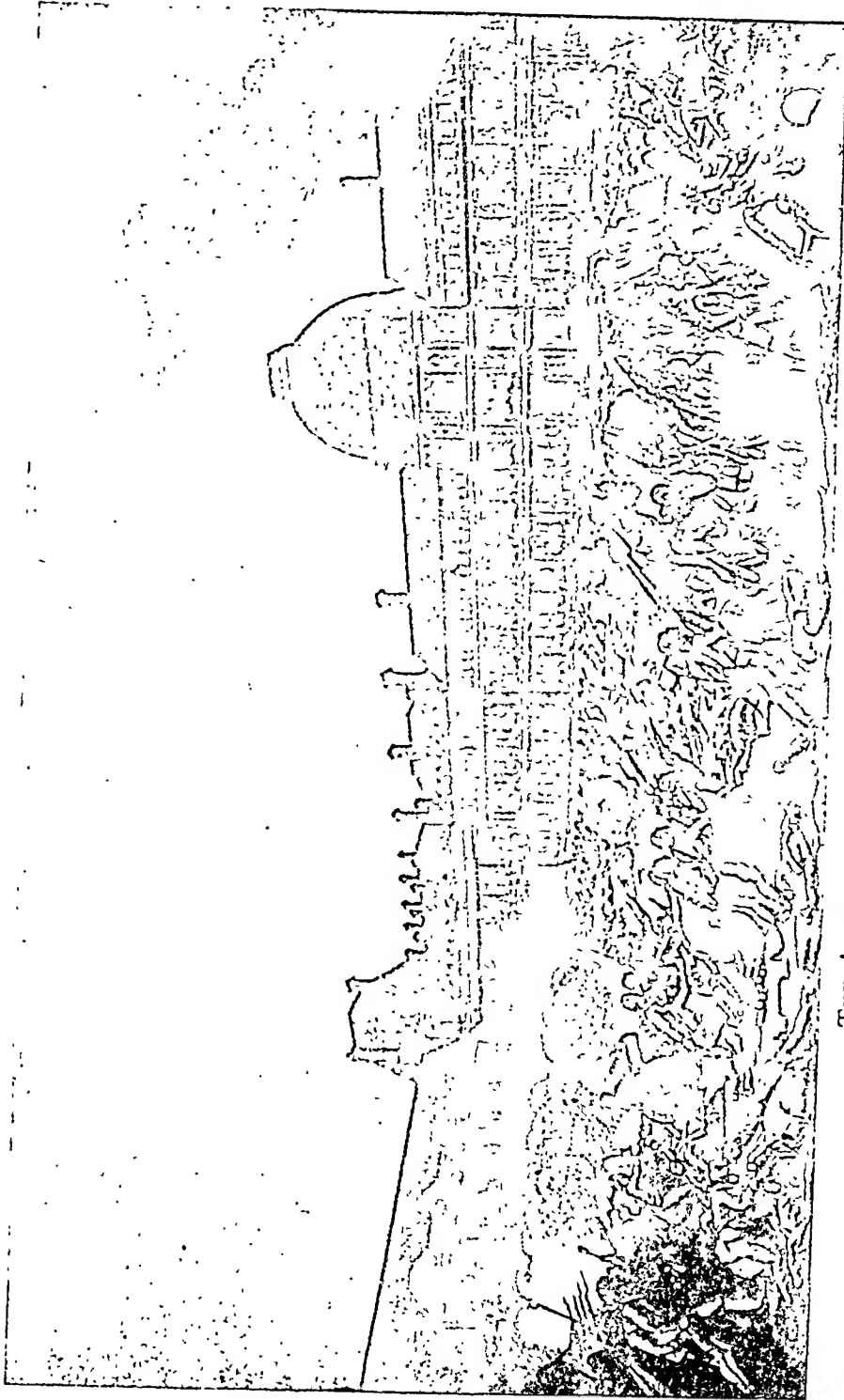
Louis XVI vetoed both measures. Then the storm broke. The Jacobins inspired and organized a great popular demonstration against the King, the object being to force him to sign the decrees. Out from the crowded workingmen's quarters emerged, on June 20, 1792, several thousand men, wearing the *bonnet rouge*, armed with pikes and carrying standards with the Rights of Man printed on them. They went to the hall of the Assembly and were permitted to march through it, submitting a petition in which the pointed statement was made that the will of 25,000,000 people could not be balked by the will of one man. After leaving the hall the crowd went to the Tuileries, forced open the gates and penetrated to the King's own apartments. The King for three hours stood before them, in the recess of a window, protected by some of the deputies. The crowd shouted, "Sign the decrees!" "Down with the priests!" One of the ringleaders of the demonstration, a butcher called Legendre, gained a notoriety that has sufficed to preserve his name from oblivion to this day, by shouting at the King, "Sir, you are a traitor, you have always deceived us, you are deceiving us still. Beware, the cup is full." Louis XVI refused to make any promises. His will, for once, did not waver. But he was compelled to don a *bonnet rouge* and he drank: a glass of wine presented him by one of the crowd. The crowd finally withdrew, having committed no violence, but having subjected the King of France to bitter humiliation.

The Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto. Immediately a wave of indignation at this affront and scandal swept over France and it seemed likely that, after all, it might redound to the advantage of Louis, increasing his popularity by the sympathy it evoked. But shortly other events occurred and his position became more precarious than ever. Prussia joined Austria in the war, and the Duke of Brunswick, commander of the coalition armies, as he crossed the frontiers of France, issued a manifesto which aroused the people to a

fever pitch of wrath. This manifesto had really been written by an *émigré* and it was redolent of the concentrated rancor of his class. The manifesto ordered the French to restore Louis XVI to complete liberty of action. It went farther and virtually commanded them to obey the orders of the monarchs of Austria and Prussia. It announced that any national guards who should resist the advance of the allies would be punished as rebels, and it wound up with the terrific threat that if the least violence or outrage should be offered to their Majesties, the King, the Queen, and the royal family, if their preservation and their liberty should not be immediately provided for, they, the allied monarchs, would "exact an exemplary and ever memorable vengeance," namely, the complete destruction of the city of Paris.

Such a threat could have but one reply from a self-respecting people. It nerved them to incredible exertions to resent and repay the insult. Patriotic anger swept everything before it.

Insurrection of August 10, 1792. The first to suffer was the person whom the manifesto had singled out for special care, Louis XVI, now suspected more than ever of being the accomplice of these invaders who were breathing fire and destruction upon the French for the insolence of managing their own affairs as they saw fit. On August 10, 1792, another, and this time more formidable, insurrection, occurred in Paris. At nine in the morning the crowd attacked the Tuileries. At ten the King and the royal family left the palace and sought safety in the Assembly. There they were kept in a little room, just behind the president's chair, and there they remained for more than thirty hours. While the Assembly was debating, a furious combat was raging between the troops stationed to guard the Tuileries and the mob. Louis XVI, hearing the first shots, sent word to the guards to cease fire, but the officer who carried the command did not deliver it as long as he thought there was a chance of victory. The Swiss Guards were the heroes and the victims of that dreadful day. They defended the palace until their ammunition gave out and then, receiving the order to retire, they fell back slowly, but were soon overwhelmed by their assailants and 800 of them were shot down. The vengeance of the mob was frenzied. They themselves had lost hundreds of men. No quarter was given. More than 5000 people were killed that day. The Tuileries was sacked and gutted. A sallow-complexioned young artillery officer, out of service, named



THE ATTACK UPON THE TUILERIES, AUGUST 10, 1792

Drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

Napoleon Bonaparte, was a spectator of this scene, from which he learned a few lessons which were later of value to him.

The Revolutionary Commune of Paris. The deeds of August 10 were the work of the Revolutionary Commune of Paris. The former municipal government had been illegally overthrown by the Jacobins, who had

then organized a new government which they entirely controlled. The Jacobins, the masters of Paris, had carefully prepared the insurrection of August 10 for the definite purpose of overthrowing Louis XVI. The menaces of the Duke of Brunswick had merely been the pretext. Now began that systematic dominance of Paris in the affairs of France which was to be brief but terrible. At the end of the insurrection the Commune forced the Legislative Assembly to do its wishes. Under this imperious and



THE PRISON OF THE TEMPLE
After an anonymous engraving.

entirely illegal dictation of Paris the Assembly voted that the King should be provisionally suspended. This necessitated the making of a new constitution, as the Constitution of 1791 was monarchical. The present assembly was a merely legislative body, not competent to alter the fundamental law. Therefore the Legislative Assembly, although its term had only half expired, decided to call a Convention to take up the matter of the constitution. Under orders from the

Paris Commune it issued the decree to that effect and it made a further important decision. For elections to the Convention it abolished the property suffrage, established by the Constitution of 1791, and proclaimed universal suffrage. France thus, on August 10, 1792, became a democracy.

The Commune imprisons the King. The executive of France was thus overthrown. The Assembly had merely voted the suspen-

sion of Louis XVI. The Commune, however, in complete disregard of law and in defiance of the Assembly, imprisoned the King and Queen in the Temple, an old fortress in Paris. The Commune also arrested large numbers of suspected persons, and it carried through the infamous September Massacres, which left a monstrous and indelible stain upon the Revolution, upon the cause of liberty.



MARAT

The September Massacres. The September Massacres grew out of the feeling of panic which seized the population of Paris as it

heard of the steady approach of the Prussians and Austrians under the Duke of Brunswick. Hundreds of persons, suspected or charged with being real accomplices of the invaders, were thrown into prison. Finally the news reached Paris that Verdun (ver-dun') was besieged, the last fortress on the road to the capital. If Verdun should fall, the enemy would have but a few days' march, and Paris would be theirs. This critical situation was exploited by the violent elements of the Commune, incited by Marat, one of the most blood-thirsty characters of the time. Day after day from September 2 to September 6, a cold-blooded murder of non-juring priests, of persons suspected or accused of "aristocracy," of the innocent and the guilty, of men and women, went on, without trial, without pity. The

butchery was systematically done by men hired and paid by certain members of the Commune. The Legislative Assembly was too terrified itself to attempt to stop the infamous business. Nearly 1200 were thus savagely hacked to pieces.

One consequence of these massacres was greatly to discredit the cause of the Revolution. Another was to precipitate a sanguinary struggle between the Girondists, who wished to punish the "Septembrists" and particularly their instigator, Marat, and the Jacobins, who either defended them or assumed an attitude of indifference, urging that France had more important work to do than to spend her time trying to avenge men who were after all "aristocrats." The struggles between these factions were to fill the early months of the Convention which met on September 20, 1792. On the same day the Prussians were stopped in their onward march at Valmy (val-mē'). They were to get no farther. The immediate danger was over. The tension was relieved.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the Legislative Assembly? Why was the Revolution not ended in 1791? Who were the *émigrés* and what were their activities? What was the King's relation to them?

II. Describe the rise and the character of the Jacobin and Cordelier clubs. What were their purposes and their sources of influence? Who were the Girondists and what were their beliefs?

III. How did France come to be involved in war in 1792? What were destined to be its effects? Why did the Legislative Assembly begin the war?

IV. Describe the insurrection of June 20, 1792. Why did the Duke of Brunswick's Manifesto so enrage the French? What was the insurrection of August 10? Explain the relations of the Commune of Paris with the Legislative Assembly. What were the September Massacres?

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CHAPTER VIII

THE CONVENTION

The National Convention, 1792-1795. The third Revolutionary assembly was the National Convention, which was in existence for three years, from September 20, 1792, to October 26, 1795. Called to draft a new constitution, necessitated by the suspension of Louis XVI, its first act was the abolition of monarchy as an institution. On September 21, 1792, the Convention voted unanimously that "royalty is abolished in France." The following day it voted that all public documents should henceforth be dated from "the first year of the French Republic." Thus unostentatiously did the Republic make its appearance upon the scene. A committee was immediately appointed to draw up a new constitution. Its work, however, was long postponed, for the Convention was distracted by a frenzied quarrel that broke out immediately between two parties, the Girondists and Jacobins.

The Girondists and the Jacobins. It is not easy to define the differences between these factions, which were involved in what was fundamentally a struggle for power. Both were entirely devoted to the Republic. But on one point, the part that the city of Paris should be permitted to play in the government, the difference of opinion was sharp. The Girondists represented the departments and insisted that Paris, which constituted only one of the eighty-three departments into which France was divided, should have only one eighty-third of influence. They would tolerate no dictatorship of the capital. On the other hand, the Jacobins drew their strength from the capital. They considered Paris the brain and the heart of the country, a center of light to the backward provinces; they believed that it was the proper and predestined leader of the nation, that it was in a better position than was the country at large to appreciate the significance of measures and events, that it was, as Danton said, "the chief sentinel of the nation." The Girondists were anxious to observe

legal forms and processes ; they disliked and distrusted the frequent appeals to brute force. The Jacobins, on the other hand, were not so scrupulous. They were rude, active, indifferent to law, if law stood in the way. They believed in the application of force wherever and whenever necessary.

But the merely personal element was even more important in dividing these groups. The Girondists hated the three leaders of the Jacobins, Robespierre, Marat, and Danton. Marat and Robespierre returned the hatred, which was thus easily fanned to fever heat. Danton was anxious to work with the Girondists. but the latter would have nothing to do with him and he therefore became their enemy, to his own great injury and to theirs.

The Trial and Execution of the King, January, 1793. The contest between these two parties grew shriller and more vehement every day, ending in a life and death struggle. It began directly after the meeting of the Convention, in the discussion as to what should be done with

Louis XVI, now that monarchy was abolished and the monarch a prisoner of state. After a trial which was a parody of justice, the King was unanimously found guilty of treason, and by a small majority his immediate death was voted, the Girondists pleading for leniency in punishment on the ground of extenuating circumstances, the Jacobins demanding his summary execution.

On Sunday, January 21, 1793, the guillotine was raised in the square fronting the Tuileries. At ten o'clock Louis mounted the fatal steps with courage and composure. He was greater on the scaffold than he had been upon the throne. He endeavored to speak:

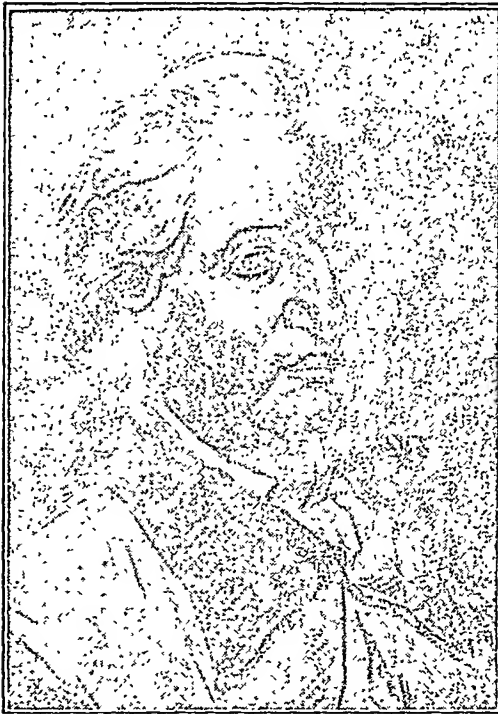


DANTON

From an engraving by J. Caron, after the painting by David.

"Gentlemen, I am innocent of that of which I am accused. May my blood assure the happiness of the French." His voice was drowned by a roll of drums. He died with all the serenity of a profoundly religious man.

Coalition of Nations against France. The immediate consequence of the execution was a great increase in the number of



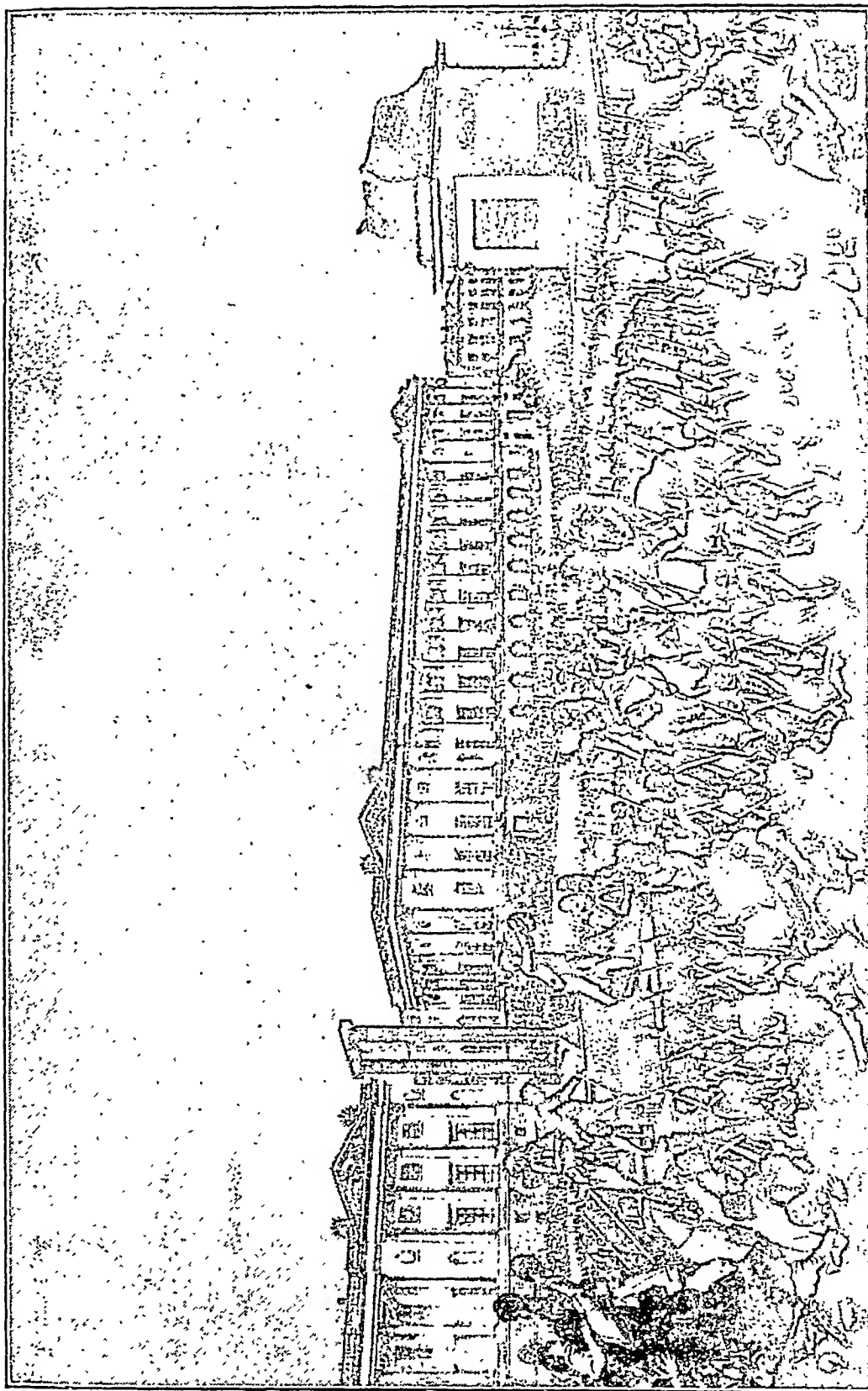
LAST PORTRAIT OF LOUIS XVI

After a crayon by Ducreux, three days before the execution.

enemies France must conquer if she was to live, and an intensification of the passions involved. France was already at war with Austria and Prussia. Now England, Russia, Spain, Holland, and the states of Germany and Italy entered the war against her, justifying themselves by the "murder of the King," although all had motives much more practical than this sentimental one. It was an excellent opportunity to gain territory from a country which was evidently in process of dissolution. Civil war, too, was added to the turmoil, as the peasants of the Vendée, 100,000 strong, rose against the Republic which was the murderer of the king and the persecutor of the church. Dumouriez (dü-mö-

ryā'), an able commander of one of the French armies, was plotting against the Convention and was shortly to go over to the enemy, a traitor to his country.

The Convention Defies the Coalition. The ground was giving way everywhere. The Convention stiffened for the fray, resolved to do or die, or both, if necessary. No government was ever more energetic. It voted to raise 300,000 troops immediately. It created a Committee of General Security, a Committee of Public Safety, a Revolutionary Tribunal, all parts of a machine that was intended to



THE EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI

After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

concentrate the full force of the nation upon the problem of national salvation and the annihilation of the republic's enemies, whether foreign or domestic.

But while it was doing all this the Convention was floundering in the bog of angry party politics. Dissension was beginning its work of dividing the republicans, preparatory to consuming them. The first struggle was between the Girondists and the Jacobins. The Girondists wished to punish the men who had been responsible for the September Massacres. They wished to punish the Commune for numerous illegal acts. They hated Marat and were able to get a vote from the Convention sending him before the Revolutionary Tribunal, expecting that this would be the end of him. Instead, he was acquitted and became the hero of the populace of Paris, more powerful than before and now wilder than ever in his denunciations. Marat, Robespierre, were resolved on the annihilation of the Girondists. Danton, thinking of France and loathing all this discord, when the nation was in danger, thinking that Frenchmen had enemies enough to fight without tearing each other to pieces, tried to play the peacemaker. But he had the fate that peacemakers frequently have. He accomplished nothing for France and made enemies for himself.

Commune Organizes Insurrection against Girondists. The Commune, which supported the Jacobins, and which idolized Marat and respected Robespierre, intervened in this struggle, using, to cut it short, its customary weapon, physical force. It organized an insurrection against the Girondists, a veritable army of 80,000 men with sixty cannon. Marat, himself a member of the Convention, climbed to the belfry of the City Hall and with his own hand sounded the tocsin. This was Marat's day. He, self-styled Friend of the People, was the leader of this movement from the beginning to the end of the fateful June 2, 1793. The Tuileries, where the Convention sat, was surrounded by the insurrectionary troops. The Convention was the prisoner of the Commune, the Government of France was at the mercy of the Government of Paris. The Commune demanded the expulsion of the Girondist leader from the Convention. The Convention protested indignantly, but was obliged to vote the arrest of twenty-nine Girondists. For the first time in the Revolution the assembly elected by the voters of France was mutilated. Violence had laid its hand upon the sovereignty of the people in the

interest of the rule of a faction. The victory of the Commune was the victory of the Jacobins, who, by this act, became the masters of the Convention.

But not yet masters of the country. Indeed, this high-handed crime of June 2 aroused indignation and resistance throughout a large section of France. Had the departments no rights which the Commune of Paris was bound to respect? The Girondists called the departments to arms against this tyrannical crew. The departments responded with alacrity, exasperated and alarmed. Four of the largest cities of France, Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, and Caen, took up arms, and civil war, born of politics, added to the civil war born of religion in the Vendée, and to the ubiquitous foreign war, made confusion worse confounded. In all some sixty departments out of eighty-three participated in this movement, three-fourths of France.

The Reign of Terror. To meet the crisis, to enable France to hew her way through the tangle of complexities and dangers that confronted her, a provisional government was created, a government that inaugurated a Reign of Terror which has remained a hissing and a by-word among the nations ever since. The machinery of this provisional government consisted of two important committees, appointed by the Convention, the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Security; also of Representatives on Mission, of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and of the political clubs and committees of surveillance in the cities and villages throughout the country.

The Committee of Public Safety. The Committee of Public Safety consisted at first of nine, later of twelve members. Chosen by the Convention for a term of a month, its members were, as a matter of fact, reëlected month after month, changes only occurring when parties changed in the Convention. At first this committee was charged simply with the management of foreign affairs and of the army, but in the end it became practically omnipotent, directing the state as no single despot had ever done, intervening in every department of the nation's affairs, even holding the Convention itself, of which in theory it was the creature, in stern and terrified subjection to itself. Installing itself in the palace of the galleries, in the former royal apartments, it developed a prodigious activity, framing endless decrees, tossing thousands of men to the guillotine, sending

thousands upon thousands against the enemies of France, guiding, animating, tyrannizing ruthlessly a people which had taken such pains to declare itself free, only to find its fragile liberties, so strongly asserted in the famous Declaration, ground to powder beneath this iron heel.

The Revolutionary Tribunal. This Tribunal had been created at Danton's suggestion. It was an extraordinary criminal court, instituted for the purpose of trying traitors and conspirators rapidly. No appeal could be taken from its decisions. Its sentences were always sentences of death. Appointed by the Committee, the Revolutionary Tribunal servilely carried out its orders. It acted with a rapidity that made a cruel farce of justice. A man might be informed at ten o'clock that he was to appear before the Revolutionary Tribunal at eleven. By two o'clock he was sentenced, by four he was executed.

Purpose of this Governmental Machinery. This machinery was created to meet a national need, of the most pressing character. The country was in danger, in direst danger, of submersion under a flood of invasion ; also in danger of disruption from within. Had this machinery been used in the way and for the purpose for which it was originally intended, it is not likely that it would have acquired the dismal, repellent reputation with posterity which it has enjoyed. France would have willingly endured and sanctioned a direct and strong government, ruthlessly subordinating personal happiness and even personal security to the needs of national defense. But the system was not restricted to this end. It was applied to satisfy personal and party intrigues and spites, and to further the ambitions of individuals.

Vigorous Prosecution of the War. The Committee of Public Safety and the Convention lost no time in striking a fast pace. To meet the needs of the war a general call for troops was issued. Seven hundred and fifty thousand men were secured. Carnot, one of the members of the Committee of Public Safety, performed herculean feats in getting this enormous mass of men equipped, disciplined, and officered. A dozen armies were the result and they were hurled in every direction at the enemies of France. Representatives of the Convention accompanied each general, demanding victory of him or letting him know that his head would fall if victory were not forthcoming. Some failed, even under this terrific incentive, this literal

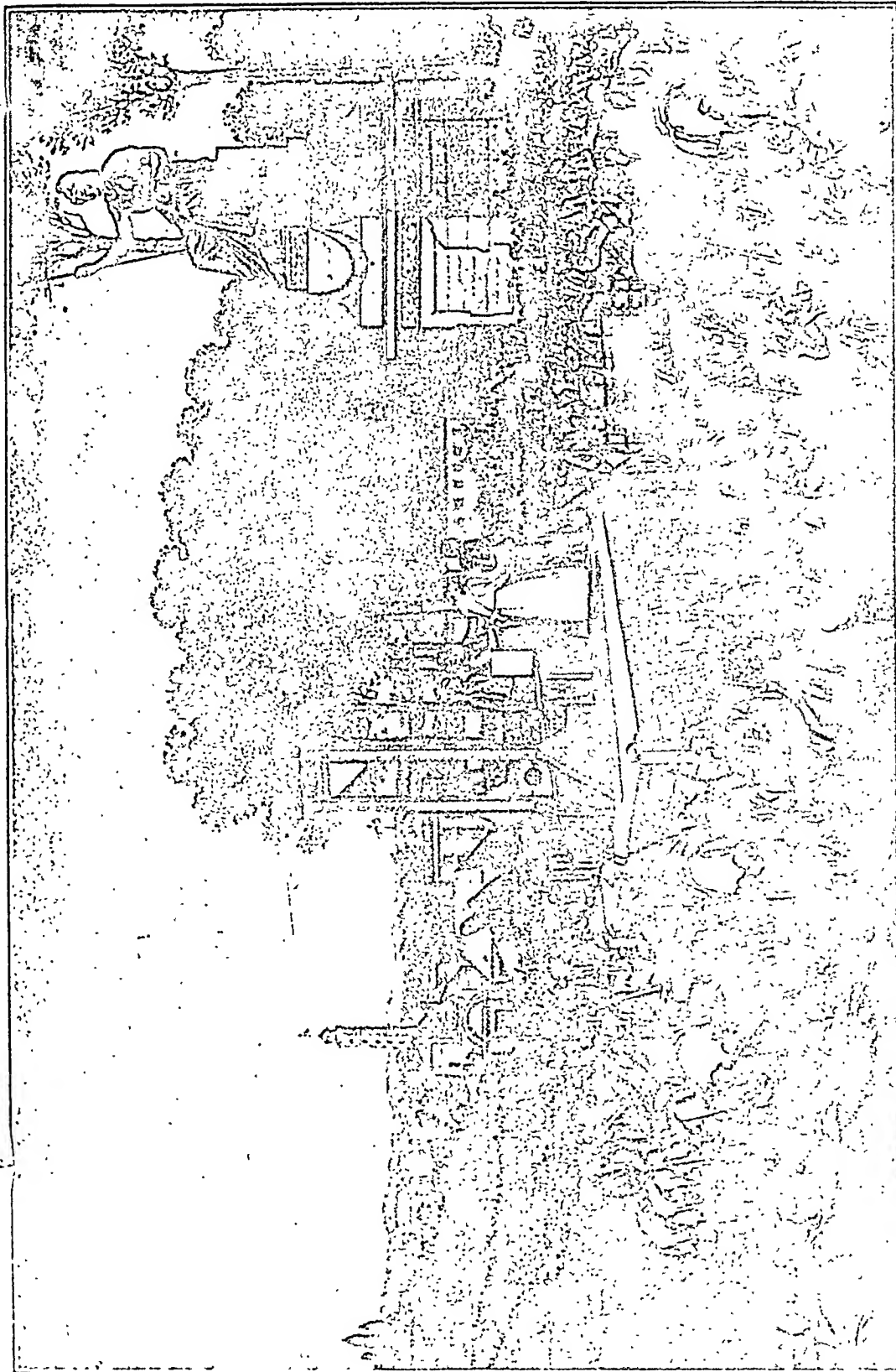
choice between victory or death, and they went to the scaffold. It was an inhuman punishment but it had tremendous effects, inspiring desperate energy. The armies made superhuman efforts and were wonderfully successful. A group of fearless, reckless, and thoroughly competent commanders emerged rapidly from the ranks. We shall shortly observe the reaction of these triumphant campaigns upon the domestic political situation.

The Law of Suspects. While this terrific effort to hurl back the invaders of France was going on, the Committee of Public Safety was engaged in a fierce campaign at home against all domestic enemies or persons accused of being such. By the famous law of "suspects," every one in France was brought within its iron grip. This law was so loosely and vaguely worded, it indicated so many classes of individuals, that under its provisions practically any one in France could be arrested and sent before the Revolutionary Tribunal. All were guilty of treason, and punishable with death, who "having done nothing against liberty have nevertheless done nothing for it."

The Treatment of Lyons. In every city, town, and hamlet of France arrests of suspected persons were made *en masse*, and judgment and execution followed swiftly. Only a few instances can be selected from this calendar of crime. The city of Lyons had sprung to the defense of the Girondists after their expulsion from the Convention on June 2. It took four months and a half and a considerable army to put down the opposition of this, the second city of France. When this was accomplished the Convention passed a fierce decree: "The city of Lyons is to be destroyed. Every house which was inhabited by the rich shall be demolished. There will remain only the homes of the poor, of patriots, and buildings especially employed for industries, and those edifices dedicated to humanity and to education." The name of this famous city was to be obliterated. It was henceforth to be known as the Liberated City (*Commune affranchie*). This savage sentence was not carried out, demolition on so large a scale not being easy. Only a few buildings were blown to pieces. But over 3500 persons were arrested and nearly half of them were executed. The authorities began by shooting each one individually. The last were mowed down in batches by cannon or musketry fire. Similar scenes were enacted, though not on so extensive a scale, in Toulon (tö-lôn') and Marseilles (mär-sälz').

Punishment of the Vendée. It was for the Vendée that the worst ferocities were reserved. The Vendée had been in rebellion against the Republic, and in the interest of counter-revolution. The people had been angered by the laws against the priests. Moreover, the people of that section refused to fight in the Republic's armies. It was entirely legitimate for the government to crush this rebellion, but it did so only after an indescribably cruel war, in which neither side gave quarter. Carrier (kär-yā'), the representative sent out by the Convention, established a gruesome record for barbarity. He did not adopt the method followed by the Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris which at least pretended to try the accused before sentencing them to death. This was too slow a process. Prisoners were shot in squads, nearly 2000 of them. Drowning was resorted to. Carrier's victims were bound, put in boats, and the boats then sunk in the river Loire. Women and children were among the number. Even the Committee of Public Safety was shocked at Carrier's fiendish ingenuity and demanded an explanation. He had the insolence to pretend that the drownings were accidental. "Is it my fault that the boats did not reach their destination?" he asked. The number of bodies in the river was so great that the water was poisoned and for that reason the city government of Nantes forbade the eating of fish. Carrier was later removed by the Committee, but was not further punished by it, though ultimately he found his way to the guillotine.

The Revolutionary Tribunal. Meanwhile at Paris the Revolutionary Tribunal was daily sending its victims to the guillotine, after trials which were travesties of justice. Guillotines were erected in two of the public squares and each day saw its executions. Week after week went by, and head after head dropped into the insatiable basket. Many of the victims were *émigrés* or non-juring priests who had come back to France, others were generals who had failed of the indispensable victory and had been denounced as traitors. The Girondists were conspicuous victims. Twenty-one of them were guillotined on October 31, 1793, among them Madame Roland, who went to the scaffold "fresh, calm, smiling," according to a friend who saw her go. She had regretted that she "had not been born a Spartan or a Roman," a superfluous regret, as was shown by the manner of her death, "at only thirty-nine," words with which she closed the passionate *Memoirs* she wrote while in prison. Mounting



THE EXECUTION OF MARIE ANTOINETTE
After a drawing by Monnet, engraved by Helmann.

the scaffold she caught sight of a statue of liberty. "O Liberty, how they've played with you!" she exclaimed.

She had been preceded some days before by Marie Antoinette, the daughter of an empress, the wife of a king, child of fortune and of misfortune beyond compare. The Queen bore herself courageously. She did not flinch. She was brave to the end. Marie Antoinette has never ceased to command the sympathy of posterity, as her tragic story and the fall to which her errors partly led and the proud and noble courage with which she met her mournful fate have never ceased to move its pity and respect. She stands in history as one of its most melancholy figures.

The "Little Terror." Charlotte Corday, a Norman girl, who had stabbed the notorious Marat to death, thinking thus to free her country, paid the penalty with serenity and dignity. All through these months men witnessed a tragic procession up the scaffold's steps of those who were great by position or character or service or reputation: Bailly, celebrated as an astronomer and as the Mayor of Paris in the early Revolution; the Duke of Orleans, who had played a shameless part in the Revolution, having been demagogue enough to discard his name and call himself Philip Equality, and having infamously voted, as a member of the Convention, for the death of his cousin, Louis XVI; Barnave (bär-näv'), next to Mirabeau one of the most brilliant leaders of the Constituent Assembly; and so it went, daily executions in Paris and still others in the provinces. Some fleeing the terror that walked by day and night, caught at bay, committed suicide, like Condorcet, last of the philosophers and gifted theorist of the Republic. Still others wandered through the countryside haggard, gaunt, and were finally shot down, as beasts of the field. Yet all this did not constitute "the Great Terror," as it was called. That came later.

The Commune versus the Convention. Thus far there was at least a semblance or pretense of punishing the enemies of the Republic, the enemies of France. But now these odious methods were to be used as means of destroying political and personal enemies. Politics assumed the character and risks of war.

We have seen that since August 10, 1792, there were two powers in the state, the Commune, or Government of Paris, and the Convention, or Government of France, now directed by the Committee of Public Safety. These two had in the main coöperated thus far, overthrow-

ing the monarchy, overthrowing the Girondists. But now dissension raised its head and harmony was no more. The Commune was in the control of the most violent party that the Revolution had developed.

It was the Commune which now forced the Convention to attempt the dechristianization of France, by the adoption of a new calendar, intentionally anti-Christian in character, and by the invention of a new religion, the Worship of Reason, impersonated in a famous ceremony in the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame by a Goddess of Reason, who had hitherto been a dancer of the opera.

The Gods Are Athirst.

By a combination of the forces of Danton and Robespierre the leaders of the Commune, Hébert and Chaumette, were ultimately sent to the guillotine (March 13, 1794). The combination then fell apart and Danton and his friends were shortly forced to tread the selfsame path, largely through the influence of Robespierre. The gods of vengeance were athirst. For nearly four months Robespierre was prac-

tically dictator, and signalized his brief passage in power by staging a new religion, that of the Supreme Being, and by rendering the Revolutionary Tribunal more murderous than ever. He had over-shot the mark. On July 28, 1794, he too was guillotined.

Reaction after the Overthrow of Robespierre. France breathed more freely. The worst, evidently, was over. In the succeeding months the system of the Terror was gradually abandoned. The various branches of this fearful machine of government were either destroyed or greatly altered. A milder régime began.



MLLE. MAILLARD, "GODDESS OF
REASON"

After the painting by Garneray.

There were even signs of a movement in favor of the restoration of the Bourbons.

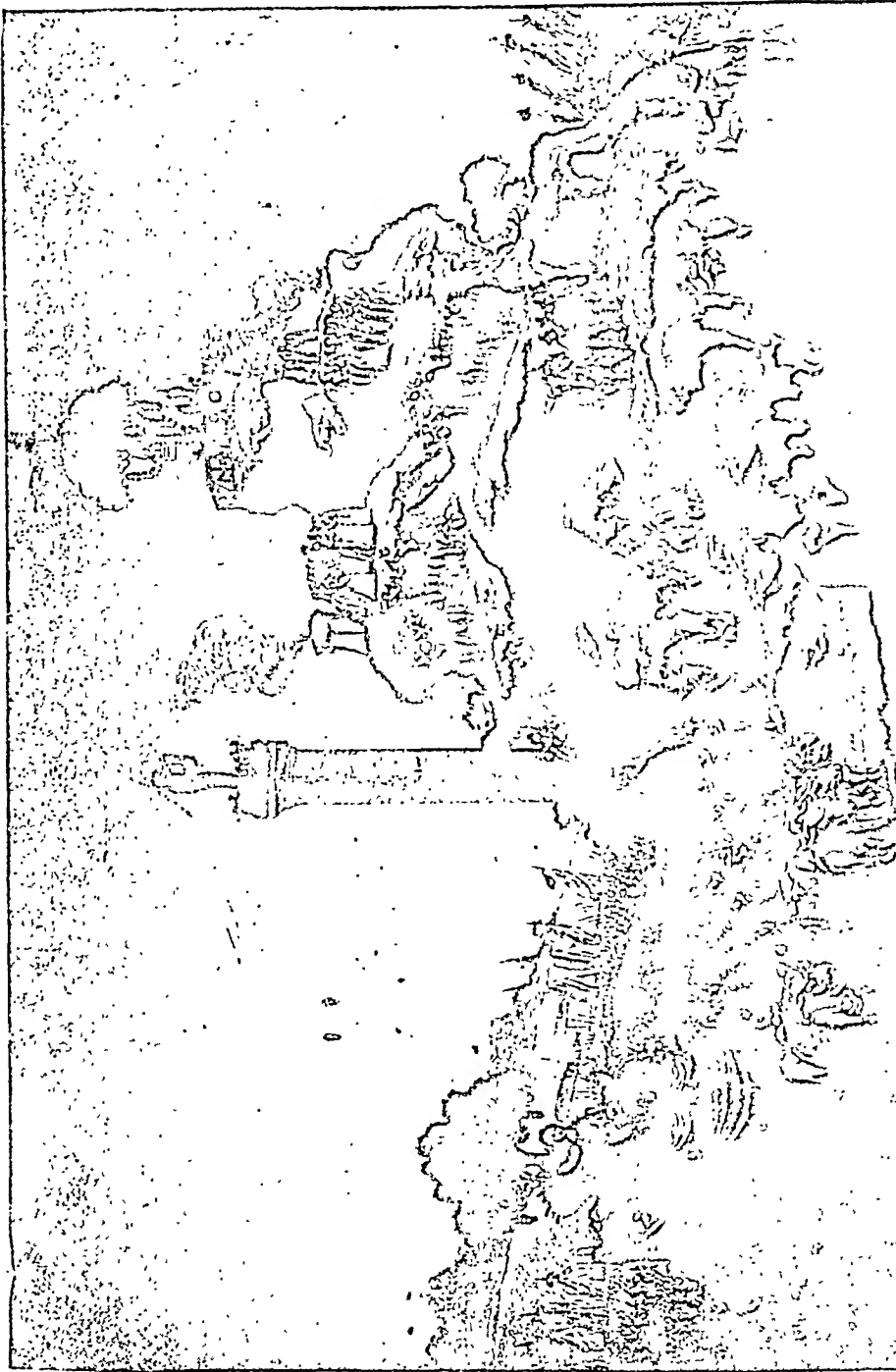
Constitution of the Year Three. To prevent the relapse into monarchy, the Convention drew up a new constitution, the Constitution of 1795 or of the Year Three. Universal suffrage was abandoned, the motive being to reduce the political importance of the Parisian populace. Democracy, established on August 10, 1792, was replaced by a suffrage based upon property. The national legislature was henceforth to consist of two chambers. One of the chambers was to be called the Council of Elders. This was to consist of 250 members, who must be at least forty years of age, and be either married or widowers. The other, the Council of the Five Hundred, was to consist of members of at least thirty years of age. This council alone was to have the right to propose laws, which could, however, not be put into force unless accepted by the Council of Elders.

The Directory. The executive power was to be exercised by a Directory, consisting of five persons, of at least forty years of age, elected by the Councils, one retiring each year. The example of America was strongly recommended but was not followed because the Convention feared that a single executive, a president, might remind the French too sharply of monarchy or might become a new Robespierre.

Two Supplementary Decrees. But the Convention either did not wish or did not dare to trust the voters to elect whom they might desire to the new Councils. Was there not danger that they might elect monarchists and so hand over the new republican constitution to its enemies? Would the members of the Convention, who enjoyed power, who did not wish to step down and out, and yet who knew that they were unpopular because of the record of the Convention, stand any chance of election to the new legislature?

Under the influence of such considerations the Convention passed two decrees, supplementary to the constitution, providing that two-thirds of each Council should be chosen from the present members of the Convention.

The constitution was overwhelmingly approved by the voters to whom it was submitted for ratification. But the two decrees aroused decided opposition. They were represented as a barefaced device whereby men who knew themselves unpopular could keep them-



A REPRESENTATION OF THE MOUNTAIN ERECTED OVER THE ALTAR TO THE FATHERLAND ON THE CHAMP DE MARS, AND OF THE NATIONAL CONVENTION MARCHING UP TO THE SUMMIT AT THE FÊTE TO THE SUPREME BEING, JUNE 8, 1794

From E. F. Henderson's *Symbol and Satire in the French Revolution*.

selves in power for a while longer. Although the decrees were finally ratified, it was by much smaller majorities than had ratified the constitution. The vote of Paris was overwhelmingly against them.

The Insurrection of 13th Vendémiaire (October 5, 1795). Paris did not remain contented with casting a hostile vote. It proposed to prevent this consummation. An insurrection was organized against the Convention, this time by the bourgeois and wealthier people, in reality a royalist project. The Convention intrusted its defense to Barras (bă-rās') as commander-in-chief. Barras, who was more a politician than a general, called to his aid a little Corsican officer twenty-five years old who, two years before, had helped recover Toulon for the Republic. This little Buona-Parte, for this is the form in which the famous name appears in the official report of the day, was an artillery officer, a believer in the efficacy of that weapon. Hearing that there were forty cannon in a camp outside the city in danger of being seized by the insurgents, Bonaparte sent a young dare-devil cavalryman, Joachim Murat, to get them. Murat and his men dashed at full speed through the city, drove back the insurgents, seized the cannon and dragged them, always at full speed, to the Tuileries; which they reached by six o'clock in the morning. As one writer has said, "Neither the little general nor the superb cavalier dreamed that, in giving Barras cannon to be used against royalists, each was winning a crown for himself."

The cannon were placed about the Tuileries, where sat the Convention, rendering it impregnable. Every member of the Convention was given a rifle and cartridges. On the 13th of Vendémiaire (October 5) on came the insurgents in two columns, down the streets on both sides of the Seine. Suddenly at four-thirty in the afternoon a violent cannonading was heard. It was Bonaparte making his début. The insurgents were mowed down. The Convention was saved and an astounding career was begun. This is what Carlyle, in his vivid way, calls "the whiff of grapeshot which ends what we specifically call the French Revolution," an imaginative and inaccurate statement. Though it did not end the Revolution, it did, however, end one phase of it and inaugurate another.

The Convention Dissolved. Three weeks later, on October 26, 1795, the Convention declared itself dissolved. It had had an extraordinary history, only a few aspects of which have been described in this brief account. In the three years of its existence it had dis-

played prodigious activity along many lines. Meeting in the midst of appalling national difficulties born of internal dissension and foreign war, attacked by sixty departments of France and by an astonishing array of foreign powers, England, Prussia, Austria, Piedmont, Holland. Spain, it had triumphed all along the line. Civil war had been stamped out ; and in the summer of 1795 three hostile states, Prussia, Holland, and Spain, made peace with France and withdrew from the war. France was actually in possession of the Austrian Netherlands and of the German provinces on the west bank of the Rhine. She had practically attained the so-called natural boundaries. War still continued with Austria and England. That problem was passed on to the Directory.

The Convention and the Republic. During these three years the Convention had proclaimed the Republic in the classic land of monarchy, had voted two constitutions, had sanctioned two forms of worship, and had finally separated church and state, a thing of extreme difficulty in any European country. It had put a king to death, had organized and endured a reign of tyranny, which long discredited the very idea of a republic among multitudes of Frenchmen, and which immeasurably weakened the Republic by cutting off so many men who, had they lived, would have been its natural and experienced defenders for a full generation longer, since most of them were young. The Republic used up its material recklessly, so that when the man arrived who wished to end it and establish his personal rule, this sallow Italian Buona-Parte, his task was comparatively easy, the opposition, being leaderless or poorly led. On the other hand, the Republic had had its thrilling victories, its heroes, and its martyrs, whose careers and teachings were to be factors in the history of France for fully a century to come.

The Achievements of the Convention. The Convention had also worked mightily and achieved much in the avenues of peaceful development. It had given France a system of weights and measures more perfect than the world had ever seen, the metric system, since widely adopted by other countries. It had laid the foundations and done the preliminary work for a codification of the laws, an achievement which Napoleon was to carry to completion and of which he was to monopolize the renown. It devoted fruitful attention to the problem of national education, believing with Danton, that " next to bread, education is the first need of the people," and

that there ought to be a national system, free, compulsory, and entirely secular. The time has come, said the eloquent tribune, to establish the great principle which appears to be ignored, "that children belong to the Republic before they belong to their parents." A great system of primary and secondary education was elaborated, but it was not put into actual operation, owing to the lack of funds. On the other hand, much was done for certain special schools. Among the invaluable creations of the Convention were certain institutions whose fame has steadily increased, whose influence has been profound, the Normal School, the Polytechnic School, the Law and Medical Schools of Paris, the Conservatory of Arts and Crafts, the National Archives, the Museum of the Louvre, the National Library, and the Institute. While some of these had their roots in earlier institutions, all such were so reorganized and amplified and enriched as to make them practically new. To keep the balance of our judgment clear we should recall these notable services to civilization rendered by the same assembly which is more notorious because of its connection with the iniquitous Reign of Terror. The Republic had its glorious trophies, its honorable records, from which later times were to derive inspiration and instruction.

QUESTIONS

I. By what names are the three national assemblies of the Revolutionary period known? For what reason was the National Convention summoned? What were the points of difference between the Girondists and the Jacobins? Describe the Commune of Paris and its activities. Point out the significance of the dates June 20, 1792, and August 10, 1792.

II. What was the Reign of Terror? What were the organs of government during that period? With what powers was France at war in 1793? What were the causes of the civil war and what were its principal incidents? Why was Louis XVI put to death?

III. Describe the constitution of 1795. What were the supplementary constitutional decrees? What insurrection did they give rise to? What is the historical significance of the Convention?

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CHAPTER IX

THE DIRECTORY

The Directory and the War. The Directory lasted from October 27, 1795, to November 19, 1799. It took its name from the form of the executive branch of the Republic, as determined by the Constitution of 1795. Its history of four years was troubled, uncertain, and ended in a violent overthrow



A DIRECTOR IN OFFICIAL COSTUME
Redrawn after a sketch by Le Dru.

Its first and most pressing problem was the continued prosecution of the war. As already stated, Prussia, Spain, and Holland had withdrawn from the coalition and had made peace with the Convention. But England, Austria, Piedmont, and the lesser German states were still in arms against the Republic. The first duty of the Directory was, therefore, to continue the war with them and to defeat them. France had already overrun the Austrian Netherlands, that is, modern Belgium, and had declared them annexed to France.

But to compel Austria, the owner, to recognize this annexation, she must be beaten. The Directory, therefore, proceeded with vigor to concentrate its attention upon this object. As France had thrown back her invaders, the fighting was no longer on French soil. She now became the invader, and that long series of conquests of various European countries by aggressive French armies began, which was to end only twenty years later with the fall of the greatest commander

of modern times. The campaign against Austria, planned by the Directory, included two parallel and aggressive movements against that country — an attack through southern Germany, down the valley of the Danube, ending, it was hoped, at Vienna. This was the campaign north of the Alps. South of the Alps, in northern Italy, France had enemies in Piedmont or Sardinia and again in Austria, which had possession of the central and rich part of the Po valley, namely, Lombardy, with Milan as the capital.

The campaign in Germany was confided to Jourdan (zhör-don') and Moreau (mō-rō') ; that in Italy to General Bonaparte, who made of it a stepping-stone to fame and power incomparable.

Early Life of Napoleon Bonaparte. Napoleon Bonaparte was born at Ajaccio (ä-yät'-chō) in Corsica in 1769, a short time after the island had been sold by Genoa to France. The family was of Italian origin but had for two centuries and a half been resident in the island. Napoleon's father, Charles Bonaparte, was of the lesser nobility but was poor, indolent, pleasure-loving, a lawyer by profession. His mother, Lætitia Ramolino, was a woman of great beauty, of remarkable will, of extraordinary energy. Poorly educated, this "mother of kings" was never able to speak the French language without ridiculous mistakes. She had thirteen children, eight of whom lived to grow up, five boys and three girls. The father died when the youngest, Jerome, was only three months old. Napoleon, the second son, was educated in French military schools at Brienne and Paris, as a sort of charity scholar. He was very unhappy, surrounded as he was by boys who looked down upon him because he was poor while they were rich, because his father was unimportant while theirs belonged to the noblest families in France, because he spoke French like the foreigner he was, Italian being his native tongue. In fact he was tormented in all the ways of which schoolboys are past-masters. He became sullen, taciturn, lived apart by himself, was unpopular with his fellows, whom, in turn, he despised, conscious, as he was, of powers quite equal to any of theirs, of a spirit quite as high. His boyish letters home were remarkably serious, lucid, intelligent. He was excellent in mathematics, and was fond of history and geography. At the age of sixteen he left the military school and became a second lieutenant of artillery.

Young Bonaparte read the intoxicating literature of revolt of the eighteenth century, Voltaire, Turgot, particularly Rousseau. "Even

when I had nothing to do," he said later, "I vaguely thought that I had no time to lose." As a young sub-lieutenant he had a wretchedly small salary. "I have no resources here but work," he wrote his mother. "I sleep very little. I go to bed at ten, I rise at four. I have only one meal a day, at three o'clock." He read history extensively, regarding it as "the torch of truth, the destroyer of prejudice."



CHARLES BONAPARTE

After the painting by Belliard, engraved
by Read.

He tried his hand at writing essays, novels, but particularly a history of Corsica, for at this time his great ambition was to be the historian of his native land. He hated France and dreamed of a war of independence for Corsica. He spent much time in Corsica, securing long furloughs, which, moreover, he overstayed. As a consequence he finally lost his position in the army which, though poorly salaried, still gave him a living. He returned to Paris in 1792, hoping to regain it, but the disturbed state of affairs was not propitious. Without a profession, without resources, he was almost penniless. He

ate in cheap restaurants. He pawned his watch — and, as an idle but interested spectator, he witnessed some of the famous "days" of the Revolution, the invasion of the Tuileries by the mob on the 20th of June, when Louis XVI was forced to wear the *bonnet rouge*, the attack of August 10 when he was deposed, the September Massacres. Bonaparte's opinion was that the soldiers should have shot a few hundred, then the mob would have run. He was restored to his command in August, 1792. In 1793 he distinguished himself by helping recover Toulon for the Republic and in 1795 by defending the Convention against the insurrection of Vendémiaire, which was a lucky crisis for him.

Bonaparte marries Josephine Beauharnais. Having conquered a Parisian mob, young Bonaparte was himself conquered by a woman. He fell madly in love with Josephine Beauharnais (bō-är-nā'), a widow six years older than himself, whose husband had been guillotined a few days before the fall of Robespierre, leaving her poor and with two children. Josephine did not lose her heart but she was impressed, indeed half terrified, by the vehemence of Napoleon's passion, the intensity of his glance, and she yielded to his rapid, impetuous courtship, with a troubled but vivid sense that the future had great things in store for him. "Do they" (the Directors) "think that I need their protection in order to rise?" he had exclaimed to her. "They will be glad enough some day if I grant them mine. My sword is at my side and with it I can go far." "This preposterous assurance," wrote Josephine, "affects me to such a degree that I can believe everything may be possible to this man, and, with his imagination, who can tell what he may be tempted to undertake?"

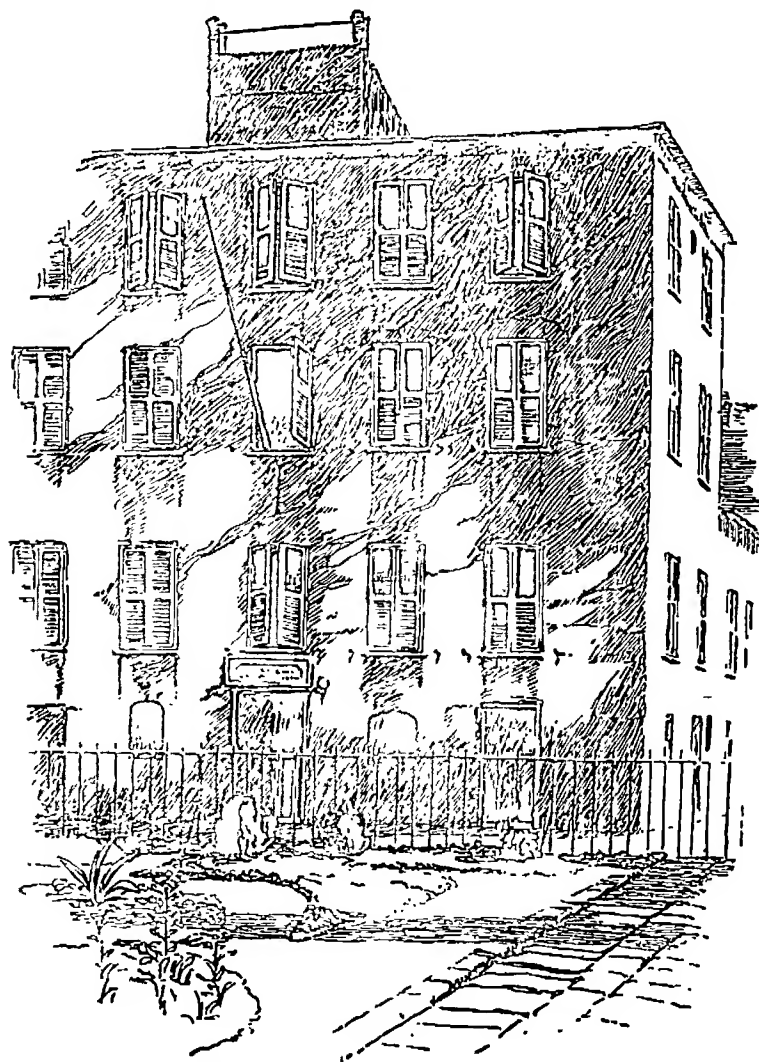


LÆTITIA RAMOLINO, NAPOLEON'S MOTHER

From a painting in the Town Hall at Ajaccio.

Bonaparte Commander of the Army of Italy (1796). Two days before they were married Bonaparte was appointed to the command of the Army of Italy. His sword was at his side. He now unsheathed it and made some memorable passes. Two days after the marriage he left his bride in Paris and started for the front, in a mingled mood of desperation at the separation and of exultation that now his opportunity had come. Sending back passionate love-

letters from every station, his spirit and his senses all on fire, feeling that he was on the very verge of achievement, he hastened on to meet the enemy and, as was quickly evident, "to tear the very heart out of glory." The wildness of Corsica, his native land, was in his blood,



THE HOUSE AT AJACCIO IN WHICH NAPOLEON WAS BORN

From a drawing by F. Clementson.

the land of fighters, the land of the vendetta, of concentrated passion, of lawless energy, of bravery beyond compare, concerning which Rousseau had written in happy prophecy twenty years before, "I have a presentiment that this little island will some day astonish

Europe." That day had come. The young eagle it had nourished was now preening for his flight, prepared to astonish the universe.

Bonaparte and his Generals. The difficulties that confronted Bonaparte were numerous and notable. One was his youth and another was that he was unknown. The Army of Italy had been in the field three years. Its generals did not know their new commander. Some of them were older than he and had already made names for themselves. They resented this appointment of a junior, a man whose chief exploit had been a street fight in Paris. Nevertheless when this slender, round-shouldered, small, and sickly-looking young man appeared, they saw instantly that they had a master. He was imperious, laconic, reserved with them. "It was necessary," he said afterward, "in order to command men so much older than myself." He was only five feet two inches tall but, said Masséna, "when he put on his general's hat he seemed to have grown two feet. He questioned us on the position of our divisions, on the spirit and effective force of each corps, prescribed the course we were to follow, announced that he would hold an inspection on the morrow, and on the day following attack the enemy." Augereau, a vulgar and famous old soldier, full of strange oaths and proud of his tall figure, was abusive, derisive, mutinous. He was admitted to the General's presence and passed an uneasy moment. "He frightened me," said Augereau, "his first glance crushed me. I cannot understand it."

It did not take these officers long to see that the young general meant business and that he knew very thoroughly the art of war. His speech was rapid, brief, incisive. He gave his orders succinctly and clearly and he let it be known that obedience was the order of the day. The cold reception quickly became enthusiastic coöperation.

Bonaparte and his Soldiers. Bonaparte won ascendancy over the soldiers with the same lightning rapidity. They had been long inactive, idling through meaningless manœuvres. He announced immediate action. The response was instantaneous. He inspired confidence and he inspired enthusiasm. He took an army that was discouraged, that was in rags, even the officers being almost without shoes, an army on half rations. He issued a bulletin which imparted to them his own exaltation, his belief that the limits of the possible would easily be transcended, that it was all a matter of will. He got

into their blood and they tingled with impatience and with hope. "There was so much of the future in him," is the way Marmont described the impression. "Soldiers," so ran this bulletin, "soldiers, you are ill-fed and almost naked ; the government owes you much, it can give you nothing. Your patience, the courage which you exhibit in the midst of these crags, are worthy of all admiration; but they bring you no atom of glory ; not a ray is reflected upon you. I will conduct you into the most fertile plains in the world. Rich provinces, great cities will be in your power ; there you will find honor, glory, and wealth. Soldiers of Italy, can it be that you will be lacking in courage or perseverance? "

The Campaign of Italy (1796-1797). Bonaparte's first Italian campaign has remained in the eyes of military men ever since a masterpiece, a classic example of the art of war. It lasted a year, from April, 1796, to April, 1797. It may be summarized in the words, "He came, he saw, he conquered." He confronted an allied Sardinian and Austrian army, and his forces were much inferior in number. His policy was therefore to see that his enemies did not unite, and then to beat each in turn. His enemies combined had 70,000 men. He had about half that number. Slipping in between the Austrians and Sardinians he defeated the former, and drove them eastward. Then he turned westward against the Sardinians, defeated them and opened the way to Turin, their capital. The Sardinians sued for peace and agreed that France should have the provinces of Savoy and Nice. One enemy had thus been eliminated by the "rag heroes," now turned into "winged victories." Bonaparte summarized these achievements in a bulletin to his men, which set them vibrating. "Soldiers," he said, "in fifteen days you have won six victories, taken twenty-one stands of colors, fifty-five pieces of cannon, and several fortresses, and conquered the richest part of Piedmont. You have taken 1500 prisoners and killed or wounded 10,000 men. . . . But, soldiers, you have done nothing, since there remains something for you to do. You have still battles to fight, towns to take, rivers to cross."

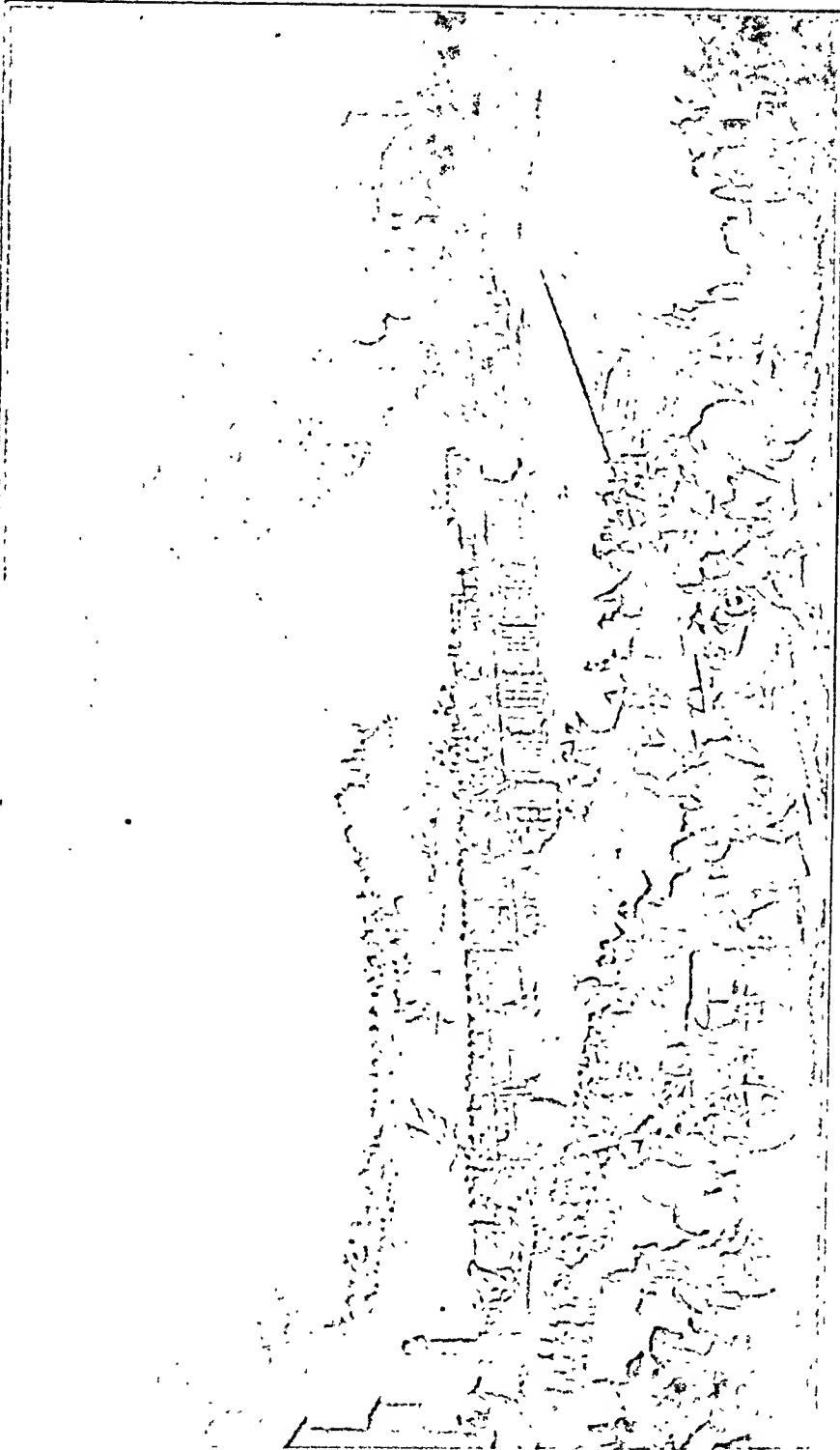
The Campaign against the Austrians. Bonaparte now turned his entire attention to the Austrians, who were in control of Lombardy. Rushing down the southern bank of the Po, he crossed it at Piacenza (pē-ä-chen'-zä). Beaulieu (bō-lē-e), the Austrian commander, withdrew beyond the Adda River. There was no way to

get at him but to cross the river by the bridge of Lodi, a bridge 350 feet long and swept on the other side by cannon. To cross it in the face of a raking fire was necessary but was well-nigh impossible. Bonaparte ordered his grenadiers forward. Halfway over they were mowed down by the Austrian fire and began to recoil. Bonaparte and other generals rushed to the head of the columns, risked their lives, inspired their men, and the result was that they got across in the very teeth of the murderous fire and seized the Austrian batteries. "Of all the actions in which the soldiers under my command have been engaged," reported Bonaparte to the Directory, "none has equaled the tremendous passage of the bridge of Lodi."

From that day Bonaparte was the idol of his soldiers. He had shown reckless courage, contempt of death. Thenceforth they called him affectionately "The Little Corporal." The Austrians retreated to the mighty fortress of Mantua. On May 16 Bonaparte made a triumphal entry into Milan. He sent a force to begin the siege of Mantua. That was the key to the situation. He could not advance into the Alps and against Vienna until he had taken it. On the other hand, if Austria lost Mantua, she would lose her hold upon Italy.

Four times during the next eight months, from June, 1796, to January, 1797, Austria sent down armies from the Alps in the attempt to relieve the beleaguered fortress. Each time they were defeated by the prodigious activity, the precision of aim, of the French general, who continued his policy of attacking his enemy piecemeal, before their divisions could unite. By this policy his inferior forces, for his numbers were inferior to the total of the opposed army, were always as a matter of fact so applied as to be superior to the enemy on the battlefield, for he attacked when the enemy was divided. All this was accomplished only by forced marches. "It is our legs that win his battles," said his soldiers. He shot his troops back and forth like a shuttle. By the rapidity of his movements he made up for his numerical weakness. Of course this success was rendered possible by the mistake of his opponents in dividing their forces when they should have kept them united.

Even thus, with his own ability and the mistakes of his enemies cooperating, the contest was severe, the outcome at times trembled in the balance. Thus at Arcola; the battle raged for three days. Again, as at Lodi, success depended upon the control of a bridge.



THE BRIDGE OF LODI

After a drawing by Carlo Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux.

Only a few miles separated the two Austrian divisions. If the Austrians could hold the bridge, then their junction would probably be completed. Bonaparte seized a flag and rushed upon the bridge, accompanied by his staff. The Austrians leveled a murderous fire at them. The columns fell back, several officers having been shot down. They refused to desert their general but dragged him with them by his arms and clothes. He fell into a morass and began to sink. "Forward to save the General!" was the cry, and immediately the French fury broke loose, they drove back the Austrians and rescued their hero. He had, however, not repeated the exploit of Lodi. He had not crossed the bridge. But the next day his army was victorious and the Austrians retreated once more. The three days' battle was over (November 15-17, 1796).

Two months later a new Austrian army came down from the Alps for the relief of Mantua and another desperate battle occurred, at Rivoli. On January 13-14, 1797, Bonaparte inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Austrians, routed them, and sent them spinning back into the Alps again. Two weeks later Mantua surrendered. Bonaparte now marched up into the Alps, constantly outgeneraling his brilliant new opponent, the young Archduke Charles, forcing him steadily back. When on April 7 he reached the little town of Leoben, about 100 miles from Vienna, Austria sued for peace. A memorable and crowded year of effort was thus brought to a brilliant close. In its twelve months' march across northern Italy the French had fought eighteen big battles, and sixty-five smaller ones. "You have, besides that," said Bonaparte in a bulletin to the army, "sent 30,000,000 francs from the public treasury to Paris. You have enriched the Museum of Paris with 300 masterpieces of ancient and modern Italy, which it has taken thirty ages to produce. You have conquered the most beautiful country of Europe. The French colors float for the first time upon the borders of the Adriatic." In another proclamation he told them they were forever covered with glory, that when they had completed their task and returned to their homes their fellow-citizens, when pointing to them, would say, "*He was of the Army of Italy.*"

Thus rose his star to full meridian splendor. No wonder he believed in it.

Bonaparte and the Directory. All through this Italian campaign Bonaparte acted as if he were the head of the state, not its

servant. He sometimes followed the advice of the Directors, more often he ignored it, frequently he acted in defiance of it. Military matters did not alone occupy his attention. He tried his hand at political manipulation, with the same confidence and the same success which he had shown on the field of battle. He became a creator and a destroyer of states. Italy was not at that time a united country, but was a collection of small independent states. None of these escaped the transforming touch of the young conqueror. He changed the old aristocratic Republic of Genoa into the Ligurian Republic, giving it a constitution similar to that of France. He forced doubtful princes, like the Dukes of Parma and Modena, to submission and heavy payments. He forced the Pope to a similar humiliation, taking some of his states, sparing most of them, and levying exactions.

Overthrow of the Republic of Venice (1797). Bonaparte's most notorious act, next to the conquest of the successive Austrian armies, was the overthrow, on a flimsy pretext and with diabolic guile, of the famous old Republic of Venice.

“ Once did she hold the gorgeous East in fee;
And was the safeguard of the West: the worth
Of Venice did not fall below her birth,
Venice the Eldest Child of Liberty.”

Such was the thought that came to the poet Wordsworth as he contemplated this outrage, resembling in abysmal immorality the contemporary partition of Poland at the hands of the monarchs of Prussia, Austria, and Russia. At least this clear, bright, pagan republican general could have claimed, had he cared to, that he was no worse than the kings of the eighteenth century who asserted that their rule was ordained of God. Bonaparte was no worse; he was also no better; he was, moreover, far more able. He conquered Venice, one of the oldest and proudest states in Europe, and held it as a pawn in the game of diplomacy, to which he turned with eagerness and talent, now that the war was over.

General Bonaparte and his Court. Austria had agreed in April, 1797, to the preliminary peace of Leoben. The following summer was devoted to the making of the final peace, that of Campo Formio, concluded October 17, 1797. During these months Bonaparte lived in state in the splendid villa of Montebello, near Milan, basking in the dazzling sunshine of his sudden and amazing fortune.



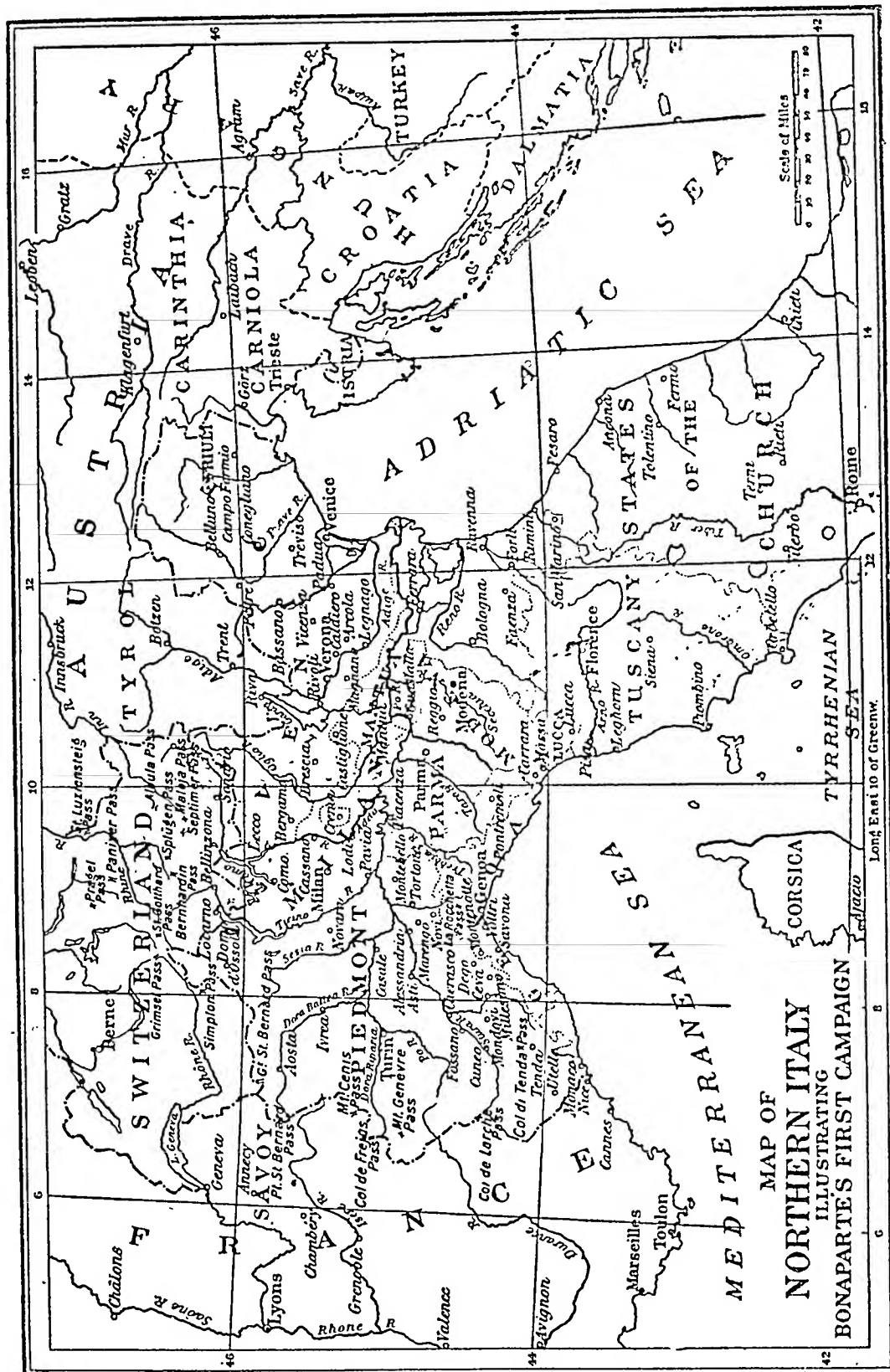
NAPOLÉON AT ARCOLA.
After the painting by Gros.

There he kept a veritable court receiving ambassadors talking intimately with artists and men of letters surrounded by young officers who had caught the swift contagion of his personality and who were advancing with his advance to prosperity and renown. There too at Montebellou were Josephine and the brothers and the sisters of the young victor and also his mother who kept a level head in prosperity as she had in adversity—all irradiated with the new glamour of their changed position in life. The young man who a few years before had pawned his watch and had eaten six-cent dinners in cheap Parisian restaurants now dined in public in the old manner of French kings allowing the curious to gaze upon him.

Bonaparte's flights of fancy. His conversation dazzled by its ease and richness. It was quoted everywhere. Some of it was calculated to arouse concern in high quarters. "What I have done so far, he said," is nothing. I am but at the beginning of the career I am to run. Do you imagine that I have triumphed in Italy in order to advance the lawyers of the Directory? . . . Let the Directory attempt to deprive me of my command and they will see who is the master. The nation must have a head who is rendered illustrious by glory." Two years later he saw to it that she had such a head.

The division of the spoils. The treaty of Campo Formio initiated the process of changing the map of Europe which was to be carried on bewilderingly in the years to come. Neither France, champion of the new principles of politics, nor Austria, champion of the old, differed in their methods. Both bargained and traded as best they could and the result was an agreement that contravened the principles of the French Revolution, of the rights of peoples to determine their own destinies, the principles of popular sovereignty. For the agreement simply registered the arbitrament of the sword, was frankly based on force, and on nothing else. French domestic policy had been revolutionized. French foreign policy had remained stationery.

Provisions of the treaty of Campo Formio 1797. By the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria relinquished her possessions in Belgium to France and abandoned to her the left bank of the Rhine, agreeing to bring about a congress of the German states to effect this change. Austria also gave up her rights in Lombardy and agreed to recognize the new Cisalpine Republic which Bonaparte created out of Lombardy, the duchies Parma and Modena, and out of parts of the Papal States and Venetia. In return for this the city, the island, and most of the mainland of Venice, were handed



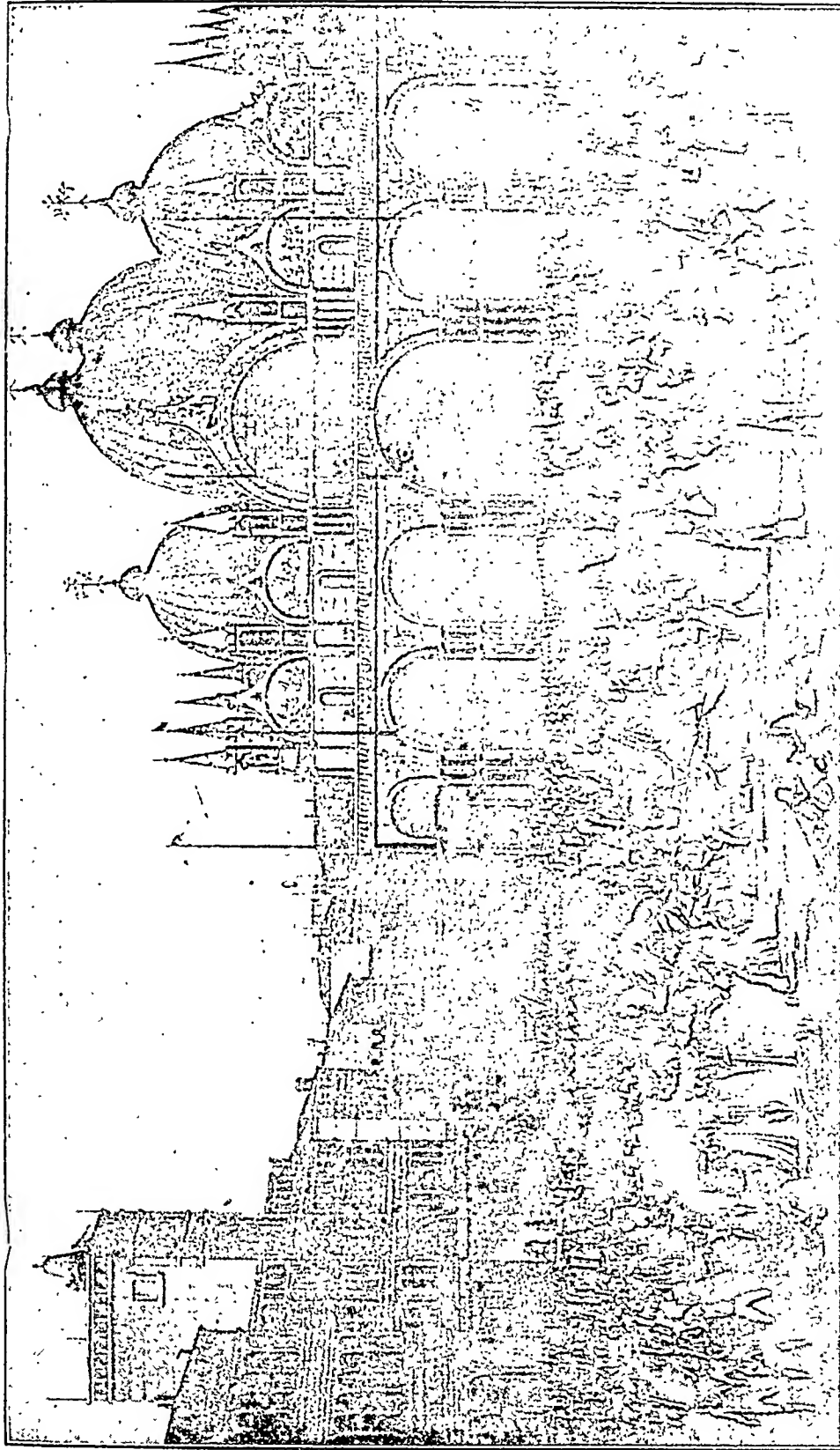
over to Austria, as were also Dalmatia and Istria: Austria became an Adriatic power. The Adriatic ceased to be a Venetian lake.

The French people were enthusiastic over the acquisition of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. They were disposed, however, to be indignant at the treatment of Venice, the rape of a republic by a republic. But they were obliged to take the fly with the ointment and to adapt themselves to the situation. Thus ended the famous Italian campaign, which was the stepping-stone by which Napoleon Bonaparte started on his triumphal way.

Bonaparte plunders Italy. Bonaparte had, moreover, not only conquered Italy. He had also plundered her. The campaign had been based upon the principle that it must pay for itself and yield a profit in addition, for the French treasury. Bonaparte demanded large contributions from the princes whom he conquered. He forced the Duke of Modena to pay ten million francs, the Republic of Genoa fifteen, the Pope twenty. He levied heavily upon Milan. Not only did he make Italy support his army, but he sent large sums to the Directory, to meet the ever threatening deficit.

Not only that, but he shamelessly and systematically robbed Italy of her works of art. This he made a regular feature of his career as conqueror. In this and later campaigns, whenever victorious, he had his agents ransack the galleries and select the pictures, which he then demanded as the prize of war, conduct which greatly embittered the victims but produced pleasurable feelings in France. The entry of the first art treasures into Paris created great excitement. Enormous cars bearing pictures and statues, carefully packed, but labeled on the outside, rolled through the streets to the accompaniment of martial music, the waving of flags, and shouts of popular approval: "The Transfiguration" by Raphael; "The Christ" by Titian; the Apollo Belvedere, the Nine Muses, the Laocoön, the Venus de Medici.

During his career Bonaparte enriched the Museum of the Louvre (lōvr) with over a hundred and fifty paintings by Raphael, Rembrandt, Rubens, Titian, and Van Dyck, to mention only a few of the greater names. After his fall years later many of these were returned to their former owners. Yet many remained. The famous bronze horses of Venice, of which the Venetians had robbed Constantinople centuries before, as Constantinople had long before that robbed Rome, were transported to Paris after the conquest of Venice in 1797,



REMOVAL OF THE BRONZE HORSES FROM VENICE, MAY, 1797
After a drawing by Carle Vernet, engraved by Duplessis-Bertaux.

but were transported back to Venice after the overthrow of Napoleon and were put in place again, there to remain for a full 100 years, until the year 1915, when they were removed once more, this time by the Venetians themselves, for purposes of safety against the dangers of the Austrian war of that year.

Bonaparte's Return to Paris. After this swift revelation of genius in the Italian campaign the laureled hero returned to Paris, the cynosure of all eyes, the center of boundless curiosity. He knew, however, that the way to keep curiosity alive is not to satisfy it, for, once satisfied, it turns to other objects. Believing that the Parisians, like the ancient Athenians, preferred to worship gods that were unknown, he discreetly kept in the background, affected simplicity of dress and demeanor, and won praises for his "modesty," quite ironically misplaced. Modesty was not his forte. He was studying his future very carefully, was analyzing the situation very closely. He would have liked to enter the Directory. Once one of the five he could have pocketed the other four. But he was only twenty-eight and Directors must be at least forty years of age. He did not wish or intend to imitate Cincinnatus by returning with dignity to the plow. He was resolved to "keep his glory warm." Perceiving that, as he expressed it, "the pear was not yet ripe," he meditated, and the result of his meditations was a spectacular adventure.

France Still at War with England. After the Peace of Campo Formio only one power remained at war with France, namely England. But England was most formidable — because of her wealth, because of her colonies, because of her navy. She had been the center of the coalition, the paymistress of the other enemies, the constant fomenter of trouble, the patron of the Bourbons. "Our Government," said Napoleon at this time, "must destroy the English monarchy or it must expect itself to be destroyed by these active islanders. Let us concentrate our energies on the navy and annihilate England. That done, Europe is at our feet." The annihilation of England was to be the most constant subject of his thought during his entire career, baffling him at every stage, prompting him to gigantic efforts, ending in catastrophic failure eighteen years later at Waterloo, and in the forced repinings of St. Helena.

Bonaparte's Egyptian Expedition. The Directory now made Bonaparte commander of the Army of England, and he began his first experiment in the elusive art of destroying these "active is-

landers." Seeing that a direct invasion of England was impossible, he sought out a vulnerable spot which should at the same time be accessible, and he hit upon Egypt. Not that Egypt was an English possession, for it was not. It belonged to the Sultan of Turkey. But it was on the route to India ; and Bonaparte, like many of his contemporaries, considered that England drew her strength, not from English mines and factories, from English brains and characters,



but from the fabulous wealth of India. Once cut that nerve and the mighty colossus would reel and fall. Bonaparte received the ready approval of the Directors for his plan for the conquest of Egypt. Once conquered, Egypt would serve as a basis of operations for an expedition to India, which would come in time. The Directors were glad to get him so far away from Paris, where his popularity was burdensome, was, indeed, a constant menace. The plan itself, also, was quite in the traditions of the French foreign office. Moreover, the potent fascination of the Orient for all imaginative minds, as

offering an inviting, mysterious field for vast and dazzling action, operated powerfully upon Bonaparte. What destinies might not be carved out of the gorgeous East, with its limitless horizons, its immeasurable, unutilized opportunities? The Orient had appealed to Alexander the Great with irresistible force as it now appealed to this imaginative young Corsican, every energy of whose rich and complex personality was now in high flood. "This little Europe has not enough to offer," he remarked one day to his school-boy friend, Bourrienne. "The Orient is the place to go to. All great reputations have been made there." I do not know what would have happened to me," he said later, "if I had not had the happy idea of going to Egypt." He was a child of the Mediterranean and as a boy had drunk in its legends and its poetry. As wildly imaginative as he was intensely practical, both imagination and cool calculation recommended the adventure.

The Departure for Egypt. Once decided on, preparations were made with promptness and in utter secrecy. On May 19, 1798, Bonaparte set sail from Toulon with a fleet of 400 slow-moving transports bearing an army of 38,000 men. A brilliant corps of young generals accompanied him, Berthier, Murat, Desaix, Marmont, Lannes, Kléber, tried and tested in Italy the year before. He also took with him a traveling library in which Plutarch's *Lives* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* and the *Koran* were a few of the significant contents. Fellow-voyagers, also, were over one hundred distinguished scholars, scientists, artists, engineers, for this expedition was to be no mere military promenade, but was designed to widen the bounds of human knowledge by an elaborate study of the products and customs, the history and the art of that country, famous, yet little known. This, indeed, was destined to be the most permanent and valuable result of an expedition which laid the broad foundations of modern Egyptology in *The Description of Egypt*, a monumental work which presented to the world in sumptuous form the discoveries and investigations of this group of learned men.

The hazards were enormous. Admiral Nelson with a powerful English fleet was in the Mediterranean. The French managed to escape him. Stopping on the way to seize the important position of Malta and to forward the contents of its treasury to the Directors, Bonaparte reached his destination at the end of June and disembarked in safety. The nominal ruler of Egypt was the Sultan of

Turkey, but the real rulers were the Mamelukes, a sort of feudal military caste. They constituted a splendid body of cavalrymen, but they were no match for the invaders, as they lacked infantry and artillery, and were, moreover, far inferior in numbers.

The Campaign in Egypt. Seizing Alexandria on July 2, the French army began the march to Cairo. The difficulties of the march were great, as no account had been taken, in the preparations, of the character of the climate and the country. The soldiers wore the heavy uniforms in vogue in Europe. In the march across the blazing sands they experienced hunger, thirst, heat. Many perished from thirst, serious eye troubles were caused by the frightful glare, suicide was not infrequent. Finally, however, after nearly three weeks of this agony, the Pyramids came in sight, just outside Cairo. There Bonaparte administered a smashing defeat to the Mamelukes, encouraging his soldiers by one of his thrilling phrases, "Soldiers, from the summit of these pyramids forty centuries look down upon you." The Battle of the Pyramids, July 21, 1798, gave the French control of Cairo. The Mamelukes were dispersed. They had lost 2000 men. Bonaparte had lost very few.

But no sooner had the French conquered the country than they became prisoners in it. For, on August 1, Nelson had surprised the French fleet as it was lying in the harbor of Abukir Bay, east of Alexandria, and had captured or destroyed it. Only two battleships and a frigate managed to escape. This Battle of the Nile, as it was called, was one of the most decisive sea fights of this entire period. It was Bonaparte's first taste of British sea power. It was not his last.

Bonaparte received the news of this terrible disaster, which cut him off from France and cooped him up in a hot and poor country, with superb composure. "Well! we must remain in this land, and come forth great, as did the ancients. This is the hour when characters of a superior order should show themselves." And later he said that the English "will perhaps compel us to do greater things than we intended."

The Syrian Campaign. Bonaparte had need of all his resources, material and moral. Hearing that the Sultan of Turkey had declared war upon him, he resolved, in January, 1799, to invade Syria, one of the Sultan's provinces, wishing to restore or reaffirm the confidence of his soldiers by fresh victories and thinking, perhaps, of a

march on India or on Constantinople, taking "Europe in the rear," as he expressed it. If such was his hope, it was destined to disappointment. The crossing of the desert from Egypt into Syria was painful in the extreme, marked by the horrors of heat and thirst. The soldiers marched amid clouds of sand blown against them by a suffocating wind. They, however, seized the forts of Gaza and Jaffa, and destroyed a Turkish army at Mt. Tabor, near Nazareth; but were arrested at Acre, which they could not take by siege, because it was on the seacoast and was aided by the British fleet, but which they partly took by storm, only to be forced finally to withdraw because of terrific losses. For two months the struggle for Acre went on. Plague broke out, ammunition ran short, and Bonaparte was again beaten by sea power. He led his army back to Cairo in a memorable march, covering 300 miles in twenty-six days, over scorching sands and amidst appalling scenes of disaster and despair. He had sacrificed 5000 men, had accomplished nothing, and had been checked for the first time in his career. On reaching Cairo he had the effrontery to act as if he had been triumphant, and sent out lying bulletins, not caring to have the truth known.

The Battle of Abukir (July 25, 1799). A few weeks later he did win a notable victory, this time at Abukir, against a Turkish army that had just disembarked. This he correctly described when he announced, "It is one of the finest I have ever witnessed. Of the army landed by the enemy not a man has escaped." Over 10,000 Turks lost their lives in this, the last exploit of Bonaparte in Egypt.

The Return from Egypt. Bonaparte now resolved to return to France, to leave the whole adventure in other hands, seeing that it must inevitably fail, and to seek his fortune in fairer fields. He had heard news from France that made him anxious to return. A new coalition had been formed during his absence, the French had been driven out of Italy, France itself was threatened with invasion. The Directory was discredited and unpopular because of its incompetence and blunders. Bonaparte did not dare to inform his soldiers, who had endured so much, of his plan. He did not even dare to tell Kléber (klā-bār'), to whom he intrusted the command of the army by a letter which reached the latter too late for him to protest. He set sail secretly on the night of August 21, 1799, accompanied by Berthier (ber-tiā'), Murat, and five other officers, and by two or three scien-

tists. Kléber was later assassinated by a Mohammedan fanatic and the French army was forced to capitulate and evacuate Egypt, in August, 1801. That ended the Egyptian expedition.

It was no easy thing to get back from Egypt to France with the English scouring the seas, and the winds against him. Sometimes the little sailboat on which Bonaparte had taken passage was beaten back ten miles a day. Then the wind would shift at night and progress would be made. It took three weeks of hugging the southern shore of the Mediterranean before the narrows between Africa and Sicily were reached. These were guarded by an English battleship. But the French slipped through at night, lights out. Reaching Corsica they stopped several days, the winds dead against them. It seemed as if every one on the island claimed relationship with their fellow-citizen who had been rendered "illustrious by glory." Bonaparte saw his native land for the last time in his life. Finally he sailed for France, and was nearly overhauled by the British, who chased him to almost within sight of land. The journey from the coast to Paris was a continuous ovation. The crowds were such that frequently the carriages could advance but slowly. Evenings there were illuminations everywhere. When Paris was reached, delirium broke forth.

The Coup d'État of the 18th and 19th Brumaire (November 9-10, 1799). Bonaparte arrived in Paris in the nick of time, as was his wont. Finally the pear was ripe. The government was in the last stages of unpopularity and discredit. Incompetent and corrupt, it was also unsuccessful. Bonaparte and others now conspired to bring about its overthrow. This they accomplished by a *coup d'état* which landed Napoleon in the saddle, made him ruler of a great state and opened a new and prodigious chapter in the history of Europe. There is no English word for *coup d'état*, as fortunately the thing described is alien to the history of English-speaking peoples. It is the seizure of the state, of power, by force and ruse, the overthrow of the government by violence, by arms, — very risky business. The conspirators were obliged to step most warily.

They did so — and they nearly failed — and had they failed, their fate would have been that of Robespierre.

The 19th Brumaire. On Sunday, the 19th of Brumaire (November 10, 1799), the Council of Elders and the Council of the Five Hundred met in extraordinary session in the palace of St. Cloud,

several miles from Paris. The President of the latter body was a brother of Napoleon, Lucien Bonaparte, a shallow but cool-headed rhetorician, to whom the honors of this critical day were destined to be due. Napoleon was there with troops, ostensibly to protect the Councils.

This, however, was what happened. Delay occurring in arranging the halls for the meeting, the suspicious legislators had time to

confer, to concert opposition. The Elders, when their session finally began at two o'clock, demanded details concerning a plot against the Republic which the conspirators had given as the reason for the transfer of the Councils from Paris to St. Cloud. Suddenly Bonaparte entered and made a wild and incoherent speech. They were "standing on a volcano," he told them. He was no "Cæsar," no "Cromwell," intent upon destroying the liberties of his country. "General, you no longer know what you are saying," whispered Bourrienne, urging him to leave the chamber, which he immediately did.

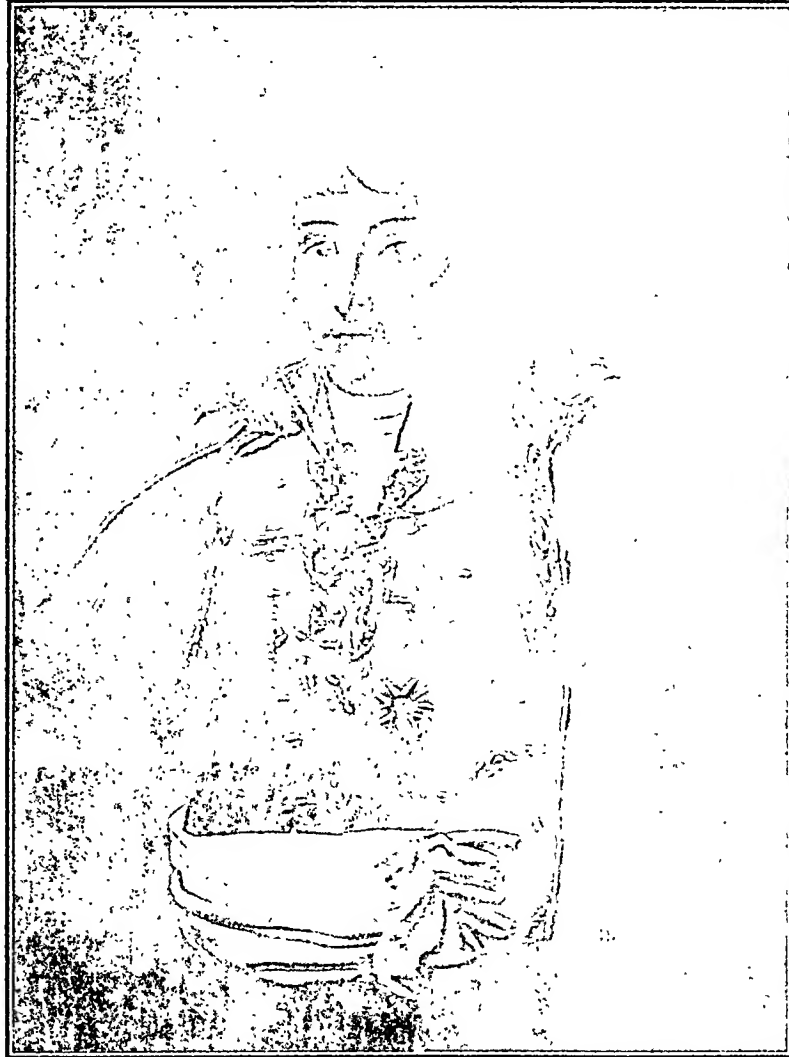


OFFICIAL COSTUME OF A MEMBER OF THE
COUNCIL OF THE FIVE HUNDRED

From a water-color by David.

This was a bad beginning, but worse was yet to come. Bonaparte went to the Council of the Five Hundred, accompanied by four grenadiers. He was greeted with a perfect storm of wrath. Cries of "Outlaw him, outlaw him!" "Down with the Dictator, down with the tyrant!" rent the air. Pandemonium reigned. He received blows, was pushed and jostled, and was finally dragged fainting from the hall by the grenadiers, his coat torn, his face bleeding. Outside he mounted his horse in the courtyard, before the soldiers.

It was Lucien who saved this badly bungled day. Refusing to put the motion to outlaw his brother, he left the President's chair, made his way to the courtyard, mounted a horse, and harangued the soldiers, telling them that a band of assassins was terrorizing the as-



LUCIEN BONAPARTE

From the painting by R. Lefèvre.

sembly, that his life and that of Napoleon were no longer safe, and demanding, as President of the Five Hundred, that the soldiers enter the hall and clear out the brigands and free the Council. The soldiers hesitated. Then Lucien seized Napoleon's sword, pointed it at his brother's breast, and swore to kill him if he should ever lay violent hands on the Republic. The lie and the melodrama worked.

The soldiers entered the hall, led by Murat. The legislators escaped through the windows.

That evening groups of Elders and of the Five Hundred who favored the conspirators met, voted the abolition of the Directory, and appointed three *Consuls*, Sieyes, Ducos, and General Bonaparte, to take their place. They then adjourned for four months, appointing, as their final act, committees to coöperate with the Consuls in the preparation of a new constitution.

The three Consuls promised "fidelity to the Republic, one and indivisible, to liberty, equality, and the representative system of government." At six o'clock on Monday morning every one went back to Paris. The grenadiers returned to their garrison singing revolutionary songs and thinking most sincerely that they had saved the Republic and the Revolution. No outbreak occurred in Paris. The *coup d'état* was popular. Government bonds rose rapidly, nearly doubling in a week.

Such was the Little Corporal's rise to civil power. It was fortunate, as we have seen, that not all the ability of his remarkable family was monopolized by himself. Lucien had his particular share, a distinct advantage to his kith and kin.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the Directory? Describe the early years of Napoleon Bonaparte. What part did he take in the French Revolution? Describe Bonaparte's campaign in Italy. What changes did he make in Italy? What were the provisions of the Treaty of Campo Formio?

II. What were the reasons for the Egyptian expedition? Describe the campaigns in Egypt and Syria. Why did Bonaparte return to Paris? How did he become Consul?

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CHAPTER X

THE CONSULATE

The Form and Pattern of the Man. Thus by a successful *coup d'état* the famous young warrior had clutched at power and was not soon to let it slip. It had been a narrow escape. Fate had trembled dangerously in the balance on that gray November Sunday afternoon, but the gambler had won. His thin, sallow face, his sharp, metallic voice, his abrupt, imperious gesture, his glance that cowed and terrified, his long disordered hair, his delicate hands, became a part of the history of the times, manifesting the intensely vivid impression which he had made upon his age and was to deepen.



BONAPARTE, FIRST CONSUL

From an engraving by Momal, after Isabey.

He was to etch the impress of his amazing personality with deep, precise, bold strokes upon the institutions and the life of France.

He was, in reality, a flinty young despot with a pronounced taste for military glory. "I love power," he said later, "as a musician loves his violin. I love it as an artist." He was now in a position to indulge his taste.

Pending a wider and a higher flight, there were two tasks that called for the immediate attention of the three Consuls, who now took the place formerly occupied by the five Directors. A new constitution must be made, and the war against the coalition must be carried on.

The Constitution of 1799. The Constitution of the Year VIII (1799), the fourth since the beginning of the Revolution, hastily composed and put into force a month after the *coup d'état*, was in its essentials the work of Bonaparte and was designed to place supreme power in his hands. Bonaparte practically dictated the constitution, using, to be sure, such of the suggestions made by the others as seemed to him good or harmless. The result was the organization of that phase of the history of the Republic which is called the Consulate and which lasted from 1799 to 1804.

The executive power was vested in three Consuls who were to be elected for ten years and to be reëligible. Practically all the powers were to be in the hands of the First Consul, Bonaparte. The constitution also provided for no less than four assemblies, the Council of State, the Tribunate, the Legislative Body and the Senate. No time need be spent on this aspect of the document, for it was a sham and a deception. All this elaborate machinery was designed to keep up the fiction of the sovereignty of the people, the great assertion of the Revolution. The Republic continued to exist. The people were voters. They had their various assemblies, ingeniously selected. Practically, however, popular sovereignty was gone; Bonaparte was sovereign. He possessed more extensive executive powers than Louis XVI had possessed under the Constitution of 1791. He really had the legislative power also. No bill could be discussed or voted that had not been first prepared by his orders. Once voted it could not go into force until he promulgated it. France was still a republic in name; practically, however, it was a monarchy, scarcely veiled at that. Bonaparte's position was quite as attractive as that of any monarch by divine right, except for the fact that he was to hold it for a term of ten years only and had no power to bequeath it to an heir. He was to remedy these details later.

Bonaparte's Centralized System. Having given France a constitution, the First Consul secured the enactment of a law which placed all the local government in his hands. There was to be a *prefect* at the head of each department, a *subprefect* for each arrondissement, a mayor for every town or commune. The citizens lost

the power to manage their own local affairs, and thus their training in self-government came to an end. Government, national and local, was centralized in Paris, more effectively, even, than in the good old days of the Bourbons and their intendants.

Bonaparte's Second Italian Campaign, 1800. Having set his house in order, having gained a firm grip on the reins of power, Bonaparte now turned his attention to the foreign enemies of France. The coalition consisted of England, Austria, and Russia. England was difficult to get at. The Russians were dissatisfied with their allies and were withdrawing from coöperation. There remained Austria, the enemy Bonaparte had met before.

One Austrian army was on the Rhine and Bonaparte sent Moreau to attack it. Another was in northern Italy and he went in person to attend to that. While he had been in Egypt the Austrians had won back northern Italy. Melas (mā'-lās), their general, had driven Masséna (mā-sā-nä') into Genoa, where the latter hung on like grim death, with rations that would soon be exhausted. Bonaparte's plan was to get in between the Austrians and their own country, to attack them in the rear, thus to force them to withdraw from the siege of Genoa in order to keep open their line of communication. In the pursuit of this object he accomplished one of his most famous exploits, the crossing of the Great Saint Bernard Pass over the Alps, with an army of 40,000, through snow and ice, dragging their cannon in troughs made out of hollowed logs. It was a matter of a week. Once in Italy he sought out the Austrians and met them unexpectedly at Marengo (June 14, 1800). The battle came near being a defeat, owing to the fact that Bonaparte blundered badly, having divided his forces, and that Desaix's (de-sā') division was miles away. The battle began at dawn and went disastrously for the French. At one o'clock the Austrian commander rode back to his headquarters, believing that he had won and that the remaining work could be left to his subordinates. The French were pushed back and their retreat threatened to become a stampede. The day was saved by the appearance of Desaix's division on the scene, at about five o'clock. The battle was resumed with fury, Desaix himself was killed, but the soldiers avenged his glorious death by a glorious victory. By seven o'clock the day of strange vicissitudes was over. The Austrians signed an armistice abandoning to the French all northern Italy as far as the Mincio.

Six months later Moreau won a decisive victory over the Austrians in Germany at Hohenlinden (December 3, 1800), thus opening the road to Vienna. Austria was now compelled to sue for peace. The Treaty of Lunéville (lū-nā-vēl') (February 9, 1801) was in the main a repetition of the Treaty of Campo Formio.

Peace with England at Last (1802). As had been the case after Campo Formio, so now, after the breakup of this second coalition, France remained at war with only one nation, England. These two nations had been at war continuously for nine years. England had defeated the French navy and had conquered many of the colonies of France and of the allies or dependencies of France, that is, of Holland and Spain. She had just compelled the French in Egypt, the army left there by Bonaparte, to agree to evacuate that country. But her debt had grown enormously and there was widespread popular dislike of the war. A change in the ministry occurred, removing the great war leader, William Pitt. England agreed to discuss the question of peace. The discussion went on for five months and ended in the Peace of Amiens (ä-mē-an') (March, 1802). England recognized the existence of the French Republic. She restored all the French colonies and some of the Dutch and Spanish, retaining only Ceylon and Trinidad. She promised to evacuate Malta and Egypt, which the French had seized in 1798 and which she had taken from them. Nothing was said of the French conquest of Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine. This was virtual acquiescence in the new boundaries of France, which far exceeded those of the ancient monarchy.

Thus Europe was at peace for the first time in ten years. Great was the enthusiasm in both France and England. The peace, however, was most unstable. It lasted just one year.

Some of Bonaparte's Opinions. Napoleon said on one occasion, "I am the Revolution." On another he said that he had "destroyed the Revolution." There was much error and some truth in both these statements.

The Consulate, and the Empire which succeeded the Consulate, preserved much of the work of the Revolution and abolished much, in conformity with the ideas and also the personal interests of the new ruler. Bonaparte had very definite opinions concerning the Revolution, concerning the French people, and concerning his own ambitions. These opinions constituted the most important single factor

in the life of France after 1799. Bonaparte sympathized with, or at least tolerated, one of the ideas of the Revolution, Equality. He detested the other leading idea, Liberty. In his youth he had fallen under the magnetic spell of Rousseau. But that had passed and thenceforth he dismissed Rousseau summarily as a "madman." He accepted the principle of equality because it alone made possible his own career and because he perceived the hold it had upon the minds of the people. He had no desire to restore the Bourbons and the feudal system, the incarnation of the principle of inequality and privilege. He stood right athwart the road to yesterday in this respect. It was he and his system that kept the Bourbons exiles from France fifteen years longer, so long indeed that when they did finally return it was largely without their baggage of outworn ideas. Bonaparte thus prevented the restoration of the Old Régime. That was done for, for good and all. Privilege, abolished in 1789, remained abolished. The clergy, nobility, and third estate had been swept away. There remained only a vast mass of French citizens subject to the same laws, paying the same taxes, enjoying equal chances in life, as far as the state was concerned. The state showed no partiality, had no favorites. All shared in bearing the nation's burdens in proportion to their ability. And no class levied taxes upon another — tithes and feudal dues were not restored. No class could exercise a monopoly of any craft or trade — the guilds with all their restrictions remained abolished. Moreover, all now had an equal chance at public employment in the state or in the army.

Bonaparte summed this policy up in the phrase "careers open to talent." This idea was not original with him, it was contained in the Declaration of the Rights of Man. But he held it. Under him there were no artificial barriers, any one might rise as high as his ability, his industry, his service justified, always on condition of his loyalty to the sovereign. Every avenue was kept open to ambition and energy. Napoleon's marshals, the men who attained the highest positions in his armies, were humbly born — Masséna (mä-sä-nä') was the son of a saloon-keeper, Augereau (ōzh-rō') of a mason, Ney (nā) of a cooper, and Murat (mü-rä') of a country inn-keeper. None of these men could have possibly become a marshal under the Old Régime, nor could Bonaparte himself have risen to a higher rank than that of colonel and then only when well along in life. Bonaparte did not think that all men are equal in natural gifts or in

social position, but he maintained equality before the law, that priceless acquisition of the Revolution.

He did not believe in liberty nor did he believe that, for that matter, the French believed in it. His career was one long denial or nega-



JOSEPHINE AT MALMAISON

From the painting by Prud'hon.

tion of it. Neither liberty of speech, nor liberty of the press, neither intellectual nor political liberty received anything from him but blows and infringements. In this respect his rule meant reaction to the spirit and the practice of the Old Régime.

Bonaparte's Policies as Ruler. The activities of Bonaparte as First Consul, after Marengo and during the brief interval of peace, were unremitting and far-reaching. It was then that he gave his full measure as a civil ruler. He was concerned with binding up the wounds or open sores of the nation, with determining the form of the national institutions, with consolidating the foundations of his power.

First, the party passions which had run riot for ten years must be quieted. Bonaparte's policy was conciliation. There was room enough in France for all, but on one condition, that all accept the present rulers and acquiesce in the existing institutions and laws of the land. Offices would be open freely to former Royalists, Jacobins, Girondists, on equal terms, no questions asked save that of loyalty. The laws against the *émigrés* and the non-juring priests were relaxed. Of over 100,000 emigrants, all but about 1000 irreconcilables received, by successive decrees, the legal right to return and to recover their estates, if these had not been already sold. Only those who placed their devotion to the House of Bourbon above all other considerations found the door resolutely closed.

Bonaparte and the Roman Catholic Church. Bonaparte also sought to end the religious dissension which had disturbed French society for a decade and which had ranged the clergy against the state.

No sooner had he returned from Marengo than he took measures to show the Catholics that they had nothing to fear from him, that they could enjoy their religion undisturbed if they did not use their liberty, under cover of religion, to plot against him and against the Revolutionary settlement. He was in all this not actuated by any religious sentiment himself, but by a purely political sentiment—he was himself, as he said, “Mohammedan in Egypt, Catholic in France.” Bonaparte also saw that religion was an instrument which he might much better have on his side than allow to be on the side of his enemies. Purely political, not spiritual, considerations determined his policy in now concluding with the Pope the famous treaty or Concordat, which repealed some of the provisions of the Civil Constitution, particularly those providing for the popular election of the clergy, and determined the relations of church and state in France for the whole nineteenth century. This important piece of legislation of the year 1802 lasted 103 years, being abrogated only under the present republic, in 1905.

The Concordat of 1802. By the Concordat the Catholic religion was recognized by the Republic to be that " of the great majority of the French people " and its free exercise was permitted. The Pope agreed to a reduction in the number of bishoprics. He also recognized the sale of the church property effected by the Revolution. Thus those who had bought the confiscated lands of the church were assured that their titles would not be questioned, titles which the church itself now recognized as legal. Henceforth the bishops were to be appointed by the First Consul but were to be actually invested by the Pope. The bishops in turn were to appoint the priests, with the consent of the government. The bishops must take the oath of fidelity to the head of the state. Both bishops and priests were to receive salaries from the state. They really became state officials.

The *Code Napoléon*. " My real glory," said Napoleon at St. Helena, " is not my having won forty battles. What will never be effaced, what will endure forever, is my Civil Code." The famous *Code Napoléon* was an orderly, systematic, compact statement of the laws of France. Pre-revolutionary France had been governed by a perplexing number of systems of law of different historical origins. Then had come, with the Revolution, a flood of new legislation. It was desirable to sift and harmonize all these statutes, and to present to the people of France a body of law, clear, rational, and logically arranged, so that henceforth all the doubt, uncertainty, and confusion which had hitherto characterized the administration of justice might be avoided and every Frenchman might easily know what his legal rights and relations were, with reference to the state and his fellow-citizens. Bonaparte now lent the driving force of his personality to the accomplishment of this task, and in a comparatively brief time the lawyers and the Council of State to whom he intrusted the work had it finished. The code to which Napoleon attached his name preserved the principle of civil equality established by the Revolution. It was immediately put into force in France and was later introduced into countries conquered or influenced by France, Belgium, the German territories west of the Rhine, and Italy.

The Bank of France and the Legion of Honor. During these years of the Consulate Bonaparte achieved many other things than those which have been mentioned. He improved the system of taxation greatly, and brought order into the national finances. He founded the Bank of France which still exists — and another institu-

tion which has come down to our own day, the Legion of Honor, for the distribution of honors and emoluments to those who rendered distinguished service to the state. Opposed as undemocratic, as offensive to the principle of equality, it was nevertheless instituted.

Nor did this exhaust the list of durable achievements of this crowded period of the Consulate. The system of national education was in part reorganized, and industry and commerce received the interested attention of the ambitious ruler. Roads were improved, canals were cut, ports were dredged. The economic development of the country was so rapid as to occasion some uneasiness in England.

Plots and Counterplots. Thus was carried through an extensive and profound renovation of the national life. This period of the Consulate is that part of Bonaparte's career which was most useful to

his fellow-men, most contributory to the welfare of his country. His work was not accomplished without risk to himself. As his reputation and authority increased, the wrath of those who saw their way to power barred by his formidable person increased also. At first the royalists had looked to him to imitate the English General Monk who had used his position for the restoration of Charles II. But Bonaparte had no notion of acting any such graceful and altruistic part. When this became apparent certain reckless royalists commenced to plot against him, began considering that it was possible to murder him. An attack upon him occurred shortly after Marengo. Many lives were lost, but he escaped with his by the narrowest margin.

A more serious plot was woven in London in the circle of the Count of Artois, younger brother of Louis XVI. The principal agents were Georges Cadoudal (kä-dö-däl') and Pichegru (pēsh-grü'). Bona-



THE THREE CONSULS

After the medal in bronze by Jeuffroy.

parte, through his police, knew of the plot. He hoped, in allowing it to develop, to get his hands on the Count of Artois. But the Count did not land in France. Cadoudal and his accomplices were taken and shot. Pichegru was found strangled in prison. Bonaparte wished to make an example of the House of Bourbon which would be remembered. This led him to commit a monstrous crime. He



THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN

From an engraving after an original drawing
by Count de Lély.

ordered the seizure on German soil of the young Duke d'Enghien (on-gian'), the Prince of Condé, a member of a branch of the Bourbon family. The prince, who was innocent of any connection whatever with the conspiracy, was abducted, brought to Vincennes (vin-senz') at five o'clock on the evening of March 20, 1804, was sent before a court-martial at eleven o'clock and at half-past two in the night was taken out into the courtyard and shot. This was assassination pure and simple and it was Bonaparte's own act. It has remained ever since an odious blot upon his name, which the multitudinous seas cannot wash out. Its immediate object,

however, was achieved. The royalists ceased plotting the murder of the Corsican.

Napoleon I, Emperor of the French (1804). A few days after this Bonaparte took another step forward in the consolidation of his powers. In 1802, he had contrived to have his consulate for ten years transformed into a consulate for life, with the right to name his successor. The only remaining step was taken in 1804, when a servile Senate approved a new constitution, declaring him Emperor of

NAPOLEON I, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH (1804) 185

the French, "this change being demanded by the interests of the French people." It was at any rate agreeable to the French people, who in a popular vote or plebiscite ratified it overwhelmingly. Henceforth he was designated by his first name, in the manner of monarchs. It happened to be a more musical and sonorous name than most monarchs have possessed.

"I found the crown of France lying on the ground," Napoleon once said, "and I picked it up with my sword," a vivid summary of an important chapter in his biography.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the Consulate? What was its relation to the Republic? What changes did Bonaparte make in the constitution of France?

II. Describe Bonaparte's second Italian campaign, stating its causes and results. What was the Treaty of Campo Formio? the Treaty of Amiens? What were Bonaparte's opinions of the work of the French Revolution?

III. What was Bonaparte's treatment of the Royalists? What was the *Code Napoléon*? What were the chief provisions of the Concordat? What other achievements are connected with the name of the First Consul? How did the Napoleonic Empire come into existence?

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CHAPTER XI

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE EMPIRE

The Napoleonic Era. The Napoleonic Empire lasted ten years, from 1804 to 1814. It was a period of uninterrupted warfare, in which a long series of amazing victories was swallowed up in final, overwhelming defeat. The central, overmastering figure in this agitating story, dominating the decade so completely that it is known by his name, was this man whose ambition vaulted so dizzily, only to o'erleap itself. Napoleon ranks with Alexander, Cæsar, Charlemagne (chär'-le-mān), as one of the most powerful conquerors and rulers of history. It would be both interesting and instructive to compare these four. It is by no means certain that Napoleon would not be considered the greatest of them all. Certainly we have far more abundant information concerning him than we have concerning the others.

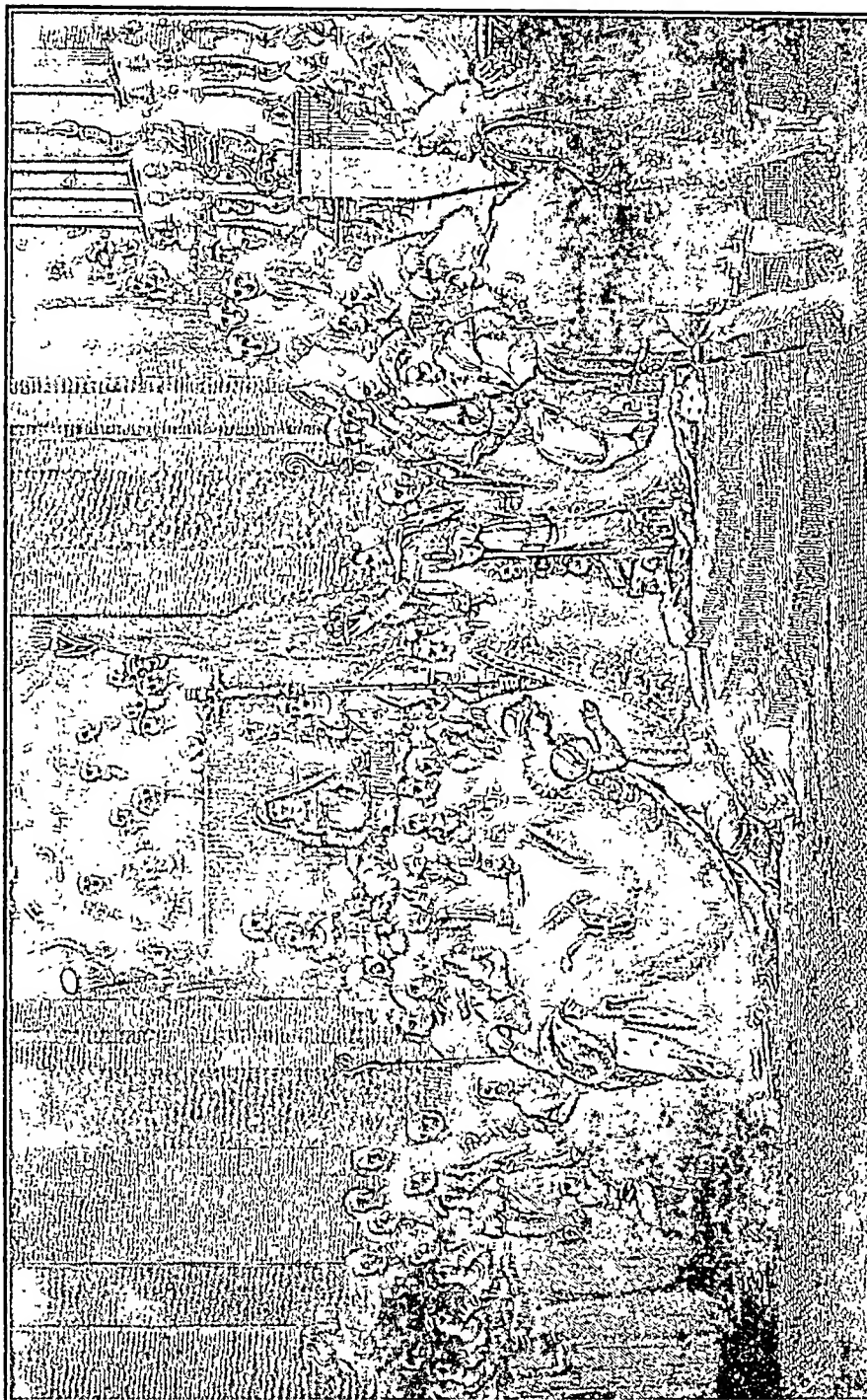
The Personal Characteristics of Napoleon. When Napoleon became emperor he was thirty-five years old and was in the full possession of all his magnificent powers. For he was marvelously gifted. His brain was a wonderful organ, swift in its processes, tenacious in its grip, lucid, precise, tireless, and it was served by an incredibly capacious and accurate memory. "He never blundered into victory," says Emerson, "but won his battles in his head, before he won them on the field." All his intellectual resources were available at any moment. He said of himself, "Different matters are stowed away in my brain as in a chest of drawers. When I wish to interrupt a piece of work I close that drawer and open another. None of them ever get mixed, never does this inconvenience or fatigue me. When I feel sleepy I shut all the drawers and go to sleep."

Napoleon possessed a varied and vivid imagination, was always, as he said, "living two years in advance," weaving plans and dreams and then considering coolly the necessary ways and means to realize them. This union of the practical and the poetic, the realistic and the imagi-

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native, each raised to the highest pitch, was rendered potent by a will that recognized no obstacles, and by an almost superhuman activity. Napoleon loved work, and no man in Europe, and few in all history, have labored as did he. "Work is my element, for which I was born and fitted," he said at St. Helena, at the end of his life. "I have known the limits of the power of my arms and legs. I have never discovered those of my power of work." Working twelve or sixteen and, if necessary, twenty hours a day, rarely spending more than fifteen or twenty minutes at his meals, able to fall asleep at will and to awaken with his mind instantly alert, he lost no time and drove his secretaries and subordinates at full speed. We gain some idea of the prodigious labor accomplished by him when we consider that his published correspondence, comprising 23,000 pieces, fills thirty-two volumes and that 50,000 additional letters dictated by him are known to be in existence but have not yet been printed. Here was no do-nothing king, but the most industrious man in Europe. Happy, too, only in his work. The ordinary pleasures of men he found tedious, indulging in them only when his position rendered it necessary. He rarely smiled, he never laughed, his conversation was generally a monologue, but brilliant, animated, trenchant, rushing, frequently impertinent and rude. He had no scruples and he had no manners. He was ill-bred, as was shown in his relations with women, of whom he had a low opinion. His language, whether Italian or French, lacked distinction, finish, correctness, but never lacked saliency or interest. The Graces had not presided over his birth, but the Fates had. He had a magnificent talent as stage manager and actor, setting the scenes, playing the parts consummately in all the varied ceremonies in which he was necessarily involved, coronation, reviews, diplomatic audiences, interviews with other monarchs. His proclamations, his bulletins to his army were masterpieces. He could cajole in the silkiest tones, could threaten in the iciest, could shed tears or burst into violence, smashing furniture and bric-a-brac when he felt that such actions would produce the effect desired. The Pope, Pius VII, seeing him once in such a display of passion, observed, "tragedian," "comedian."

He had no friends, he despised all theorists like those who had sowed the fructifying seeds of the Revolution broadcast, he harried all opponents out of the country or into silence, he made his ministers mere hard-worked servants, but he won the admiration and devo-



NAPOLÉON CROWNING JOSEPHINE

From the painting by David in the Louvre.

tion of his soldiers by the glamour of his victories, he held the peasantry in the hollow of his hand by constantly guaranteeing them their land and their civil equality, the things which were, in their opinion, the only things in the Revolution that counted. He was as little as he was big. He would lie shamelessly, would cheat at cards, was superstitious in strange ways. He was a man of whom more evil and more good can be said and has been said than of many historical figures. He cannot be easily described, and certainly not in any brief compass.

Napoleon Establishes a Court. Now that Napoleon was emperor he proceeded to organize the state imperially. Offices with high-sounding, ancient titles were created and filled. There was a Grand Chamberlain, a Grand Marshal of the Palace, a Grand Master of Ceremonies, and so on. A court was created, expensive, and as gay as it could be made to be at a soldier's orders. The Emperor's family, declared Princes of France, donned new titles and prepared for whatever honors and emoluments might flow from the bubbling fountain-head. The court resumed the manners and customs which had been in vogue before the Revolution. Republican simplicity gave way to imperial pretensions, attitudes, extravagances, pose. The constitution was revised to meet the situation, and Napoleon was crowned in a memorable and sumptuous ceremony in Nôtre Dame, the Pope coming all the way from Rome to assist — but not to crown. At the critical point in the splendid ceremony Napoleon crowned himself and then crowned the Empress. But the Pope poured the holy oil upon Napoleon's head. This former lieutenant of artillery thus became the "anointed of the Lord," in good though irregular standing. He crowned himself a little later King of Italy, after he had changed the Cisalpine Republic into the Kingdom of Italy (1805).

The Empire Constantly at War. The history of the Empire is the history of ten years of uninterrupted war. Europe saw a universal menace to the independence and liberty of all states in the growing and arrogant ascendancy of France, an ascendancy and a threat all the more obvious and dangerous now that that country was absolutely in the hands of an autocrat, and that too an autocrat who had grown great by war and whose military tastes and talents would now have free rein. Napoleon was evoking on every occasion, intentionally and ostentatiously, the imperial souvenirs of Julius



NAPOLEON IN THE IMPERIAL ROBES

From an engraving after the picture by Gérard.

Cæsar and of Charlemagne. What could this mean except that he planned to rule not only France, but Europe, consequently the world? Unless the other nations were willing to accept subordinate positions, were willing to abdicate their rank as equals in the family of nations,

they must fight the dictatorship which was manifestly impending. Fundamentally this is what the ten years' war meant, the right of other states to live and prosper, not on mere sufferance of Napoleon, but by their own right and because universal domination or the undue ascendancy of any single state would necessarily be dangerous to the other states and to whatever elements of civilization they represented. France already had that ascendancy in 1804. Under Napoleon she made a tremendous effort to convert it into absolute and universal domination. She almost succeeded. That she failed was due primarily to the steadfast, unshakable opposition of one power, England, which never acquiesced in her pretensions, which fought them at every stage with all her might, through good report and through evil report, stirring up opposition wherever she could, weaving coalition after coalition, using her money and her navy untiringly in the effort. It was a war of the giants. A striking aspect of the matter was the struggle between sea power, directed by England, and land power, directed by Napoleon.

The Third Coalition against France. While the Empire was being organized in 1804 a new coalition was being formed against France, the third in the series we are studying. England and France had made peace at Amiens in 1802. That peace lasted only a year, until May 17, 1803. Then the two states flew to arms again. The reasons were various. England was jealous of the French expansion which had been secured by the treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, French control of the left bank of the Rhine, French domination over considerable parts of the Italian peninsula, particularly French conquest of Belgium, including the fine port of Antwerp. England had always been opposed to French expansion, particularly northward along the Channel, which Englishmen considered and called the English Channel. The English did not wish any rival along those shores. Again, the long war, since 1793, had damaged their trade enormously and they had hoped, by making peace with France, to find the markets of the Continent open to them once more, and thus to revive their trade. But they shortly saw that this was not at all the idea of France. Napoleon wished to develop the industries of France. He therefore established high protective tariffs with this end in view. Thus English competition was excluded or at least greatly reduced. The English were extremely angry and did not at all propose to lie down supinely, beaten without a struggle. That

had never been their custom. War would be less burdensome, said their business men. For England commerce was the very breath of life. Without it she could not exist. This explains why, now that she entered upon a struggle in its defense, she did not lay down her arms again until she had Napoleon safely imprisoned on the island of St. Helena.

Renewal of War between France and England. War broke out between the two countries in May, 1803. Napoleon immediately seized Hanover, a possession in Germany of the English king. He declared the long coast of Europe from Hanover westward and southward and eastward to Taranto in Italy blockaded, that is, closed to English commerce, and he began to prepare for an invasion of England itself. Napoleon established a vast camp of 150,000 men at Boulogne to be ready for the descent. He hastened the construction of hundreds of flatboats for transport. Whether all this was mere make-believe intended to alarm England, whether he knew that after all it was a hopeless undertaking and was simply displaying all this activity to compel England to think that peace would be wiser than running the risk of invasion, we do not positively know.

Coalition of England, Russia and Austria. At any rate England was not intimidated. She prepared for defense, and also prepared for offense by seeking and finding allies on the Continent, by building up a coalition which might hold Napoleon in check, which might, it was hoped, even drive France back within her original boundaries, taking away from her the recent acquisitions of Belgium, the left bank of the Rhine, and the Italian annexations and protectorates. England made a treaty to this effect with Russia, which had her own reasons for opposing Napoleon — her dread of his projects in the Eastern Mediterranean at the expense of the Turkish Empire. For if any one was to carve up the Turkish Empire, Russia wished to do it herself. Finally in 1805 Austria entered the coalition, jealous of Napoleon's aggressions in Italy, anxious to wipe out the memory of the defeats of the two campaigns in which he had conquered her in 1796 and 1800, eager, also, to recover the position she had once held as the dominant power in the Italian peninsula.

Napoleon's Third Campaign against Austria. Such was the situation in 1805. When he was quite ready Napoleon struck with tremendous effect, not against England, which he could not reach because of the silver streak of sea that lay between them, not against

Russia, which was too remote for immediate attention, but against his old-time enemy, Austria, and he bowled her over more summarily and more humiliatingly than he had ever done before.

The Capitulation of Ulm. The campaign of 1805 was another Napoleonic masterpiece. The Austrians, not waiting for their allies, the Russians, to come up, had sent an army of 80,000 men under General Mack up the Danube into Bavaria. Mack had taken his position at Ulm, expecting that Napoleon would come through the passes of the Black Forest, the most direct and the usual way for a French army invading southern Germany. But not at all. Napoleon had a very different plan. Sending enough troops into the Black Forest region to confirm Mack in his opinion that this was the strategic point to hold, and thus keeping him rooted there, Napoleon transferred his Grand Army from Boulogne and the shores of the English Channel, where it had been training for the past two years, across Germany from north to south, a distance of 500 miles, in twenty-three days of forced marches, conducted in astonishing secrecy and with mathematical precision. He thus threw himself into the rear of Mack's army, between it and Vienna, cutting the line of communication, and repeating the strategy of the Great Saint Bernard and Marengo campaign of 1800. Mack had expected Napoleon to come from the west through the Black Forest. Instead, when it was too late, he found him coming from the east, up the Danube, toward Ulm. Napoleon made short work of Mack, forcing him to capitulate at Ulm, October 20. "I have accomplished what I set out to do," he wrote Josephine. "I have destroyed the Austrian army by means of marches alone." It was a victory won by legs — 60,000 prisoners, 120 guns, more than thirty generals. It had cost him only 1500 men.

The Battle of Austerlitz. The way was now open down the Danube to Vienna. Thither, along poor roads and through rain and snow, Napoleon rushed, covering the distance in three weeks. Vienna was entered in triumph and without resistance, as the Emperor Francis had retired in a northeasterly direction, desiring to effect a junction with the oncoming Russian army. Napoleon followed him and on December 2, 1805, won perhaps his most famous victory, the battle of Austerlitz, on the first anniversary of his coronation as Emperor. All day long the battle raged. The sun breaking through the wintry fogs was considered a favorable omen by the

French and henceforth became the legendary symbol of success. The fighting was terrific. The bravery of the soldiers on both sides was boundless, but the generalship of Napoleon was as superior as that of the Austro-Russians was faulty. The result was decisive, overwhelming. The allies were routed and sent flying in every direction. They had lost a large number of men and nearly all of their artillery. Napoleon, with originally inferior numbers, had not used all he had, had not thrown in his reserves. No wonder he addressed his troops in an exultant strain. "Soldiers, I am satisfied with you. In the battle of Austerlitz you have justified all my expectations by your intrepidity; you have adorned your eagles with immortal glory." No wonder that he told them that they were marked men, that on returning to France all they would need to say in order to command admiration would be : "I was at the battle of Austerlitz."

The Treaty of Pressburg. The results of this brief and brilliant campaign were various and striking. The Russians did not make peace but withdrew in great disorder as best they could to their own country. But Austria immediately signed a peace and a very costly one, too. By the Treaty of Pressburg, dictated by Napoleon, who now had beaten her disastrously for the third time, she suffered her greatest humiliation, her severest losses. She ceded Venetia, a country she had held for eight years, since Campo Formio, to the Kingdom of Italy, whose king was Napoleon. Istria and Dalmatia also she ceded to Napoleon. Of all this coast line of the upper Adriatic she retained only the single port of Trieste. Not Austria but France was henceforth the chief Adriatic power. The German principalities, Bavaria and Baden, had sided with Napoleon in the late campaign and Austria was now compelled to cede to each of them some of her valuable possessions in South Germany. Shut out of the Adriatic, shut out of Italy, Austria lost 3,000,000 subjects. She became nearly a land-locked country. Moreover, she was compelled to acquiesce in other changes that Napoleon had made or was about to make in various countries.

Napoleon the King-Maker. Napoleon began now to play with zest the congenial rôle of Charlemagne, about which he was prone to talk enthusiastically and with rhetorical extravagance. Having magically made himself Emperor, he now made others kings. As he abased mountains so he exalted valleys. In the early months of

BATAVIAN REPUBLIC CHANGED TO MONARCHY 195

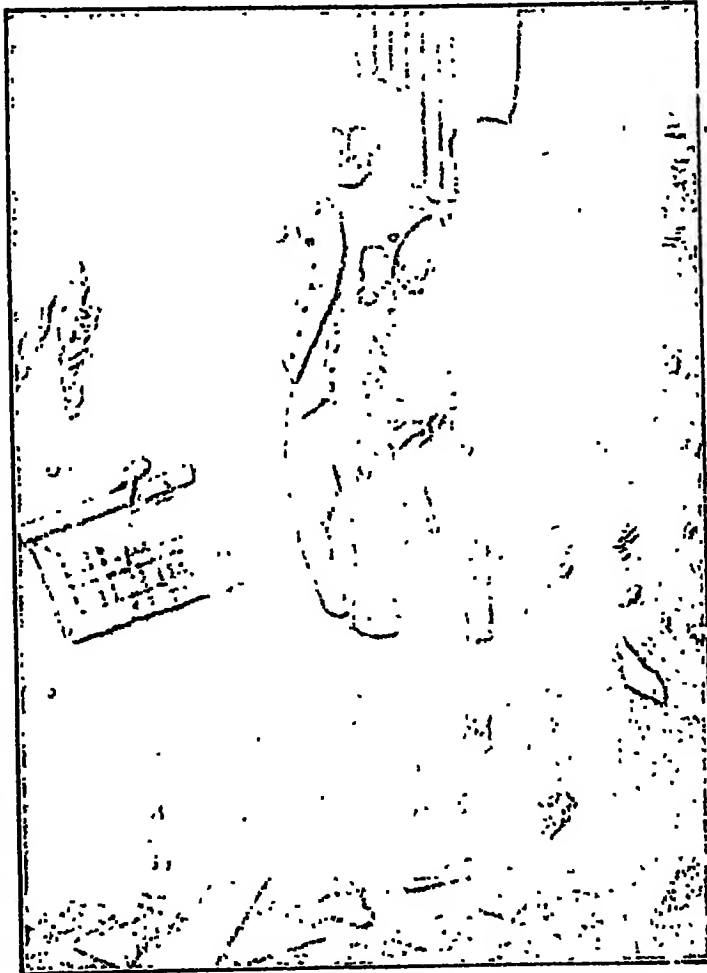
1806 he created four kings. He raised Bavaria and Würtemberg, hitherto duchies, to the rank of kingdoms, "in grateful recompense for the attachment they have shown the Emperor," he said. During the campaign the King of Naples had at a critical moment sided with his enemies.

Napoleon therefore issued a simple decree, merely stating that "The House of Bourbon has ceased to rule in Naples." He gave the vacant throne to his brother Joseph, two years older than himself. Joseph, who had first studied to become a priest, then to become an army officer, and still later to become a lawyer, now found himself a king, not by the grace of God, but by the grace of a younger brother.

The Batavian Republic Changed into a Monarchy.

The horn of plenty was not yet empty. Napoleon, after Aus-

terlitz, forced the Batavian Republic, that is, Holland, to become a monarchy and to accept his brother Louis, thirty-two years of age, as its king. Louis, as mild as his brother was hard, thought that the way to rule was to consult the interests and win the affections of his subjects. As this was not Napoleon's idea, Louis was destined to a rough and unhappy, and also brief, experience as king. "When men say of a king that he is a good man, it means that he is a failure," was the information that Napoleon sent Louis for his instruction.



JOSEPH BONAPARTE, KING OF NAPLES

After the painting by J. B. J. Wicar.

The Family Circle. The number of kingdoms at Napoleon's disposal was limited, temporarily at least. But he had many other favors to bestow, which were not to be despised. Nor were they despised. His sister Elise was made Princess of Lucca and Carrara, his sister Pauline, a beautiful and luxurious young creature, married Prince Borghese (bor-gā'-se) and became Duchess of Guastalla (gwäs-täl'-lä), and his youngest sister, Caroline, who resembled him in strength of character, married Murat, the dashing cavalry officer, who now became Duke of Berg, an artificial state which Napoleon created along the lower Rhine.

Two brothers, Lucien and Jerome, were not provided for, and thereby hangs a tale. Each had incurred Napoleon's displeasure, as each had married for love and without asking his consent. He had other plans for them and was enraged at their independence. Both were expelled from the charmed circle, until they should put away their wives and marry others according to Napoleon's taste, not theirs. This Lucien steadfastly refused to do and so he who, by his presence of mind on the 19th of Brumaire, had saved the day and rendered all this story possible, stood outside the imperial favor, counting no more in the history of the times. When Jerome, the youngest member of this astonishing family, and made of more pliable stuff, awoke from love's young dream, at the furious demands of Napoleon, and put away his beautiful American bride, the Baltimore belle, Elizabeth Patterson, then he too became a king. All who worshiped Mammon in those exciting days received their appropriate reward.

It would be pleasant to continue this catalogue of favors, scattered right and left by the man who had rapidly grown so great. Officials of the state, generals of the army, and more distant relatives received glittering prizes and went on their way rejoicing, anxious for more. Appetite is said to grow by that on which it feeds.

The Transformation of Germany. More important far than this flowering of family fortunes was another result of the Austerlitz campaign, the transformation of Germany, effected by the French with the eager and selfish coöperation of many German princes. That transformation, which greatly reduced the distracting number of German states by allowing some to absorb others, had already been going on for several years. When France had acquired the German territory west of the river Rhine, it had been agreed, in the

treaties of Campo Formio and Lunéville, that the princes thus dispossessed should receive compensations east of the river Rhine. This obviously could not be done literally and for all, as every inch of territory east of the Rhine already had its ruler. As a matter of fact the change was worked out by compensating only the hereditary rulers. There were, both on the left bank and on the right and all throughout Germany, many petty states whose rulers were not hereditary — ecclesiastical states, and free imperial cities. Now, these were tossed to the princes who ruled by hereditary right, as compensation for the territories they had lost west of the river Rhine. This wholesale destruction of petty German states for the advantage of other lucky German states was accomplished not by the Germans themselves, which would have been shameless enough, but was accomplished in Paris. In the ante-chambers of the First Consul, particularly in the parlors of Talleyrand (tal'-i-rand), Napoleon's Foreign Secretary, the disgraceful begging for pelf went on. Talleyrand



PAULINE BONAPARTE, PRINCESS BORGHESE

After the painting by Lefèvre.

grew rapidly rich, so many were the "gifts" — one dreads to think what they would be called in a vulgar democracy — which German princes gave him for his support in despoiling their fellow-Germans. For months the disgusting traffic went on and, when it ended in the "Conclusion" of March, 1803, really dictated by Bonaparte, the number of German principalities had greatly decreased. All the ecclesiastical states of Germany, with one single exception, had disappeared, and of the fifty free cities only six remained. All went to enlarge other states. At least the map of Germany was simpler. Of the 360 states which composed the Holy Roman or German Empire in 1792 only eighty-two remained in 1805.

The Confederation of the Rhine. All this simplification of the map of Germany had occurred before Austerlitz. After Austerlitz



CAROLINE BONAPARTE, DUCHESS OF BERG, AND MARIE MURAT

From the painting by Vigée le Brun.

the pace was increased, ending in the complete destruction of the Empire. Paris again became the center of German politics and intrigues, as in 1803. The result was that in 1806 the new kings of

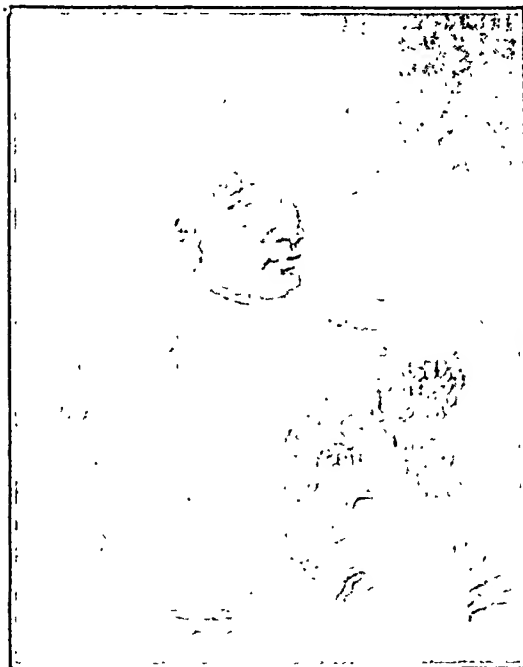
Bavaria and Württemberg and fourteen other German princes renounced their allegiance to the German Emperor, formed a new Confederation of the Rhine (July 12, 1806), recognized Napoleon as their "Protector," made an offensive and defensive alliance with him which gave him the control of their foreign policy, the settlement of questions of peace and war, and guaranteed him 63,000 German troops for his wars. Fresh annexations to these states were made. Thus perished many more petty German states, eagerly absorbed by the fortunate sixteen.

The Dissolution of the Holy Roman Empire (1806). Perished also the Holy Roman Empire which had been in existence, real or shadowy, for a thousand years. The secession of the sixteen princes and the formation of the Confederation of the Rhine killed it. It was only formal interment, therefore, when Napoleon demanded of the Emperor Francis, whom he had defeated at Austerlitz, that he renounce his title as Holy Roman Emperor. This Francis hastened to do (August 6, 1806), contenting himself henceforth with the new title he had given himself two years earlier, when Napoleon had assumed the imperial title. Henceforth he who had been Francis II of the Holy Roman Empire was called Francis I, Hereditary Emperor of Austria.

French Influence in Germany. Napoleon, who could neither read nor speak a word of German, was now the real ruler of a large part of Germany, the strongest factor in German politics. To French domination of West Germany, annexed to France earlier, came an important increase of influence. It was now that French ideas began in a modified form to remould the civil life of South Germany. Tithes were abolished, the inequality of social classes in the eyes of the law was reduced though not destroyed, religious liberty was established, the position of the Jews was improved. The Germans lost in self-respect from this French domination, the patriotism of such as were patriotic was sorely wounded at the sight of this alien rule, but in the practical contrivances of a modernized social life, worked out by the French Revolution, and now in a measure introduced among them, they had a salutary, if partial, compensation.

The Conquest of Prussia. While all this shifting of scenes was being effected Napoleon had kept a large army in southern Germany. The relations with Prussia, which country had been neutral for the past ten years, since the Treaty of Basel of 1795, were becoming

strained and grew rapidly more so. The policy of the Prussian King, Frederick William III, was weak, vacillating, covetous. His diplomacy was playing fast and loose with his obligations as a neutral and with his desires for the territorial aggrandizement of Prussia. Napoleon's attitude was insolent and contemptuous. Both sides made an unenviable but characteristic record in double-dealing. The sordid details, highly discreditable to both, cannot be narrated here.



JOACHIM MURAT, DUKE OF BERG

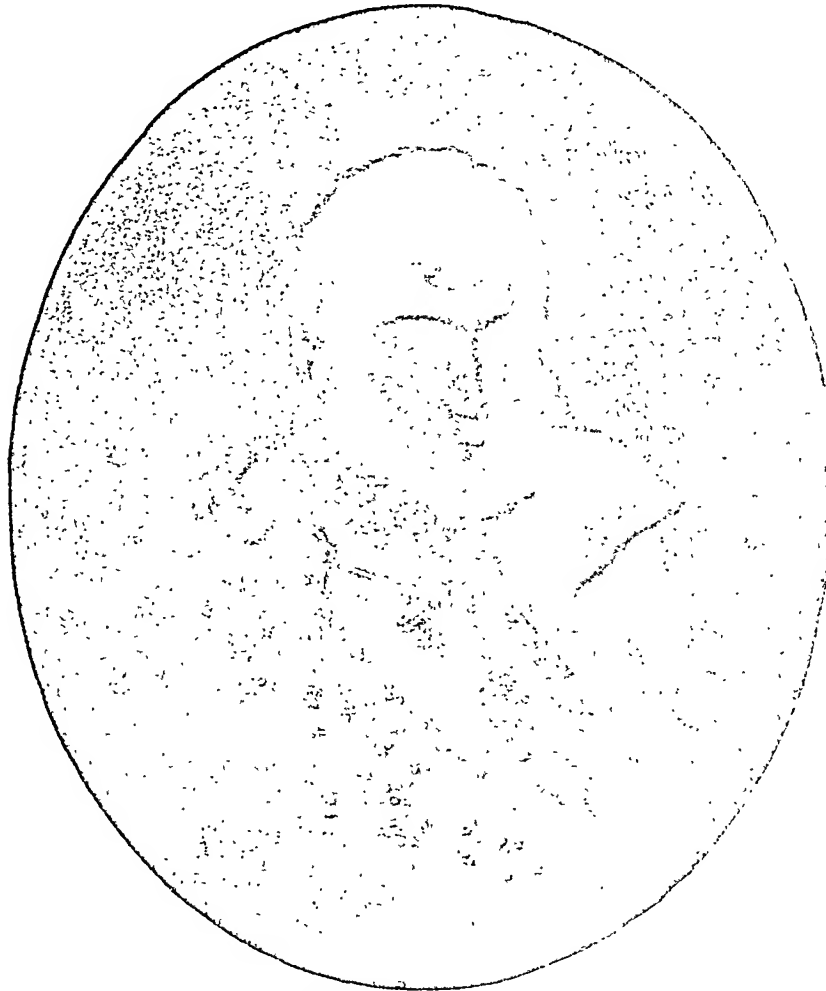
After the painting by Gros.

Finally the war party in Berlin got the upper hand, led by the high-spirited and beautiful Queen Louise and by the military chiefs, relics of the glorious era of Frederick the Great, who thought they could do what Frederick had done, that is, defeat the French with ease. As if to give the world some intimation of the terrible significance of their displeasure they went to the French Embassy in Berlin and bravely whetted their swords upon its steps of stone.

War between France and Prussia (1806). Hating France and having an insensate confidence in their

own superiority, the Prussian war party forced the government to issue an ultimatum to Napoleon, Emperor of the French, demanding that he withdraw his French troops beyond the Rhine. Napoleon knew better how to give ultimatums than how to receive them. He had watched the machinations of the Prussian ruling class with close attention. He was absolutely prepared when the rupture came. He now fell upon them like a cloudburst and administered a crushing blow in the two battles of Jena and Auerstädt, fought on the same day at those two places, a few miles apart (October 14, 1806), he himself in command of the former, Davout of the latter. The Prussians fought bravely, but their generalship was bad. Their whole

army was disorganized, became panic-stricken, streamed from the field of battle as best it could, no longer receiving or obeying orders, many throwing away their arms, fleeing in every direction. Thousands of prisoners were taken and in succeeding days French officers



JEROME BONAPARTE

Engraved by I. G. Müller, knight, and Frederick Müller, son, engravers to his Majesty the King of Württemberg, after a drawing by Madame Kinson.

scoured the country after the fugitives, taking thousands more. The collapse was complete. There was no longer any Prussian army. One after another all the fortresses fell.

On October 25, Napoleon entered Berlin in triumph. From there he issued the famous Berlin Decrees which declared the British Isles in a state of blockade and prohibited commerce with them on the

part of his dominions and those of his allies. Then he set forth upon a new campaign, this time against Russia.

The Campaign against Russia. In the campaign of 1806 the Russians had been allied with the Prussians although they had taken no part, as the latter had not waited for them to come up. Napoleon now turned his attention to them. Going to Warsaw, the leading city of that part of Poland which Prussia had acquired in the partition of that country, he planned the new campaign, which was signalized by two chief battles, Eylau (ī-lou) and Friedland. The former was one of the most bloody of his entire career. Fighting in the midst of a blinding snowstorm on February 8, 1807, Napoleon narrowly escaped defeat. The slaughter was frightful — "sheer butchery," said Napoleon later. "What carnage," said Ney, "and no results," thus accurately describing this encounter. Napoleon managed to keep the field and in his usual way he represented the battle as a victory. But it was a drawn battle. For the first time in Europe he had failed to win. The Russian soldiers fought with reckless bravery — "it was necessary to kill them twice," was the way the French soldiers expressed it.

Four months later, however, on June 14, 1807, on the anniversary of Marengo, Napoleon's star shone again undimmed. He won a victory at Friedland which, as he informed Josephine, "is the worthy sister of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena." The victory was at any rate so decisive that the Tsar, Alexander I, consented to make overtures for peace. The Peace of Tilsit was concluded by the two Emperors in person after many interviews, the first one of which was held on a raft in the middle of the river Niemen. Not only did they make peace but they went further and made a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive. Napoleon gained a great diplomatic victory, which completely altered the previous diplomatic system of Europe, a fitting climax to three years of remarkable achievement upon the field of battle. Exercising upon Alexander all his powers of fascination, of flattery, of imagination, of quick and sympathetic understanding, he completely won him over. The two Emperors conversed in the most dulcet, rapturous way. "Why did not we two meet earlier?" exclaimed the enthusiastic Tsar of All the Russias. With their two imperial heads bowed over a map of Europe they proceeded to divide it. Alexander was given to understand that he might take Finland, which he coveted, from Sweden, and attractive pickings from the

vast Turkish Empire were dangled somewhat vaguely before him. On the other hand, he recognized the changes Napoleon had made or was about to make in western Europe, in Italy, and in Germany. Alexander was to offer himself as a mediator between those bitter



NAPOLÉON RECEIVING QUEEN LOUISE OF PRUSSIA AT TILSIT, JULY 6, 1807

After the painting by Gosse.

enemies, England and France, and, in case England declined to make peace, then Russia would join France in enforcing the continental blockade, which was designed to bring England to terms.

The Dismemberment of Prussia. Napoleon out of regard for his new friend and ally promised to allow Prussia to continue to

exist. But his terms were very severe. She must give up all her territory west of the river Elbe. Out of this and other German territories Napoleon now made the Kingdom of Westphalia, which he gave to his brother Jerome, who had by this time divorced his American wife. Prussia's eastern possessions were also diminished. Most of what she had acquired in the partitions of Poland was taken



LORD NELSON

From an engraving by S. Freeman, after the painting by Abbott.

from her and created into the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, to be ruled over by the sovereign of Saxony, whose title of Elector Napoleon at this juncture now changed into that of King. These three states, Westphalia, Saxony, and the Duchy of Warsaw now entered the Confederation of the Rhine, whose name thus became a misnomer, as the Confederation included not only the Rhenish and South German states, but stretched from France to the Vistula, including practically all Germany except Prussia, now reduced to half her former size, and except Austria.

Napoleon's Elation. Naturally Napoleon was in high feather as he turned homeward. Naturally, also, he was pleased with the Tsar. "He is a handsome, good young emperor, with more mind than he is generally credited with" — such was Napoleon's encomium. Next to being sole master of all Europe came the sharing of mastery with only one other. A few months later he wrote his new ally that "the work of Tilsit will regulate the destinies of the world." There only remained the English, "the active islanders," not yet charmed or conquered. In the same letter to the Tsar Napoleon refers to them

as "the enemies of the world" and told how they could be easily brought to book. He had forgotten, or rather he had wished to have the world forget, that there was one monstrous flaw in the apparent perfection of his prodigious success. Two years before, Admiral Nelson had completely destroyed the French fleet in the battle of Trafalgar (October 21, 1805), giving his life that England might live and inspiring his own age and succeeding ages by the cry, "England expects every man to do his duty!"

The French papers did not mention the battle of Trafalgar, but it nevertheless bulks large in history. This was Napoleon's second taste of sea power, his first having been, as we have seen, in Egypt, several years before, also at the hands of Nelson.

Napoleon returned to Paris in the pride of power and of supreme achievement. But, it is said, pride cometh before a fall. Was the race mistaken when it coined this cooling phrase of proverbial wisdom? It remained to be seen.

QUESTIONS

I. How long did the Napoleonic Empire last? What were the personal characteristics of Napoleon? Describe Napoleon's court and coronation.

II. What was the Third Coalition? Why was war renewed between France and England? Give an account of the battle of Ulm; of Austerlitz; of Trafalgar. What were the provisions of the Treaty of Pressburg?

III. Why do we speak of Napoleon as "king-maker"? How did Napoleon remake the map of Germany? What was the Confederation of the Rhine? How was the overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire brought about?

IV. How did Prussia become involved in war with France in 1806? What were the principal incidents of that war and what were the general results?

V. How did Russia become involved in war with France? Describe two battles of that war. What were the main provisions of the Treaty of Tilsit?

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CHAPTER XII

THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

The War with England. After Tilsit there remained England, always England, as the enemy of France. In 1805 Napoleon had defeated Austria, in 1806 Prussia, in 1807 Russia. Then the last-named power had shifted its policy completely, had changed partners, and, discarding its former allies, had become the ally of its former enemy.

Napoleon was now in a position to turn his attention to England. As she was mistress of the seas, as she had at the battle of Trafalgar in 1805 destroyed the French navy, the Emperor was compelled to find other means, if there were any, of humbling the elusive enemy. England must be beaten, but how? Napoleon now adopted a policy which the Convention and the Directory had originated. Only he gave to it a gigantic application and development. This was the Continental System, or the Continental Blockade. If England could not be conquered directly by French fleets and armies, she might be conquered indirectly.

The Wealth of England. England's power lay in her wealth, and her wealth came from her factories, and her commerce which carried their products to the markets of the world, which brought her the necessary raw materials, and which kept open the fruitful connection with her scattered colonies. Cut this artery, prevent this commerce, close these markets, and her prosperity would be destroyed. Manufacturers would be compelled to shut down their factories. Their employees, thrown out of work, would face starvation. With that doom impending, the working classes and the industrial and commercial classes, threatened with ruin, would resort to terrific pressure upon the English government, to insurrections, if necessary, to compel it to sue for peace. Economic warfare was now to be tried on a colossal scale. By exhausting England's resources it was hoped and expected that England would be exhausted.

The Berlin Decrees (1806). By the Berlin Decrees (November, 1806), Napoleon declared a blockade of the British Isles, forbade all commerce with them, all correspondence, all trade in goods coming from England or her colonies, and ordered the confiscation and destruction of all English goods found in France or in any of the countries allied with her. No vessel coming from England or England's colonies should be admitted to their ports. To this England replied by severe Orders in Council, which Napoleon capped by additional decrees, issued from Milan.

Economic Warfare. This novel form of warfare had very important consequences. This struggle with England dominates the whole period from 1807 to 1814. It is the central thread that runs through all the tangled and tumultuous history of those years. There were plays within the play, complications and struggles with other nations which sometimes rose to such heights as momentarily to obscure the titanic contest between sea power and land power. But the fundamental, all-inclusive contest, to which all else was subsidiary or collateral, was the war to the knife between these two, England and France. Everywhere we see its influence, whether in Spain or Russia, in Rome or Copenhagen, along the Danube or along the Tagus.

The Continental Blockade. The Continental System had this peculiarity, that, to be successful in annihilating English prosperity and power, it must be applied everywhere and constantly. The Continent must be sealed hermetically against English goods. Only then, with their necessary markets closed to them everywhere, would the English be forced to yield. Let there be a leak anywhere, let there be a strip of coast, as in Portugal or Spain or Italy, where English ships could touch and land their goods, and through that leak England could and would penetrate, could and would distribute her wares to eager customers, thus escaping the industrial strangulation intended by the Emperor of the French. This necessity Napoleon saw clearly. It was never absent from his mind. It inspired his conduct at every step. It involved him inevitably and, in the end, disastrously, in a policy of systematic and widespread aggressions upon other countries, consequently in a costly succession of wars.

Attempts to Enforce the Blockade Lead Napoleon to Repeated Acts of Aggression. To close simply the ports of France and of French possessions to English commerce would not at all

accomplish the object aimed at. Napoleon must have the support of every other seaboard country in Europe. This he sought to get. He was willing to get it peacefully if he could, prepared to get it forcibly if he must. He secured the adhesion of Russia by the Treaty of Tilsit. Austria and Prussia, having been so decisively beaten, had to consent to apply the system to their dominions. Little Denmark, perforce, did the same when the demand came. Sweden, on the other hand, adhered to the English alliance. Consequently Russia was urged to take Finland, which belonged to Sweden, with its stretch of coast line and its excellent harbors. Napoleon's brother Louis, King of Holland, would not enforce the blockade, as to do so meant the ruin of Holland. Consequently he was in the end forced to abdicate and Holland was annexed to France (1810). France also annexed the northern coasts of Germany up to Lübeck, including the fine ports of Bremen and Hamburg and the mouths of those rivers which led into central Germany (1810). In Italy the Pope wished to remain neutral but there must be no neutrals, in Napoleon's and also in England's opinion, if it could be prevented. In this case it could. Consequently Napoleon annexed part of the Papal States to the so-called Kingdom of Italy, of which he was himself the King, and part he incorporated directly and without ado into the French Empire (1809). Immediately the Pope excommunicated him and preached a holy war against the impious conqueror. Napoleon in turn took the Pope prisoner and kept him such for several years. This was injecting the religious element again into politics, as in the early days of the Revolution, to the profound embitterment of the times. Some of these events did not occur immediately after Tilsit, but did occur in the years from 1809 to 1811.

War with Portugal and Spain. The policy we have just been describing led to a famous and fatal misadventure in Portugal and Spain. Portugal stood in close economic and political relations with England and was reluctant to enforce the restrictions of the Continental Blockade. Her coast line was too important to be allowed as an open gap. Therefore Napoleon arranged with Spain for the conquest and partition of that country. French and Spanish armies invaded Portugal, aiming at Lisbon. Before they arrived Napoleon had announced in his impressive and laconic fashion that "the fall of the House of Braganza furnishes one more proof that ruin is inevitable to whomsoever attaches himself to the English." The royal

family escaped capture by sailing for the colony of Brazil and seeking safety beyond the ocean. There they remained until the overthrow of Napoleon.

The Situation in Spain. This joint expedition had given Napoleon the opportunity to introduce large bodies of troops into the country of his ally, Spain. They now remained there, under Murat, no one knew for what purpose, — no one, except Napoleon, in whose mind a dark and devious plan was maturing. The French had dethroned the House of Bourbon in France during the Revolution. Napoleon had himself after Austerlitz dethroned the House of Bourbon in Naples and had put his brother Joseph in its place. There remained a branch of that House in Spain, and that branch was in a particularly corrupt and decadent condition. The King, Charles IV, was utterly incompetent; the Queen was grossly immoral and endowed with the tongue of a fishwife; her favorite and paramour, Godoy, was the real power behind the throne. The whole unsavory group was immensely unpopular in Spain. On the other hand, the King's son, Ferdinand, was idolized by the Spanish people, not because of anything admirable in his personality, which was utterly despicable, but because he was opposed to his father, his mother, and Godoy. Napoleon thought the situation favorable to his plan, which was to seize the throne thus occupied by a family rendered odious by its character and impotent by its dissensions. By a treacherous and hypocritical diplomacy he contrived to get Charles IV, the Queen, Godoy, and Ferdinand to come to Bayonne in southern France. No hungry spider ever viewed more coolly a more helpless prey entangled in his web. By a masterly use of the black arts of dissimulation, vituperation, and intimidation he swept the whole royal crew aside. Charles abdicated his throne into the hands of Napoleon, who thereupon forced Ferdinand to renounce his rights under a thinly veiled threat that, if he did not, the Duke d'Enghien would not be the only member of the House of Bourbon celebrated for an untoward fate. Ferdinand and his brothers were sent as prisoners to a château at Valençay, in France. The vacant throne was then given by Napoleon to his brother Joseph, who thereupon abdicated the kingship of Naples, which now passed to Murat, Napoleon's brother-in-law.

Revolt in Spain. Napoleon later admitted that it was this Spanish business that destroyed him. "I embarked very badly on the Spanish affair, I confess; the immorality of it was too patent,

the injustice too cynical." But this was the judgment of retrospect. He entered upon the venture with a light heart, confident that at most he would encounter only a feeble opposition. "Countries full of monks like yours," he told Ferdinand, "are easy to subdue. There may be some riots, but the Spaniards will quiet down when they see that I offer them the integrity of the boundaries of their kingdom, a liberal constitution, and the preservation of their religion and their national customs." Contrary to his expectation the conduct of the Spaniards was quite the reverse of this. He might offer them, as he did, better government than they had ever had. They hated him as a thief and trickster, also as a heretic, as a man whose character and policies and ideas were anathema. Napoleon embarked on a five years' war with them, which baffled him at every stage, drained his resources in a contest that was inglorious, resources which should have been husbanded most carefully for more important purposes. "If it should cost me 80,000 men" to conquer Spain, "I would not attempt it," he said at the beginning, "but it will not take more than 12,000." A ghastly miscalculation, for it was to take 300,000 and to end in failure.

Napoleon Arouses the Spirit of Nationalism. Napoleon encountered in Spain an opposition very different in kind and quality from any he had met hitherto in Italy or Germany, baffling, elusive, wearing. Previously he had waged war with governments only and their armies, not with peoples rising as one man, resolved to die rather than suffer the loss of their independence. The people of Italy, the people of Austria, the people of Germany, had not risen. Their governments had not appealed to them, but had relied upon their usual weapon, professional armies. These Napoleon had defeated with comparative ease and the governments had thereupon sued for peace and endured his terms. No great wave of national feeling, daring all, risking all, had swept over the masses of those countries where he had hitherto appeared. France had herself undergone this very experience, and her armies had won their great successes because they were aglow with the spirit of nationality, which had been so aroused and intensified by the Revolution. Now other countries were to take a page out of her book, at the very time when she was showing a tendency to forget that page herself. The Spanish rising was the first of a series of popular, national, instinctive movements that were to end in Napoleon's undoing.

Character of the Spanish War. The kind of warfare that the Spaniards carried on was peculiar, determined by the physical features of the land and by the circumstances in which they found themselves. Lacking the leadership of a government — their royal family being virtually imprisoned in France — poor, and without large armies, they fought as guerrillas, little bands, not very formidable in themselves individually, but appearing now here, now there, now everywhere, picking off small detachments, stragglers, then disappearing into their mountain fastnesses. They thus repeated the history of their long struggles with the Moors. Every peasant had his gun and every peasant was inspired by loyalty to his country, and by religious zeal, as the Vendéans (ven-dē'-anz) had been. The Catholic clergy entered again upon the scene, fanning the popular animosity against this despoiler of the Pope, and against these French free-thinkers. Napoleon had aroused two mighty forces which were to dog his footsteps henceforth, that of religious zeal, and that of the spirit of nationality, each with a fanaticism of its own.

The Capitulation of Baylen and the Flight of Joseph. Even geography, which Napoleon had hitherto made minister to his successes, was now against him. The country was poor, the roads were execrable, the mountains ran in the wrong direction, right across his path, the rivers also. In between these successive mountain ranges, in these passes and valleys, it was difficult for large armies, such as Napoleon's usually were, to operate. It was easy for mishaps to occur, for guerrilla bands or small armies to cut off lines of communication, for them to appear in front and in the rear at the same time. The country was admirable for the defensive, difficult for the offensive. This was shown early in the war when General Dupont (dü-pôn') was caught in a trap and obliged to capitulate with an army of 20,000 at Baylen (bī-len') (July, 1808). This capitulation produced a tremendous impression throughout Europe. It was the first time a French army corps had been compelled to ground arms in full campaign. It was the heaviest blow Napoleon had yet received in his career. It encouraged the Spaniards, and other peoples also, who were only waiting to see the great conqueror trip and who were now fired with hope that the thing might happen again. Napoleon was enraged, stormed against the unfortunate army, declared that from the beginning of the world nothing "so

stupid, so silly, so cowardly" had been seen. They had had a chance to distinguish themselves, "they might have died," he said. Instead they had surrendered.

Joseph, the new King, who had been in his capital only a week, left it hurriedly and withdrew toward the Pyrenees, writing his brother that Spain was like no other country, that they must have an army of 50,000 to do the fighting, another of 50,000 to keep open the line of communications, and 100,000 gallows for traitors and scoundrels.

The Intervention of England. There was another feature of this war in the Peninsula, namely England's participation. An army was sent out under Sir Arthur Wellesley, later Duke of Wellington, to coöperate with the Portuguese and Spaniards. Wellesley, who had already distinguished himself in India, now began to build up a European reputation as a careful, original, and resourceful commander. Landing at Lisbon, the expedition shortly forced the French commander Junot (zhü-no') to capitulate at Cintra (August, 1808), as Dupont had been forced to in the preceding month at Baylen.

Napoleon Goes to Spain. These were disasters which Napoleon could not allow to stand unanswered. His prestige, his reputation for invincibility, must remain undiminished or Europe generally would become restless with what result no one could foretell. He resolved therefore to go to Spain himself and show the Spaniards and all other peoples how hopeless it was to oppose him, how minor and casual defeats of his subordinates meant nothing, how his own mighty blows could no more be parried than before. Assembling a splendid army of 200,000 men he crossed the Pyrenees, and in a brief campaign of a month he swept aside all obstacles with comparative ease, and entered Madrid (December, 1808). There he remained a few weeks sketching the institutions of the new Spain which he intended to create, and which would certainly have been a far more rational and enlightened and progressive state than it ever had been in the past. He declared the Inquisition, which still existed, abolished; also the remains of the feudal system; also the tariff boundaries which shut off province from province to the great detriment of commerce. He closed two-thirds of the monasteries, which were more than superabundant in the land. But, just as no individual cares to be reformed under the compulsion of a master, so the Span-

iards would have nothing to do with these modern improvements in the social art, imposed by a heretic and a tyrant, who had wantonly filched their throne and invaded their country.

Napoleon might perhaps have established his control over Spain so firmly that the new institutions would have struck root, despite this opposition. But time was necessary, and time was something he could not command. In Madrid only a month, he was compelled to hurry back to France because of alarming news that reached him. He never returned to Spain.

Austria and France again at War. Austria had thrown down the gauntlet again. It was entirely natural for her to seek at the convenient opportunity to avenge the humiliations she had repeatedly endured at the hands of France, to recover the position she had lost. And what opportunity could be more convenient than the one now offered, with Napoleon entangled in the remote peninsula? Austria accordingly, in the spring of 1809, declared war once more upon "the enemy of Europe."

Napoleon Conquers Austria for the Fourth Time. The Austrians had blundered again. Napoleon once more astonished them by the rapidity of his movements. In April, 1809, he fought them in Bavaria, five battles in five days, throwing them back. Then he advanced down the Danube, entered Vienna without difficulty, and crossed the river to the northern bank, whither the Austrian army had withdrawn. There Napoleon fought a two days' battle at Aspern and Essling (May 21-22). The fighting was furious, the village of Essling changing hands nine times. Napoleon was seriously checked. He was obliged to take refuge for six weeks on the Island of Lobau in the Danube, until additional troops were brought up from Italy and from Germany. Then, when his army was sufficiently reenforced, he crossed to the northern bank again and fought the great battle of Wagram (July 5-6). He was victorious, but in no superlative sense as at Austerlitz. The Austrian army retired from the field in good order. The losses had been heavy, but no part of the army had been captured, none of the flags taken. This was the last victorious campaign fought by Napoleon. Even in it he had won his victory with unaccustomed difficulty. His army was of inferior quality, many of his best troops being detained by the inglorious Spanish adventure, and the new soldiers proving inferior to the old veterans.

The Treaty of Vienna (October, 1809). After Wagram, Austria again made peace with Napoleon, the Peace of Vienna or of Schönbrunn. Austria was obliged to relinquish extensive territories. Galicia, which was the part of Poland she had acquired in the famous partitions, now went — a part of it to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a part of it to Russia. She was also forced to cede to France Trieste, Carniola, and part of Carinthia and Croatia. These were made into the Illyrian Provinces, which were declared imperial territory, although not formally annexed to France. Austria lost 4,000,000 subjects, nearly a sixth of all that she possessed. She lost her only port and became entirely land-locked.

Napoleon Marries Marie Louise of Austria. Having defeated Austria for the fourth time, Napoleon treated Europe to one of those swift transformation scenes of which he was fond as showing his easy and incalculable mastery of the situation. He contracted a marriage alliance with the House of Hapsburg which he had so repeatedly humbled, one of the proudest royal houses in Europe. He had long considered the advisability of a divorce from Josephine, as she had given him no heir and as the stability of the system he had erected depended upon his having one. At his demand the Senate dissolved his marriage with Josephine, and the ecclesiastical court in Paris was even more accommodating, declaring that owing to some irregularity the marriage had never taken place at all. Free thus



EMPRESS MARIE LOUISE

From a picture by Prudhon.

by action of the state and the church, he asked the Emperor of Austria for the hand of his daughter, the Archduchess Marie Louise, and received it. This political marriage was considered advantageous on both sides. It seemed likely to prevent any further trouble between the two countries, to serve as a protection to Austria, to raise Napoleon's prestige by his connection with one of the oldest and haughtiest reigning houses of Europe, and to insure the continuance of the régime he had established with such display of genius. Thus, only seventeen years after the execution of Marie Antoinette, another Austrian princess sat upon the throne of France. The marriage occurred in April, 1810, and in the following year was born the son for whom the title "King of Rome" stood ready.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the Continental System? How did Napoleon seek to enforce it? What acts of aggression did it cause him to commit?

II. What caused Napoleon to intervene in Spain? By what process did he get possession of the Spanish throne? What obstacles did he encounter in his Spanish adventure? What defeats did his armies experience? Why was the Spanish resistance so strong?

III. Why did Austria declare war upon Napoleon in 1809? Describe the campaign of that year. What treaty closed the war and what were its provisions? What motives led Napoleon to contract a marriage with an Austrian princess?

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CHAPTER XIII

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON

Napoleon at the Zenith of his Power. Napoleon now ruled directly over an empire that was far larger than the former Kingdom of France. In 1809 he annexed what remained of the Papal States in Italy, together with the incomparable city of Rome, thus ending, for the time at least, the temporal power of the Pope. In 1810 he forced his brother Louis to abdicate the kingship of Holland, which country was now incorporated in France. He also, as has already been stated, extended the Empire along the northern coasts of Germany from Holland to Lübeck, thus controlling Hamburg, Bremen, and the mouths of the important German rivers. Each one of these annexations was in pursuance of his policy of the Continental Blockade, closing so much more of the coast line of Europe to the commerce of England, the remaining enemy which he now expected to humble. Napoleon was Emperor of a state that had 130 departments, whereas the former Kingdom had had only eighty-three. He was also King of Italy; a state in the northeastern part of the peninsula. He was Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, which included all Germany except Prussia and Austria, a confederation which had been enlarged since its formation by the addition of Westphalia and Saxony and the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, extending, therefore, clear up to Russia. His brother Joseph was King of Spain, his brother Jerome King of Westphalia; his brother-in-law Murat King of Naples. All were mere satellites of his, receiving and executing his orders. Russia was his willing ally. Prussia and Austria were also his allies, the former because forced to be, the latter at first for the same reason, and later because she saw an advantage in it. No ruler in history had ever dominated so much of Europe. This supreme, incomparable preeminence had been won by his sword, supplemented by his remarkable statesmanship and diplomacy.

England alone remained outside the pale; England alone had not been brought to bend the knee to the great conqueror. Even she

was breathing heavily, because the Continental System was inflicting terrible damage upon her. Factories were being forced to shut down, multitudes of laborers were being thrown out of work or were receiving starvation wages, and riots and other evidences of unrest and even desperation seemed to indicate that even she must soon come to terms.

Elements of Weakness in the Structure. This vast and imposing fabric of power rested upon uncertain bases. Erected by the genius of a single man, it depended solely upon his life and fortunes — and fortune is notoriously fickle. Built up by war, by conquest, it was necessarily envired by the hatred of the conquered. With every advance, every annexation, it annexed additional sources of discontent. Based on force, it could only be maintained by force. There could be and there was in all this vast extent of empire no common loyalty to the Emperor. Despotism, and Napoleon's régime was one of pitiless despotism, evoked no loyalty, only obedience based on fear. The more conquests, the more enemies, all waiting intently for the moment of liberation, scanning the horizon everywhere for the first sign of weakness which to them would be the harbinger of hope. This they found in Spain, and in the Austrian campaign of 1809, in which the machinery of military conquest had creaked, had worked clumsily, had threatened at one moment to break down.

The Spirit of Nationality. There was a force in the world which ran directly counter to Napoleon's projects, the principle of nationality. Napoleon despised this feeling, and in the end it was his undoing. He might have seen that it had been the strength of France a few years earlier, that now this spirit had passed beyond the "natural" boundaries and was waking into a new life, was nerving to a new vigor countries like Spain, even Austria, and, most conspicuously, Prussia.

Reorganization of Prussia. Prussia, after Jena, underwent the most serious humiliation a nation can be called to endure. For several years she was under the iron heel of Napoleon, who kept large armies quartered on her soil. But out of the very depths of this national degradation came Prussia's salvation. Her noblest spirits were aroused to seek the causes of this unexpected national calamity and to try to remedy them. From 1808 to 1812 Prussians, under the very scrutiny of Napoleon, who had eyes but did not see, worked passionately

upon the problem of national regeneration. The result surpassed belief. A tremendous national patriotism was aroused by the poets and thinkers, the philosophers and teachers, all bending their energies to the task of quickening among the youth the spirit of unselfish devotion to the fatherland. An electric current of enthusiasm, of idealism, swept through the educational centers and through large masses of the people. The University of Berlin, founded in 1809, in Prussia's darkest hour, was, from the beginning, a dynamic force. It and other universities became nurseries of patriotism.

Abolition of Serfdom. Particularly memorable was the work of two statesmen, Stein and Hardenberg. Stein, in considering the causes of Prussia's unexampled woes, came to the conclusion that they lay in her defective or harmful social and legal institutions. The masses of Prussia were serfs, bound to the soil, their personal

liberty gravely restricted, and, as Stein said, "patriots cannot be made out of serfs." He persuaded the King to issue an edict of emancipation, abolishing serfdom. The Prussian king, he said, was no longer "the king of slaves, but of free men." Many other reforms were passed abolishing or reducing class distinctions and privileges. In all this Stein was largely imitating the French Revolutionists who by their epoch-making reforms had released the energies of the French so that their power had been greatly increased. The



BARON VOM STEIN

From an engraving by Lützenkirchen.

army, too, was reorganized, opportunity was opened to talent, as in France, with what magical results we have seen. As Napoleon forbade that the Prussian army should number more than 42,000 men, the ingenious device was adopted of having men serve with the colors only a brief time, only long enough to learn the essentials of the soldier's life. Then they would pass into the reserve and others would be put rapidly through the same training. By this method several times 42,000 men received a military training whose effectiveness was later to be proved.

Thus Prussia's regeneration proceeded. The new national spirit, wonderfully invigorated, waited with impatience for its hour of probation. It should be noted, however, that these reforms, which resembled in many respects those accomplished in France by the Constituent Assembly and the Convention, and which were in fact suggested by them, rested, however, on very different principles. There was in Prussia no assertion of the Rights of Man, no proclamation of the people as sovereign. In Prussia it was the king who made the reforms, not the people. The theory of the divine right of the monarch was not touched, but was maintained as sacred as ever. There was reform in Prussia but no revolution. Prussia took no step toward democracy. This distinction colored the whole subsequent history of that kingdom. Stein's reforms were not carried out completely, owing to opposition from within the kingdom and from without. But, though incomplete, they were very vitalizing.

Rupture of the Franco-Russian Alliance. The Franco-Russian Alliance, concluded so hastily and unexpectedly at Tilsit in 1807, lasted nominally nearly five years. But during those years there were many sources of friction between the two allies. Alexander I, having obtained some of the advantages he had expected from his alliance, was irritated, now that he did not obtain others for which he had hoped. Moreover, he was alarmed by Napoleon's schemes with the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, a state made out of the Polish provinces which had been acquired by Prussia and Austria. Alexander had no objection to Prussia and Austria losing their Polish provinces, but he himself had Polish provinces which he did not wish to lose, and he dreaded anything that looked like a resurrection of the former Kingdom of Poland, any appeal to the Polish national feeling. But the main cause of Alexander's gradual alienation from his ally was the Continental Blockade. This was working great financial

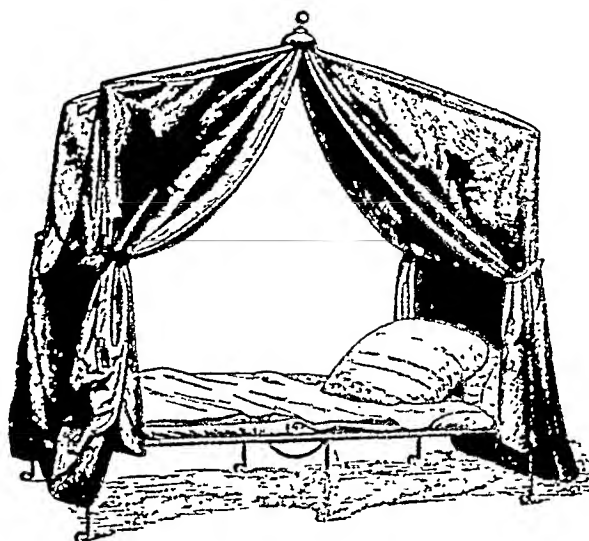
loss to Russia, as it was nearly destroying the commerce with England in wheat, flax, timber, the chief sources of Russian wealth. Moreover, its inconveniences were coming home to him in other ways. To enforce the system more completely in Germany Napoleon seized in 1811 the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, which belonged to Alexander's brother-in-law.

The Invasion of Russia. In 1812 the Alliance snapped, and loud was the report. Napoleon would not allow any breach of the Continental Blockade if he

could prevent it. He resolved to force Russia, as he had forced the rest of the Continent, to do his bidding. He demanded that she live up to her promises and exclude British commerce. The answers were evasive, unsatisfactory, and in June, 1812, Napoleon crossed the Niemen with the largest army he ever commanded, over half a million men, the "army of twenty nations," as the Russians called it. About

one-half were French. The rest were a motley host of Italians, Danes, Croats, Dalmatians, Poles, Dutchmen, Westphalians, Saxons, Bavarians, Würtembergers, and still others. For the first time in his military career Napoleon commanded the coöperation of Austria and Prussia, both of which were compelled to send contingents.

The Campaign in Russia (1812). Napoleon spoke of the new expedition as the "last act" of the play. It was not quite that, but it was a supremely important act, one full of surprises. From the very start it was seen that in numbers there is sometimes weakness, not strength. This vast machine speedily commenced to crack beneath its own weight. The army had not advanced five days before the commissary department began to break down and bread was lacking. Horses, improperly nourished, died by the thousands, thus



NAPOLÉON'S CAMP BED

Redrawn from a photograph.

still further demoralizing the commissariat and imperiling the artillery. The Russians adopted the policy of not fighting but constantly retreating, luring the enemy farther and farther into a country which they took care to devastate as they retired, leaving no provisions or supplies for the invaders, no stations for the incapacitated, as they burned their villages on leaving them. Napoleon, seeking above everything a battle, in which he hoped to crush the enemy, was denied the opportunity. But this policy of continual retreat, so irritating to the French Emperor, was equally irritating to the Russian people, who did not understand the reason and who clamored for a change. The Russians therefore took up a strong position at Borodino on the route to Moscow. There a battle occurred on September 7, 1812, between the French army of 125,000 men and the Russian of 100,000. The battle was one of the bloodiest of the whole epoch. The French lost 30,000, the Russians 40,000 men. Napoleon's victory was not overwhelming, probably because he could not bring himself to throw in the Old Guard. The Russians retreated in good order, leaving the road open to Moscow, which city Napoleon entered September 14. The army had experienced terrible hardships all the way, first over roads soaked by constant rains, then later over roads intensely heated by July suns and giving forth suffocating clouds of dust. Terrible losses, thousands a day, had characterized the march of seven hundred miles from the Niemen to Moscow.

The Retreat from Moscow. Napoleon had resolved on the march to Moscow expecting that the Russians would consent to peace, once the ancient capital was in danger. But no one appeared for that purpose. He found Moscow practically deserted, only 15,000 there, out of a population of 250,000. Moreover, the day after his entry fires broke out in various parts of the city, probably set by Russians. For four days the conflagration raged, consuming a large part of the city. Still Napoleon stayed on, week after week, fearing the effect that the news of a retreat might produce, and hoping, against hope, that the Tsar would sue for peace. Finally there was nothing to do, after wasting a month of precious time, but to order the retreat. This was a long-drawn-out agony, during which an army of 100,000 men was reduced to a few paltry thousands, fretted all along the route by which they had come by Russian armies and by Cossack guerrilla bands, horrified by the sight of thousands of their comrades still unburied on the battlefield of Borodino, suffer-

ing indescribable hardships of hunger and exhaustion, and finally caught in all the horrors of a fierce Russian winter, clad, as many of them were, lightly for a summer campaign. The scenes that accompanied this flight and rout were of unutterable woe, culminating in the hideous tragedy of the crossing of the Beresina, the bridge breaking down under the wild confusion of men fighting to get across, horses frightened, the way blocked by carts and wagons, the pon-



NAPOLÉON RETURNING TO FRANCE, DECEMBER, 1812

Redrawn from a sketch by Faber du Faur.

Not made on the spot but probably presenting approximately the kind of equipage in which Napoleon traveled. He was accompanied by five other persons only.

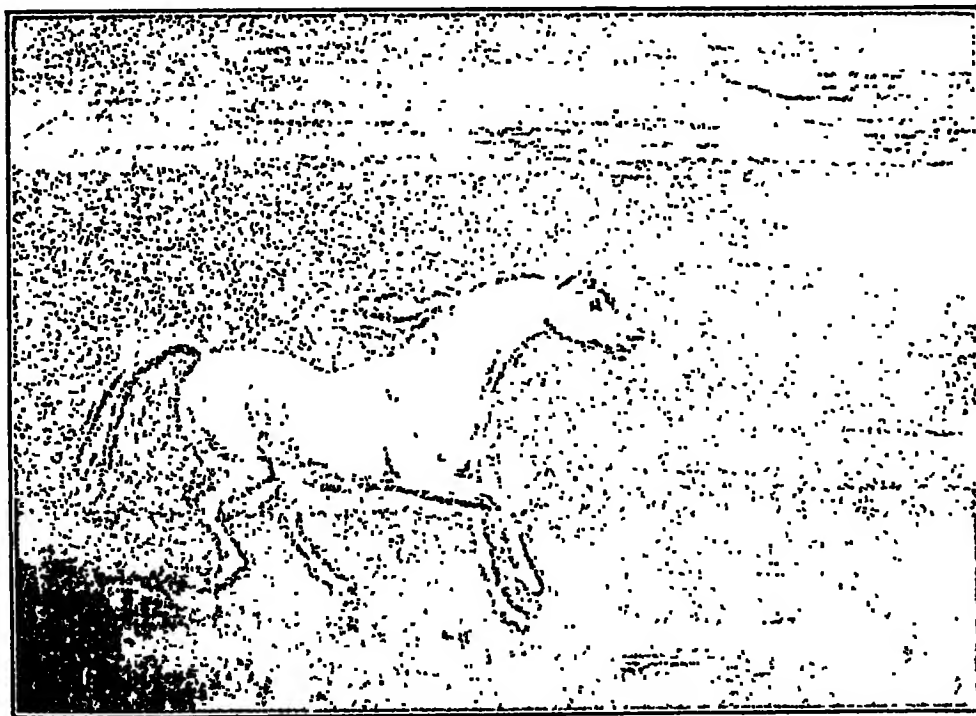
toons raked by the fire of the Russian artillery. Thousands were left behind, many fell or threw themselves into the icy river and were frozen to death. In the river, says one writer, when the Russians came up later they saw "awful heaps of drowned soldiers, women, and children, emerging above the surface of the waters, and here and there rigid in death like statues on their ice-bound horses." A few thousand out of all the army finally got out of Russia and across the Niemen. Many could only crawl to the hospitals asking for "the rooms where people die." History has few ghastlier pages in all its annals. Napoleon himself left the army, and traveled rapidly incognito to Paris, which he reached on December 18.

The Campaign in Germany. The year 1813 saw Napoleon battling for his supremacy in Germany, as 1812 had seen him battling for it in Russia. The Russian disaster had sent a thrill of hope through the ranks of his enemies everywhere. The colossus might be, indeed appeared to be, falling. Had not the auspicious moment arrived for annihilating him?

The Battle of Leipsic. Napoleon, working feverishly since the return from Russia, finally got an army of over 200,000 men together. But to do this he had to draw upon the youth of France, as never before, calling out recruits a year before their time for service was due. A large part of them were untrained, and had to get their training on the march into Germany. He confronted the armies of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, for the two latter powers now joined his enemies. The climax of this new campaign occurred at Leipsic. There a decisive three days' battle was fought, the "Battle of the Nations," as the Germans call it (October 16-18). In point of numbers involved this was the greatest battle of the Napoleonic era. Over half a million men took part, at most 200,000 under Napoleon, 300,000 under the commanders of the allies. Napoleon was disastrously defeated and was sent flying back across the Rhine with only a small remnant of his army. The whole political structure which he had built up in Germany collapsed. The members of the Confederation of the Rhine deserted the falling star, and entered the alliance against him, on the guarantee of their possessions by the allies. Jerome fled from Westphalia and his brief kingdom disappeared. Meanwhile Wellington, who for years had been aiding the Spaniards, had been successful and was crossing the Pyrenees into southern France. The coils were closing in upon the lion, who now stood at bay.

The Campaign in France (1814). Napoleon had said on leaving Germany, "I shall be back in May with 250,000 men." He did not expect a winter campaign and he felt confident that by May he could have another army. The allies, however, did not wait for May but at the close of December, 1813, streamed across the Rhine and invaded France from various directions. France, victorious for eighteen years, now experienced what she had so often administered to others. The campaign was brief, only two months, February and March, 1814. Napoleon was hopelessly outnumbered. Yet this has been called the most brilliant of his campaigns. Fighting

on the defensive and on inner lines, he showed marvelous mastery of the art of war, striking here, striking there, with great precision and swiftness, undaunted, resourceful, tireless. The allies needed every bit of their overwhelming superiority in numbers to compass the end of their redoubtable antagonist, with his back against the wall and his brain working with matchless lucidity and with lightning-like rapidity. They thought they could get to his capital in a week. It took them two months. However, there could be but one end to



NAPOLEON'S WAR HORSE, "MARENGO"

such a campaign, if the allies held together, as they did. On March 30 Paris capitulated and on the following day the Tsar Alexander and Frederick William III, the King of Prussia, made their formal entry into the city which the Duke of Brunswick twenty-two years before had threatened with destruction if it laid sacrilegious hands upon the King or Queen. Since that day much water had flowed under the bridge, and France and Europe had had a strange, eventful history, signifying much.

The Abdication of Napoleon. At the beginning of this campaign the allies had offered Napoleon France with her natural boundaries. But these liberal terms he had rejected and the victors were

now resolved to tolerate him no longer. He was forced to abdicate unconditionally. He was allowed to retain his title of Emperor but henceforth he was to rule only over Elba, an island nineteen miles long and six miles wide, lying off the coast of Tuscany whence his Italian ancestors had sailed for Corsica two centuries and a half before he was born. Thither he repaired, having said farewell to the Old Guard in the courtyard of the palace of Fontainebleau (fôn-tân-blō'), kissing the flag of France made lustrous on a hundred fields. "Nothing but sobbing was heard in all the ranks," wrote one of the soldiers who saw the scene, "and I can say that I too shed tears when I saw my Emperor depart."

The Restoration of the Bourbons. On the day that Napoleon abdicated, the Senate, so-called guardian of the constitution, obsequious and servile to the Emperor in his days of fortune, turned to salute the rising sun, and in solemn session proclaimed Louis XVIII King of France. The allies, who had conquered Napoleon and banished him to a petty island in the Mediterranean, thought they were done with him for good and all. But from this complacent self-assurance they were destined shortly to a rude awakening.

The Mistakes of the Bourbons. Louis XVIII, the new king, tried to adapt himself to the greatly altered circumstances of the country to which he now returned in the wake of foreign armies after an absence of twenty-two years. He saw that he could not be an absolute king as his ancestors had been, and he therefore granted a charter to the French, giving them a legislature and guaranteeing certain rights which they had won and which he saw could not safely be withdrawn. His régime assured much larger liberty than France had ever experienced under Napoleon. Nevertheless certain attitudes of his and ways of speaking, and the actions of the royalists who surrounded him, and several unwise measures of government soon rendered him unpopular and irritated and alarmed the people. He spoke of himself as King *by the grace of God*, thus denying the sovereignty of the people; he dated his first document, the Constitutional Charter, from "the nineteenth year of my reign," as if there had never been a Republic and a Napoleonic Empire; he restored the white flag and banished the glorious tricolor which had been carried in triumph throughout Europe. What was much more serious, he offended thousands of Napoleon's army officers by retiring or putting them on half pay, many thus being reduced to destitution, and all

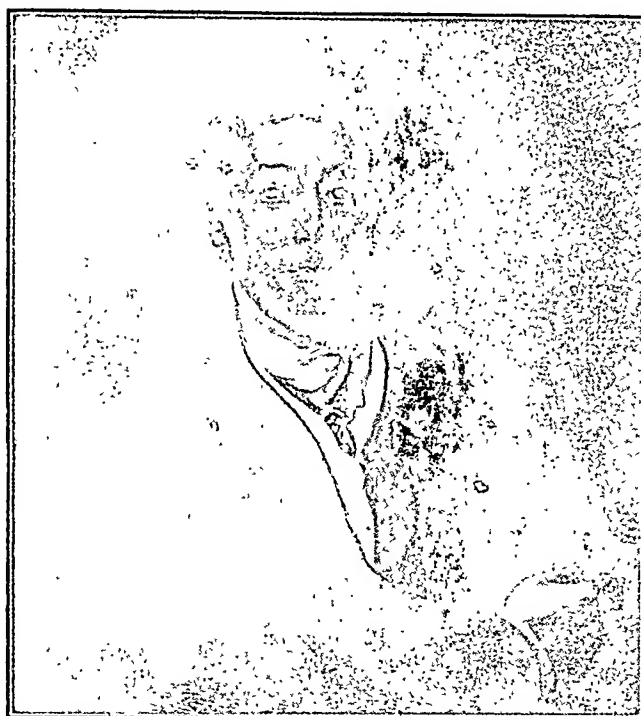
feeling themselves dishonored. Moreover, many former nobles who had early in the Revolution emigrated from France and then fought against her now received honors and distinctions. Then, in addition, the Roman Catholic clergy and the nobles of the court talked loudly and unwisely about getting back their lands which had been confiscated and sold to the peasants, although both the Concordat of 1802 and the Charter of 1814 distinctly recognized and ratified these changes and promised that they should not be disturbed. The peasants were far and away the most numerous class in France and they were thus early alienated from the Bourbons by these threats at their most vital interest, their property rights, which Napoleon had always stoutly maintained. Thus a few months after Napoleon's abdication the evils of his reign were forgotten, the terrible cost in human life, the burdensome taxation, the tyranny of it all, and he was looked upon as a friend, as a hero to whom the soldiers had owed glory and repute and the peasants the secure possession of their farms. In this way a mental atmosphere hostile to Louis XVIII, and favorable to Napoleon, was created by a few months of Bourbon rule.

Napoleon, penned up in his little island, took note of all this. He also heard of the serious dissensions of the allies now that they were trying to divide the spoils at the Congress of Vienna, of their jealousies and animosities, which, in January, 1815, rose to such a pitch that Austria, France, and England prepared to go to war with Prussia and Russia over the allotment of the booty. He also knew that they were intriguing at the Congress for his banishment to some place remote from Europe.

The Return from Elba. For ten months Napoleon had been in his miniature kingdom. The psychological moment had come for the most dramatic and audacious action of his life. Leaving the island with twelve hundred guards, and escaping the vigilance of the British cruisers, he landed at Cannes (kän) on March 1. That night he started on the march to Paris and on March 20 entered the Tuileries, ruler of France once more. The return from Elba will always remain one of the most romantic episodes of history. With a force so small that it could easily have been taken prisoner, Napoleon had no alternative and no other wish than to appeal directly to the confidence of the people. Never was there such a magnificent response. All along the route the peasants received him enthusiastically. But his appeal was particularly to the army, to which he

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF NAPOLEON

issue : one of his stirring bulletins. "Soldiers," it began, "we have not been conquered. We were betrayed. Soldiers! Come and range yourselves under the banner of your chief : his existence depends wholly on yours: his interests, his honor, and his glory are your interests, your honor, your glory. Come! Victory will march at double quick. The eagle with the national colors shall fly from



THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON

After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

steeple to steeple to the towers of Nôtre Dame. Then you will be able to show your scars with honor : then you will be able to boast of what you have done : you will be the liberators of your country."

Regiment after regiment went over to him. The royalists thought he would be arrested at Grenoble where there was a detachment of the army under a royalist commander. Napoleon went straight up to them, threw open his gray coat and said,

"Here I am : you know me. If there is a soldier among you who wishes to shoot his Emperor, let him do it." The soldiers flocked over to him, tearing off the white cockades and putting on the tricolor, which they had secretly carried in their knapsacks. Opposition melted away all along the route. It became a triumphant procession. When lies would help, Napoleon told them — among others that it was not ambition that brought him back, that "the forty-five best heads of the government of Paris have called me from Elba and my return is supported by the three first powers of Europe." He admitted that he had made mistakes and assured the people that henceforth he desired

only to follow the paths of peace and liberty. He had come back to protect the threatened blessings of the Revolution. The last part of this intoxicating journey he made in a carriage attended by only half a dozen Polish lancers. On March 20, Louis XVIII fled from the Tuileries. That evening Napoleon entered it.

"What was the happiest period of your life as Emperor?" some one asked him at St. Helena. "The march from Cannes to Paris," was the quick reply.

The Battle of Waterloo. Napoleon's happiness was limited to less than the "Hundred Days" which this period of his reign is called. Attempting to reassure France and Europe, he met from the former, tired of war, only half-hearted support, from the allies only relentless opposition. When the diplomats at the Congress of Vienna heard of his escape from Elba they immediately ceased their contentions and banded themselves together against "this disturber of the peace of Europe." They declared him an outlaw and set their armies in motion. He saw that he must fight to main-

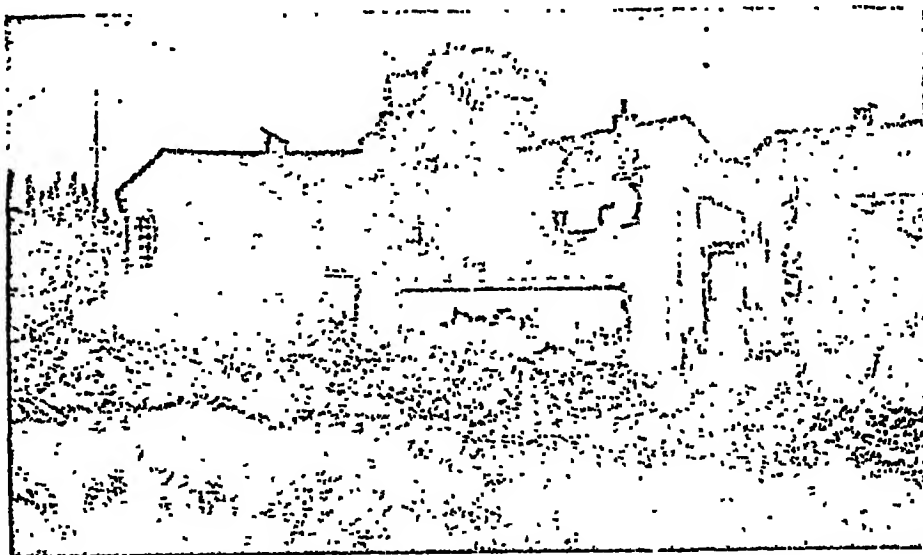
tain himself. He resolved to attack before his enemies had time to effect their union. The battlefield was in Belgium, as Wellington with an army of English, Dutch, Belgians, and Germans, and, at some distance from them, Blücher (Blüch'-ër) with a large army of Prussians, were there. If Napoleon could prevent their union, could defeat each separately, he would be in a stronger position when the Russian and Austrian armies came on. Perhaps, indeed, the latter would think it wiser not to come on at all but to conclude peace. Thus in Belgium occurred a four days' campaign culminating on the



BLÜCHER

After a miniature by Müller.

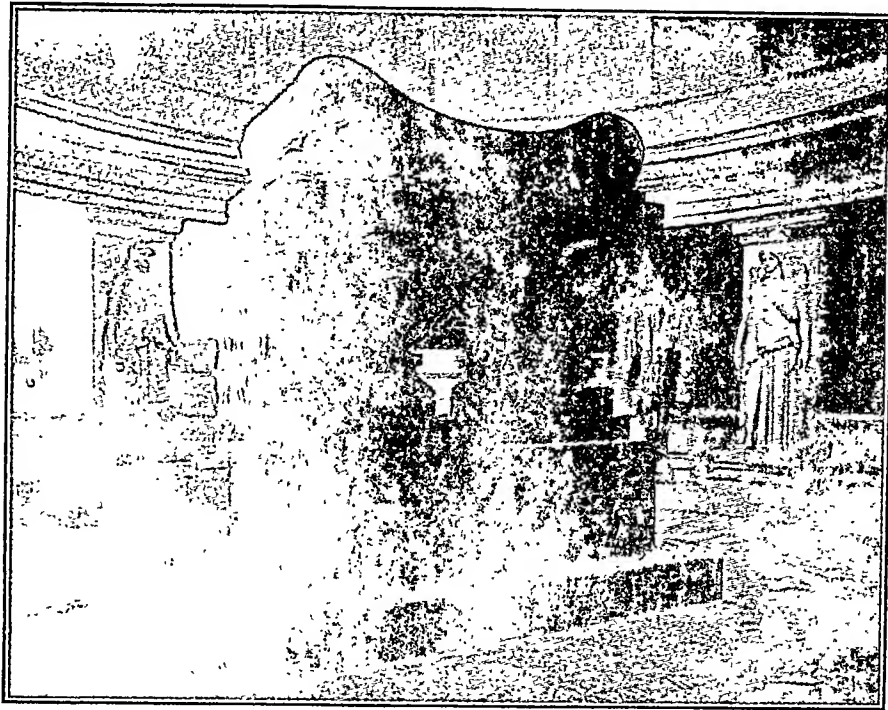
famous field of Waterloo, twelve miles south of Brussels. There, on a hot Sunday in June, Napoleon was disastrously defeated (June 18, 1815). The sun of Austerlitz set forever. The battle began at half past eleven in the morning, was characterized by prodigies of valor, by tremendous charges of cavalry and infantry back and forth over a sodden field. Wellington held his position hour after hour as wave after wave of French troops rushed up the hill, foaming in among the solid unflinching British squares, then, unable to break them, foaming back again. Wellington held on, hoping, looking, for the Prussians under Blücher, who, at the beginning of the battle, were



LONGWOOD, NAPOLEON'S HOUSE AT ST. HELENA

eleven miles away. They had promised to join him, if he accepted battle there, and late in the afternoon they kept the promise. Their arrival was decisive, as Napoleon was now greatly outnumbered. In the early evening, as the sun was setting, the last charge of the French was repulsed. Repulse soon turned into a rout and the demoralized army streamed from the field in utter panic, fiercely pursued by the Prussians. The Emperor, seeing the utter annihilation of his army, sought death, but sought in vain. "I ought to have died at Waterloo," he said later, "but the misfortune is that when a man seeks death most he cannot find it. Men were killed around me, before, behind — everywhere. But there was no bullet for me." He fled to Paris, then toward the west coast of France hoping to escape to the United States, but the English cruisers off the shore ren-

dered that impossible. Making the best of necessity he threw himself upon the generosity of the British. "I have come," he announced, "like Themistocles, to seek the hospitality of the British nation." Instead of receiving it, however, he was sent to a rock in the South Atlantic, the island of St. Helena, where he was kept under a petty



NAPOLEON'S TOMB IN THE INVALIDES, PARIS

and ignoble surveillance. Six years later he died of cancer of the stomach at the age of fifty-two, leaving an extraordinary legend behind him to disturb the future. He was buried under a slab that bore neither name nor date, and it was twenty years before he was borne to his final resting-place under the dome of the Invalides in Paris, although in his last will and testament he had said : " My wish is to be buried on the banks of the Seine in the midst of the French people whom I have loved so well."

QUESTIONS

I. Describe Napoleon's power at its height. What were the elements of weakness in his system of rule? What reforms did Stein carry through in Prussia? How was Prussian national feeling aroused at this time?

II. What causes led to the breakdown of the Franco-Russian Alliance? Give an account of the Russian campaign of 1812. What was the "Battle of the Nations"? How was Napoleon's abdication brought about?

III. What mistakes were made by the Bourbons after their restoration in 1814? Give an account of the return from Elba. What were the "Hundred Days"? Describe the battle of Waterloo. Where is St. Helena?

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CHAPTER XIV

THE CONGRESSES

The Congress of Vienna. The overthrow of Napoleon brought with it one of the most complicated and difficult problems ever presented to statesmen and diplomatists. As all the nations of Europe had been profoundly affected by his enterprises, so all were profoundly affected by his fall. The destruction of the Napoleonic régime must be followed by the reconstruction of Europe.

This work of reconstruction was undertaken by the Congress of Vienna, one of the most important diplomatic gatherings in the history of Europe (September, 1814–June, 1815). Never before had there been seen such an assemblage of celebrities. There were the emperors of Austria and Russia, the kings of Prussia, Bavaria, Würtemberg, Denmark, a multitude of lesser princes, and all the diplomats of Europe, of whom Metternich and Talleyrand were the most conspicuous. All the powers were represented except Turkey.

The Work of the Congress. The main work of the Congress was the distribution of the territories that France had been forced to relinquish. Certain arrangements had been agreed upon by the allies before going to Vienna, in the First Treaty of Paris, May 30, 1814, and needed now but to be carried out. The King of Piedmont, a refugee in his island of Sardinia during Napoleon's reign, was restored to his throne, and Genoa was given him that thus the state which bordered France on the southeast might be the stronger to resist French aggression. Belgium, previously an Austrian possession, was annexed to Holland and to the House of Orange, now restored, that this state might be a barrier in the north. It was understood that, in general, the doctrine of legitimacy should be followed in determining the rearrangement of Europe, that is, the principle that princes deprived of their thrones and driven from their states by Napoleon should receive them back again at the hands of collective Europe, though this principle was ignored whenever it so suited the interests of the Great Powers.



THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA
After the painting by Isabey.

Demands of Russia. The allies, who had, after immense effort and sacrifice, overthrown Napoleon, felt that they should have their reward. The most powerful monarch at Vienna was Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, who, ever since Napoleon's disastrous invasion of Russia, had loomed large as a liberator of Europe. He now demanded that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, whose government fell with Napoleon, be given to him. This state had been created out of Polish territories which Prussia and Austria had seized in the partitions of that country at the close of the eighteenth century. Alexander wished to unite them with a part of Poland that had fallen to Russia, thus largely to restore the old Polish kingdom and nationality, to which he intended to give a parliament and a constitution. There was to be no incorporation of the restored kingdom in Russia, but the Russian Emperor was to be King of Poland. The union was to be merely personal.

Demands of Prussia. Prussia was willing to give up her Polish provinces if only she could be indemnified elsewhere. She therefore fixed her attention upon the rich Kingdom of Saxony to the south, with the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, as her compensation. To be sure there was a King of Saxony, and the doctrine of legitimacy would seem clearly to apply to him. But he had been faithful to his treaty obligations with Napoleon down to the battle of Leipsic, and thus, said Prussia, he had been a traitor to Germany, and his state was lawful prize.

Russia and Prussia supported each other's claims, but Austria and England and France opposed them stoutly, in the end even agreeing to go to war to prevent this aggrandizement of the two northern nations. It was this dissension among those who had conquered him that caused Napoleon to think that the opportunity was favorable for his return from Elba. But, however jealous the allies were of each other, they, one and all, hated Napoleon and were firmly resolved to be rid of him. They had no desire for more war and consequently quickly compromised their differences. The final decision was that Russia should receive the lion's share of the Duchy of Warsaw, Prussia retaining only the province of Posen, and Cracow being erected into a free city ; that the King of Saxony should be restored to his throne; that he should retain the important cities of Dresden and Leipsic, but should cede to Prussia about two-fifths of his kingdom ; that, as further compensation, Prussia should

receive extensive territories on both banks of the Rhine. Prussia also acquired Pomerania from Sweden, thus rounding out her coast line on the Baltic.

Russian Acquisitions. Russia emerged from the Congress with a goodly number of additions. She retained Finland, conquered from Sweden during the late wars, and Bessarabia, wrested from the Turks ; also Turkish territories in the southeast. But, most important of all, she had now succeeded in gaining most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw. Russia now extended farther westward into Europe than ever, and could henceforth speak with greater weight in European affairs.

Austrian Acquisitions. Austria recovered her Polish possessions and received, as compensation for the Netherlands, northern Italy, to be henceforth known as the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, comprising the larger and richer part of the Po valley. She also recovered the Illyrian provinces along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. Thus, after twenty years of war, almost uninterruptedly disastrous, she emerged with considerable accessions of strength, and with a population larger by four or five millions than she had possessed in 1792. She had obtained, in lieu of remote and unprofitable possessions, territories which augmented her power in central Europe, the immediate annexation of a part of Italy, and indirect control over the other Italian states.

English Acquisitions. England, the most persistent enemy of Napoleon, the builder of repeated coalitions, the pay-mistress of the allies for many years, found her compensation in additions to her colonial empire. She retained much that she had conquered from France or from the allies or dependencies of France, particularly Holland. She occupied Helgoland in the North Sea ; Malta and the Ionian Islands in the Mediterranean ; Cape Colony in South Africa ; Ceylon, and other islands. It was partially in view of her colonial losses that Holland was indemnified by the annexation of Belgium, as already stated.

The Map of Italy. Another question of great importance, decided at Vienna, was the disposition of Italy. The general principle of action had already been agreed upon, that Austria should receive compensation here for the Netherlands, and that the old dynasties should be restored. Austrian interests determined the territorial arrangements. Austria took possession, as has been said, of the rich-



est and, in a military sense, the strongest provinces, Lombardy and Venetia, from which position she could easily dominate the peninsula, especially as the Duchy of Parma was given to Marie Louise, wife of Napoleon, and as princes connected with the Austrian imperial family were restored to their thrones in Modena and Tuscany. The Papal States were also reëstablished.

No union or federation of these states was effected. It was Metternich's desire that Italy should simply be a collection of independent states, should be only a "geographical expression," and such it was.

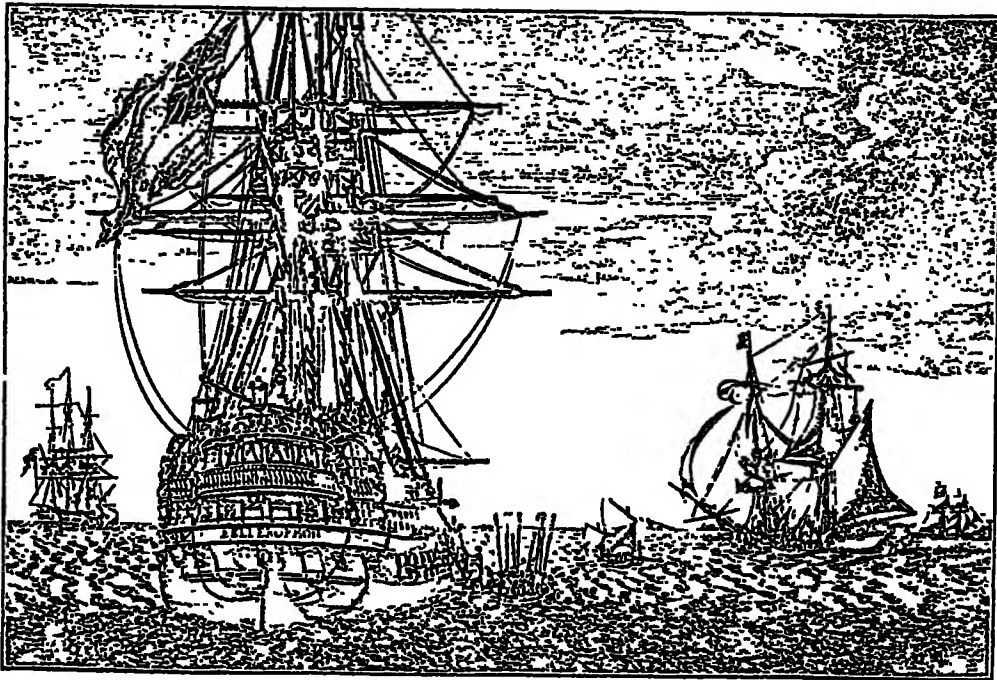
Changes in the Map of Europe. Other changes in the map of Europe, now made or ratified, were these : Norway was taken from Denmark and joined with Sweden ; Switzerland was increased by the addition of three cantons which had recently been incorporated in France, thus making twenty-two cantons in all. The frontiers of Spain and Portugal were left untouched.

Criticism of the Congress. Such were the territorial readjustments decreed by the Congress of Vienna, which were destined to endure, with slight changes, for nearly fifty years. It is impossible to discover in these negotiations the operation of any lofty principle. Self-interest is the key to this welter of bargains and agreements. Not that these titled brokers neglected to attempt to convince Europe of the nobility of their endeavors. Great phrases, such as "the reconstruction of the social order," "the regeneration of the political system of Europe," a "durable peace based upon a just division of power," were used by the diplomats of Vienna in order to impress the peoples of Europe, and to lend an air of dignity and elevation to their august assemblage, but the peoples were not deceived. They witnessed the unedifying scramble of the conquerors for the spoils of victory. They saw the monarchs of Europe, who for years had been denouncing Napoleon for not respecting the rights of peoples, acting precisely in the same way, whenever it suited their pleasure.

Character of the Congress. The Congress of Vienna was a congress of aristocrats, to whom the ideas of nationality and democracy as proclaimed by the French Revolution were incomprehensible or loathsome. The rulers rearranged Europe according to their own desires, disposing of it as if it were their own personal property, ignoring the sentiment of nationality, which had lately been so wonderfully aroused, indifferent to the wishes of the people. Theirs

could be no "settlement" because they ignored the factors that alone would make the settlement permanent. The history of Europe after 1815 was destined to witness repeated, and often successful, attempts to rectify this cardinal error of the Congress of Vienna.

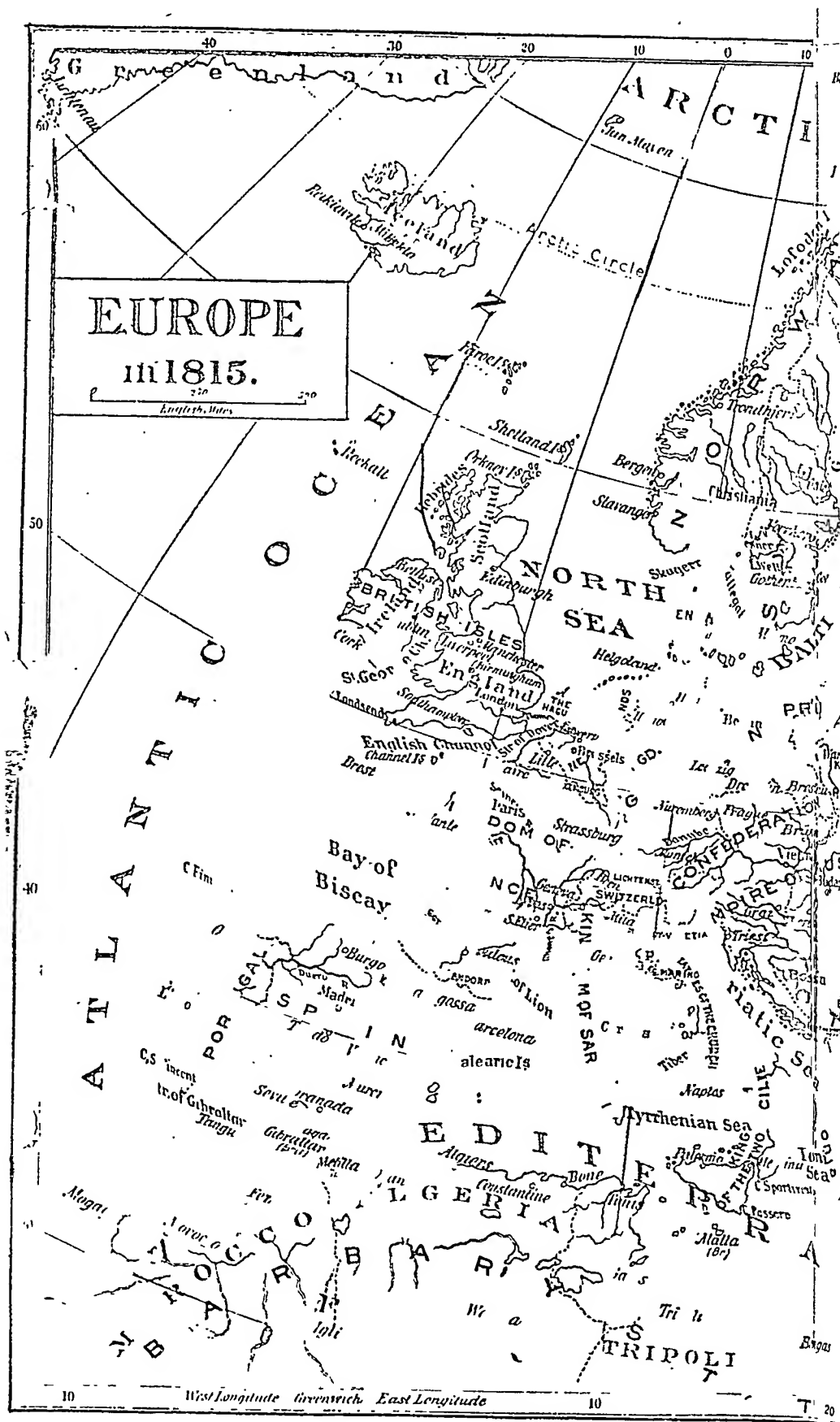
The Holy Alliance. In addition to the Treaties of Vienna the allies signed in 1815 two other documents of great significance in the future history of Europe, that establishing the so-called Holy

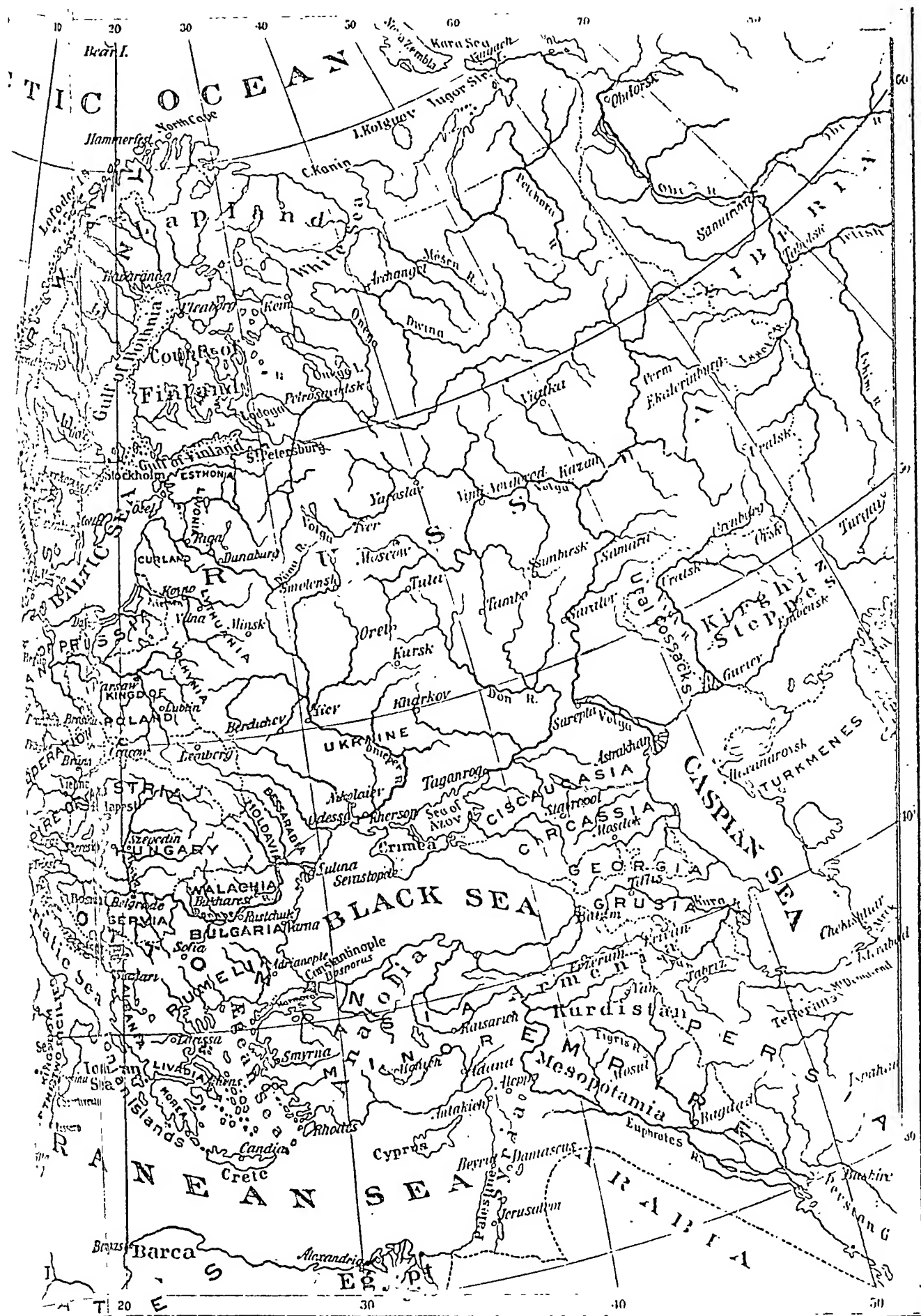


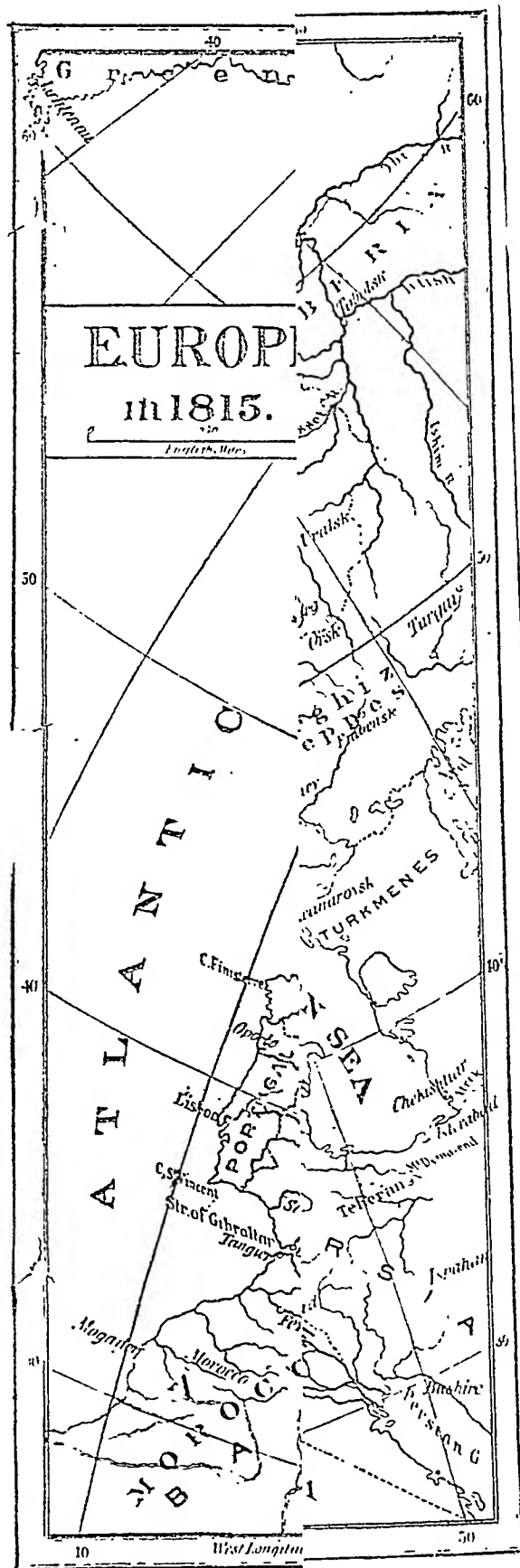
NAPOLEON EMBARKING ON THE "BELLEROPHON"

Designed and engraved by Baugeau.

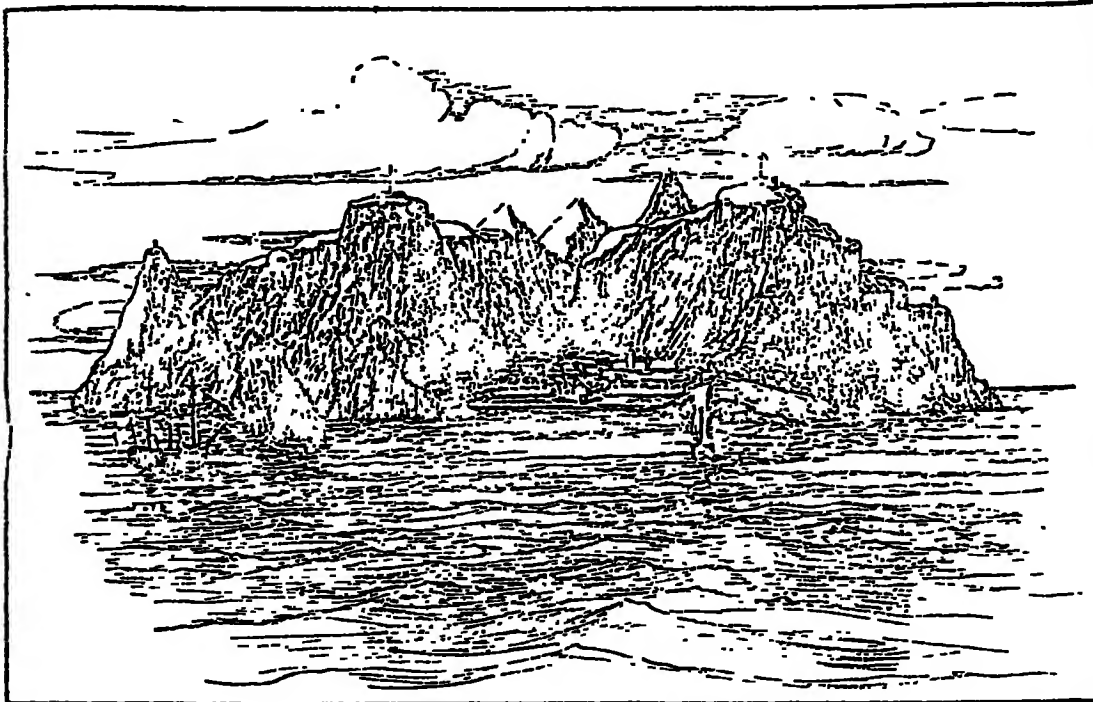
Alliance, and that establishing the Quadruple Alliance. The former proceeded from the initiative of Alexander I, of Russia, whose mood was now deeply religious under the influence of the tremendous events of recent years and the fall of Napoleon, which to his mind seemed the swift verdict of a higher power in human destinies. He himself had been freely praised as the White Angel, in contrast to the fallen Black Angel, and he had been called the Universal Saviour. He now submitted a document to his immediate allies, Prussia and Austria, which was famous for a generation, and which gave the popular name to the system of repression which was for many years followed by the







powers that had conquered in the late campaign. The document stated that it was the intention of the powers henceforth to be guided, in both their domestic and foreign policies, solely by the precepts of the Christian religion. The rulers announced that they would regard each other as brothers and their subjects as their children, and they promised to aid each other on all occasions and in all places. The other powers, thus asked by the Emperor of Russia to express their approval of Christian principles, did so, preserving what dignity



THE ISLAND OF ST. HELENA

After the drawing by F. Clementson.

they could in playing what most of them considered a farce of questionable taste. For, knowing the principles that had actually governed the Tsar and the other rulers at the Congress of Vienna, they did not consider them particularly biblical or as likely to inaugurate a new and idyllic diplomacy in Europe. As a matter of fact no state ever made any attempt to act in accordance with the principles so highly approved. The only important thing about the Holy Alliance was its name, which was, in the opinion of all Liberals, too good to be lost, so ironically did it contrast with what was known of the characters and policies of the rulers of Russia, Prussia, and Austria, the "Holy Allies."

The Quadruple Alliance. The other document, signed November 20, 1815, by Russia, Prussia, Austria, and England, established a Quadruple Alliance providing that these powers should hold congresses from time to time for the purpose of considering their com-

mon interests and the needs of Europe. The congresses that were held during the next few years in accordance with this agreement were converted into engines of oppression everywhere largely through the adroitness of Prince Metternich, Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, whose influence upon their deliberations was decisive.

Prince Metternich (1773-1859). Metternich appeared to the generation that lived between 1815 and 1848 as the most commanding personality of Europe, whose importance is shown in the phrases, "Era of Metternich," "Sys-



METTERNICH

After the painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

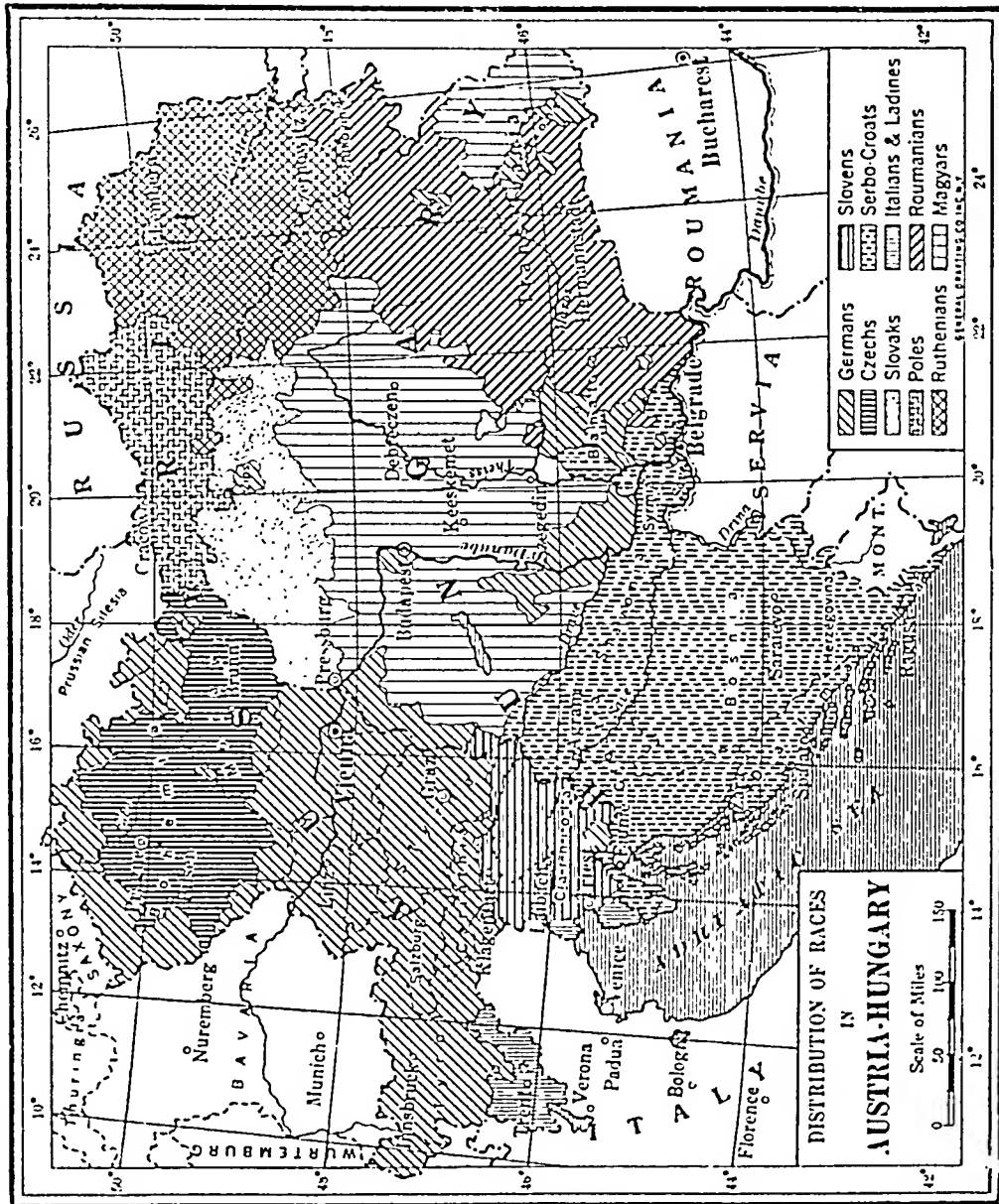
tem of Metternich." He was the central figure not only in Austrian and German politics, but in European diplomacy. He was the most famous statesman Austria produced in the nineteenth century. A man of high rank, wealthy, polished, blending social accomplishments with literary and scientific pretensions, his foible was omniscience. He was the prince of diplomatists, thoroughly

at ease amid all the intriguing of European politics. His egotism was Olympian. He spoke of himself as being born "to prop up the decaying structure" of European society. He felt the world resting on his shoulders. "My position has this peculiarity," he says, "that all eyes, all expectations are directed to precisely that point where I happen to be." He asks the question: "Why, among so many million men, must I be the one to think when others do not think, to act when others do not act, and to write because others know not how?" He himself admitted at the end of a long career that he had "never strayed from the path of eternal law," that his mind had "never entertained error." He felt and said that he would leave a void when he disappeared.

On analysis, however, his thinking appears singularly negative. It consisted of his execration of the French Revolution. His life-long rôle was that of incessant opposition to everything comprehended in the word. He denounced it in violent and lurid phrases. It was "the disease which must be cured, the volcano which must be extinguished, the gangrene which must be burned out with the hot iron, the hydra with jaws open to swallow up the social order." He believed in absolute monarchy, and considered himself "God's lieutenant" in supporting it. He hated parliaments and representative systems of government. All this talk of liberty, equality, constitutions, he regarded as pestilential, the odious chatter of revolutionary French minds. He defined himself as a man of the status quo. Keep things just as they are, all innovation is madness; such was the constant burden of his song. He was the convinced and resourceful opponent of all struggles for national independence, of all aspirations for self-government. Democracy could only "change daylight into darkest night." Such was the man who succeeded Napoleon in the center of the European stage.

REACTION IN EUROPE AFTER 1815

The Austrian Empire. "The battle of Waterloo," remarked Napoleon at St. Helena, "will be as dangerous to the liberties of Europe as the battle of Philippi was dangerous to the liberties of Rome." Napoleon was not exactly an authority on liberty, but he did know the difference between enlightened despotism and unenlightened. His was, in the main, of the former sort. The kind that



succeeded his in central Europe could not be so characterized. The style was set by Austria, the leading state on the Continent from 1815 to 1848. Austria was not a single nation, like France, but was composed of many races. To the west were the Austrian duchies, chiefly German, the ancient possessions of the House of Hapsburg; to the north, Bohemia, an ancient kingdom acquired by the Hapsburgs in 1526; to the east, the Kingdom of Hungary, occupying the immense plain of the middle Danube; to the south, beyond the Alps, the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, purely Italian. The two leading races in this Austrian Empire were the Germans, forming the body of the population in the duchies, and the Magyars (mo-dyorz), originally an Asiatic folk, encamped in the Danube valley since the ninth century and forming the dominant people in Hungary. There were many branches of the Slavic race in both Austria and Hungary. There were also Roumanians, a different people still, in eastern Hungary.

Austria, a Land of the Old Régime. To rule so conglomerate a realm of twenty-eight or twenty-nine million people was a difficult task. This was the first problem of Francis I (1792-1835) and Metternich. Their policy was to resist all demands for reform, and to keep things as they were, to make the world stand still. The people were sharply divided into classes, each resting on a different basis. Of these the nobles occupied a highly privileged position. They enjoyed freedom from compulsory military service, large exemptions from taxation, a monopoly of the best offices in the state. They possessed a large part of the land, from which in many cases they drew enormous revenues. On the other hand, the condition of the peasants, who formed the immense mass of the people, was deplorable in the extreme. They were even refused the right to purchase relief from the heaviest burdens. Absolutism in government, feudalism in society, special privileges for the favored few, oppression and misery for the masses, such was the condition of Austria in 1815.

The Police System. It was the fixed purpose of the government to maintain things as they were, and it succeeded largely for thirty-three years, during the reign of Francis I, till 1835, and of his successor Ferdinand I (1835-1848). During all this period Metternich was the chief minister. His system, at war with human nature, at war with the modern spirit, rested upon a meddlesome police, upon elaborate espionage, upon a vigilant censorship of ideas. Censorship

was applied to theaters, newspapers, books. The frontiers were guarded that foreign books of a liberal character might not slip in to corrupt. Political science and history practically disappeared as serious studies. Spies were everywhere, in government offices, in places of amusement, in educational institutions. Particularly did this government fear the universities, because it feared ideas. Professors and students were subjected to humiliating regulations. Spies attended lectures. The government insisted on having a complete list of the books that each professor took out of the university library. Text-books were prescribed. Students might not study abroad, nor might they have societies of their own. Austrians might not travel to foreign countries without the permission of the government, which was rarely given. Austria was sealed as nearly hermetically as possible against the liberal thought of Europe. Intellectual stagnation was the price paid. A system like this needed careful bolstering at every moment and at every point. The best protection for the Austrian system was to extend it to other countries. Having firmly established it at home, Metternich labored with great skill and temporary success to apply it in surrounding countries, particularly in Germany and in Italy.

We shall now trace the application of this conception of government in other countries. This will serve among other things to show the dominant position of the Austrian Empire in Europe from 1815 to 1848. Vienna, the seat of rigid conservatism, was now the center of European affairs, as Paris, the home of revolution, had been for so long.

The German Confederation. One of the important problems presented to the Congress of Vienna concerned the future organization of Germany. The Holy Roman Empire had disappeared in 1806 at the hands of Napoleon. The Confederation of the Rhine, which he had created to take its place, had disappeared with its creator. Something must evidently be put in its place. The outcome of the deliberations was the establishment of the German Confederation, which was the government of Germany from 1815 to 1866. The Confederation consisted of thirty-eight states. The central organ of the government was to be a Diet, meeting at Frankfurt. This was to consist, not of representatives chosen by the people, but of delegates appointed by the different sovereigns and serving during their pleasure. They were to be, not deputies empowered to

decide questions, but simply diplomatic representatives, voting as their princes might direct. Austria was always to have the presidency of this body. The method of procedure within the Diet was complicated and exceedingly cumbrous, making action difficult, delay and obstruction easy. The Confederation did not constitute a real nation, but only a loose league of independent states. The states agreed not to make war upon each other, and that was about the only serious obligation they assumed.

The Confederation was a union of princes, not of peoples. It was created because each prince was jealous of every other prince, and was far more concerned with the preservation of his own power than with the prosperity of Germany. Now the spirit of nationality had been tremendously aroused by the struggles with Napoleon. All the more progressive spirits felt that the first need of Germany was unity and a strong national government. But German unity was, according to Metternich, an "infamous object," and Metternich was supported by the selfishness of the German rulers, not one of whom was willing to surrender any particle of his authority. Intense was the indignation of all Liberals at what they called this "great deception" of Vienna.

The Disappointment of the Liberals. The Liberals experienced another disappointment too. As they desired unity, they also desired liberty. They wished a constitution for each one of the thirty-eight states; they wished a parliament in each; they wished to have the reign of absolutism brought to a close. Metternich, even more opposed to free political institutions than to a strong central government, succeeded in thwarting the reformers at this point also. The latter were put off with only vague and doubtful promises, which, moreover, were never realized, save in the case of a few of the smaller states.

Metternich's program was to secure the prevalence in Germany of the same principles that prevailed in Austria, and in this he largely succeeded, thanks to certain incidents of the day which gave him favorable occasions to apply the system of repression which in his opinion was the only sure cure for the ills of this world. One of these was a patriotic festival held in 1817 at the Wartburg, a castle famous in connection with the career of Martin Luther. This was a celebration organized by the students of the German universities and it expressed the vigorous liberalism of the students, their detestation of

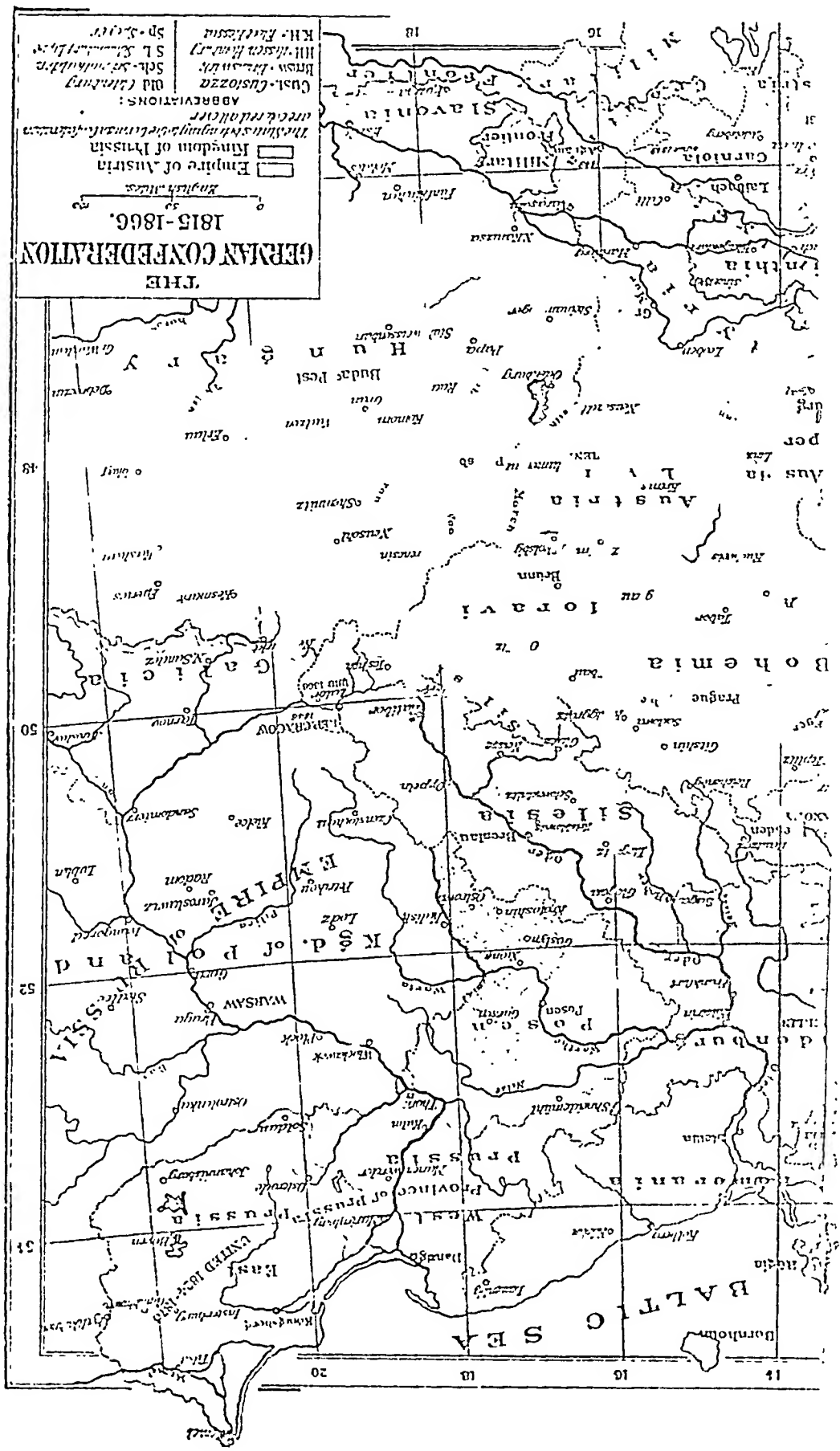
reaction and reactionaries. Somewhat later a student killed a journalist and playwright, Kotzebue (kot'-se-bo), who was hated in university circles as a Russian spy. These and other occurrences played perfectly into the hands of Metternich, who was seeking the means of establishing reaction in Germany as it had been established in Austria. He secured the passage by the frightened princes of the famous Carlsbad Decrees (1819), through whose provisions Metternich became the conqueror of the Confederation. These decrees were the work of Austria, seconded by Prussia. They signified in German history the suppression of liberty for a generation. They really determined the political system of Germany until 1848. They provided for a vigorous censorship of the press, and subjected the professors and students of the universities to a close government supervision. All teachers who should propagate "harmful doctrines," that is, who should in any way criticize Metternich's ideas of government, should be removed from their positions, and once so removed could not be appointed to any other positions in Germany. The student societies were suppressed. Any student expelled from one university was not to be admitted into any other. By these provisions it was expected that the entire academic community, professors and students, would be reduced to silence. Another provision was directed against the establishment of any further constitutions of a popular character. Thus free parliaments, freedom of the press, freedom of teaching, and free speech were outlawed.

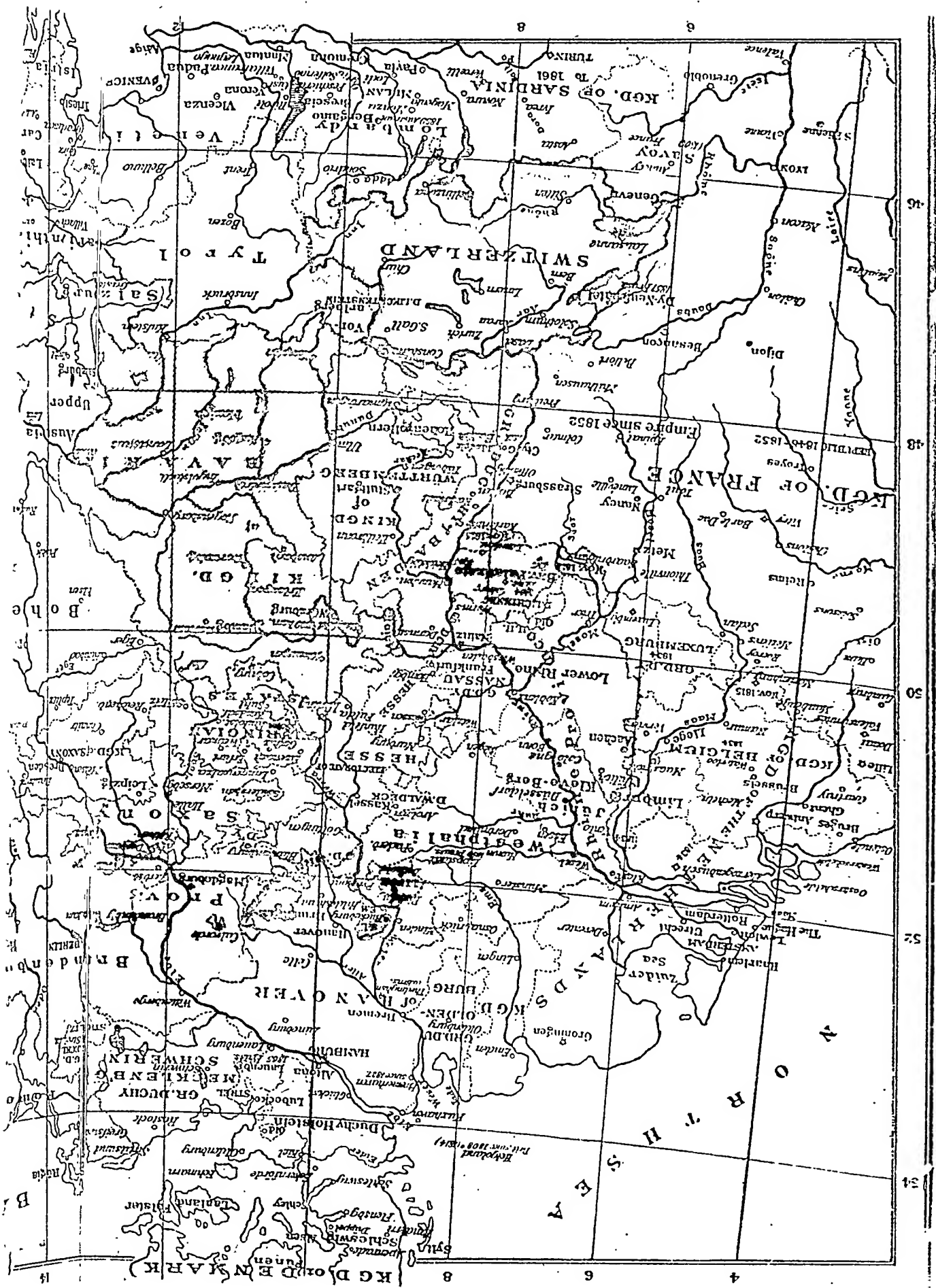
Reaction in Germany. The Carlsbad Decrees represent an important turning point in the history of Central Europe. They signalized the dominance of Metternich in Germany as well as in Austria. Prussia now docilely followed Austrian leadership, abandoning all liberal policies. The King, Frederick William III, had, in his hour of need, promised a constitution to Prussia. He never kept this promise. On the other hand, he inaugurated a peculiarly odious persecution of all Liberals, which was marked by many acts as inane as they were cruel. Prussia entered upon a dull, drab period of oppression.

Let us now see how the same ideas were applied in other countries.

Restoration in Spain. In 1808 Napoleon had, as we have seen, seized the crown of Spain, and until 1814 had kept the Spanish King, Ferdinand VII, virtually a prisoner in France, placing his own brother Joseph on the vacant throne. The Spaniards rose against the usurper

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and for years carried on a vigorous guerrilla warfare, aided by the English, and ending finally in success. As their King was in the hands of the enemy they proceeded in his name to frame a government. Being liberal-minded they drew up a constitution, the famous Constitution of 1812, which was closely modeled on the French Constitution of 1791. It asserted the sovereignty of the people, thus discarding the rival theory of monarchy by divine right which had hitherto been the accepted basis of the Spanish state. This democratic document, however, did not have long to live, as Ferdinand, on his return to Spain after the overthrow of Napoleon, immediately suppressed it and embarked upon a policy of angry reaction. The press was gagged. Books of a liberal character were destroyed wherever found, and particularly all copies of the constitution. Thousands of political prisoners were severely punished.

Vigorous and efficient in stamping out all liberal ideas, the government of Ferdinand was indolent and incompetent in other matters. Spain, a country of about eleven million people, was wretchedly poor and ignorant. The government, however, made no attempt to improve conditions. Moreover it failed to discharge the most fundamental duty of any government, that is, to preserve the integrity of the empire. The Spanish colonies in America had been for several years in revolt against the mother country, and the government had made no serious efforts to put down the rebellion.

Revolution in Spain (1820). Such conditions, of course, aroused great discontent. The army particularly was angry at the treatment it had received and became a breeding place of conspiracies. A military uprising occurred in 1820 which swept everything before it and which forced the King to restore the Constitution of 1812 and to promise henceforth to govern in accordance with its provisions. The text of the constitution was posted in every city, and parish priests were ordered to expound it to their congregations.

Thus revolution had triumphed again, and only five years after Waterloo. An absolute monarchy, based on divine right, had been changed into a constitutional monarchy based on the sovereignty of the people. Would the example be followed elsewhere? Would the Holy Alliance look on in silence? Had the revolutionary spirit been so carefully smothered in Austria, Germany, and France, only to blaze forth in outlying sections of Europe? Answers to these questions were quickly forthcoming.

Italy a Geographical Expression. After the fall of Napoleon the Congress of Vienna restored most of the old states which had existed before he first came into Italy. There were henceforth ten of them : Piedmont, Lombardy-Venetia, Parma, Modena, Lucca, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples, Monaco, and San Marino. Genoa and Venice, until recently independent republics, were not restored, as republics were not "fashionable." The one was given to Piedmont, the other to Austria.

These states were too small to be self-sufficient, and as a result Italy was for nearly fifty years the sport of foreign powers, dependent, henceforth, upon Austria. This is the cardinal fact in the situation. Austria was given outright the richest part of the Po valley as a Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. Austrian princes or princesses ruled over the duchies of Modena, Parma, and Tuscany, and were easily brought into the Austrian system. Thus was Austria the master of northern Italy ; master of southern Italy, too, for Ferdinand, King of Naples, made an offensive and defensive treaty with Austria, pledging himself to make no separate alliances and to grant no liberties to his subjects beyond those which obtained in Lombardy and Venetia. Naples was thus but a satellite in the great Austrian system. The King of Piedmont and the Pope were the only Italian princes at all likely to be intractable. And Austria's strength in comparison with theirs was that of a giant compared with that of pygmies.

Reactionary Policies of the Italian Princes. Italy became again a collection of small states, largely under the dominance of Austria. Each of the restored princes was an absolute monarch. In none of the states was there a parliament. Italy had neither unity nor constitutional forms, nor any semblance of popular participation in the government. The use which the restored princes made of their unfettered liberty of action was significant.

Hating the French, they undertook to extinguish all reminders of that people. They abolished all constitutions and many laws and institutions of French origin. Vaccination and gas illumination were forbidden for the simple reason that the French had introduced them. In Piedmont French plants in the Botanic Gardens of Turin were torn up, French furniture in the royal palace was destroyed in response to this vigorous and infantile emotion. In every one of the states there was distinct retrogression, and the Italians lost ground

all along the line — politically, industrially, socially. In most, the Inquisition was restored. Education was handed over to the clergy. The course of studies was carefully purged of everything that might be dangerous. The police paid particular attention to "the class called thinkers."

Thus Italy was ruled by petty despots and in a petty spirit. Moreover most of the princes took their cue from Austria, the nature of whose policies we have already examined. The natural result of such conditions was deep and widespread discontent. The discontented joined the Carbonari, a secret society, and bided their time.

That time came when the news reached Italy of the successful and bloodless Spanish Revolution of 1820. In Naples a military insurrection broke out. The revolutionists demanded the Spanish Constitution of 1812, not because they knew much about it but because it was very democratic and possessed the advantage of being ready-made. The King immediately yielded, and the constitution was proclaimed.

The Congresses. Thus in 1820 the Revolution, so hateful to the diplomats of 1815, had resumed the offensive. Spain and Naples had overthrown the régime that had been in force five years, and had adopted constitutions that were thoroughly saturated with the principles of Revolutionary France. There had likewise been a revolution against the established régime in Portugal. There was shortly to be one in Piedmont.

Metternich, the most influential personage in Europe, who felt the world resting on his shoulders, had very clear views as to the requirements of the situation that had arisen. Anything that threatened the peace of Europe was a very proper thing for a European congress to discuss. A revolution in one country may encourage a revolution in another, and thus the world, set in order by the Congress of Vienna, may soon find itself in conflagration once more, the established order everywhere threatened. By a series of international congresses, Troppau, Laibach, and Verona (1820-1822), Metternich was able to secure the official condemnation of these revolutions in Italy and Spain and then to have armies sent into those peninsulas, which speedily restored the old system, more odious than ever. Thousands were imprisoned, exiled, executed. Arbitrary government of the worst kind and thirsty for revenge was meted out to the unfortunate peoples. Needless to say, Metternich was quite satisfied. "I see

the dawn of a better day," he wrote. "Heaven seems to will it that the world shall not be lost."

The Holy Alliance and the Monroe Doctrine. The Holy Alliance, by these triumphs in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, showed itself the dominant force in European politics. The system, named after Metternich, because his diplomacy had built it up and because he stood in the very center of it, seemed firmly established as the European system. But it had achieved its last notable triumph. It was now to receive a series of checks which were to limit it forever.

Having restored absolutism in Spain, the Holy Allies considered restoring to Spain her revolted American colonies. In this purpose, they encountered the pronounced opposition of England and the United States, both of which were willing that Spain herself should try to recover them but not that the Holy Alliance should recover them for her. As England controlled the seas she could prevent the Alliance from sending troops to the scene of revolt. The President of the United States, James Monroe, in a message to Congress (December 2, 1823), destined to become one of the most famous documents ever written in the White House, announced that we should consider any attempt on the part of these absolute monarchs to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere as dangerous to our peace and safety, as the "manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States." This attitude of England and the United States produced its effect. After this no new laurels were added to the Holy Alliance. A few years later Russia was herself encouraging and supporting a revolution on the part of the Greeks against the Turks, and in 1830 revolutions broke out in France and Belgium which demolished the system of Metternich beyond all possible repair.

QUESTIONS

I. The Congress of Vienna. What were the demands of Russia? What were the demands of Prussia? What were the acquisitions of Russia, Prussia, and England? What was the character of the Congress? What criticisms would you make of the Congress?

II. What was the Holy Alliance? What was the Quadruple Alliance? What were the personal characteristics and the political opinions of Metternich? What is Metternich's historical significance?

III. Describe the government of Austria after 1815. What was the German Confederation? Why were the Liberals of Germany disappointed with the

work of the Congress of Vienna? What was the course of events in Germany after 1815? What were the Carlsbad Decrees?

IV. What were the causes of the Spanish Revolution of 1820? What is meant by the phrase "Italy a Geographical Expression"? What were some of the features of the reaction in Italy after 1815? Why were several international congresses held from 1820 to 1822? How did the policies of the Holy Allies clash with those of America? What was the outcome of that clash?

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CHAPTER XV

THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Transformation of Industry in England. While the tremendous changes from the institutions of the old régime to those of the modern were being accomplished amid the turbulence of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, other changes of vast though incalculable significance were being accomplished silently in the economic life of that country which was the one constant enemy of France and Napoleon, namely, England. Indeed England's ability to endure the strain of the long struggle with her enemy across the channel, and in the end to emerge victorious, was owing to this generally unnoticed but radical transformation in the conditions of English industry, in the methods used by Englishmen in earning their living, in creating wealth. These changes, first occurring in Great Britain and later adopted on the Continent, began in the last quarter of the eighteenth century and have been going on ever since. They constitute what has been called the Industrial Revolution.

The Age of Steam. The transformation of industry and commerce accomplished since George III came to the throne in 1760 is unique in the history of the world, a transformation so sweeping that in this respect the present age differs more from that of George III than did his from that of Rameses II. This transformation has been the result of a long series of discoveries and inventions. Among these one stands preeminent, the placing at the disposition of man of a new motive force of incomparable consequence, steam, rendered available by the perfection of an engine for the transmission of its power. Steam engines had been in existence since early in the eighteenth century, the invention of a mechanic named Newcomen. But they were poorly constructed, wasteful in their use of fuel. The device of Newcomen was studied and so greatly improved by James Watt (1736-1819) that he is generally considered the inventor of the steam engine. He made it a practical machine, and thereby inaugurated a new age, the age of steam.

The Domestic System of Manufacture. Consider for an instant the significance of the steam engine. Up to the advent of the age of steam, industry and commerce were essentially what they had been for many centuries. Previously the only motive force had come from animal strength, and from wind and falling water exploited by windmills and water-wheels. Mankind had very few machines, but manufacture was literally, as the word indicates, production by hand and was carried on in small shops generally connected with the home of the manufacturer. There, in the midst of a few workmen, the proprietor himself worked. The implements were few, the relation of master and journeyman and apprentice intimate and constant, the differences of their conditions comparatively slight. Industry was truly domestic. In general each town produced the commodities which it required. Production was on a small scale and was designed largely for the local market. Necessarily so, for the difficulty of communication restricted commerce. Down to the nineteenth century men traveled and goods were carried in the way with which the world had been familiar since time began. Only by horse or by boat could merchandise be conveyed. Roads were few in number, poor in quality, bridges were woefully infrequent, so that traveler and cart were stopped by rivers, over which they were carried slowly, and often with danger, by boats and ferries. Practically no great improvement had been made in locomotion since the earliest times, save in the betterment of roadbeds and the establishment of regular stage-routes. Napoleon, fleeing from Russia in 1812, and anxious to reach Paris as quickly as possible, left the army, and with a traveling and sleeping carriage and constant relays of fresh horses, succeeded, by extraordinary efforts day and night, in covering a thousand miles in five days, which was an average rate of eight or nine miles an hour, a remarkable ride for an age of horse conveyance. Where the Emperor of the French, commanding all the resources of his time, could do no better, of course the average traveler moved much more slowly and merchandise more slowly still.

The transmission of information could not be more rapid than the means of locomotion. The postal service was primitive, postage was high and very variable, and was paid by the receiver. In France, after 1793, there was a kind of aerial telegraph which, by means of signals, operated from the tops of poles, like those along the lines of

modern railroads, could transmit intelligence from Paris to other cities rapidly. But this invention was monopolized by the State and moreover ceased to operate when darkness or rain came on.

Various Uses of the Steam Engine. Into this world of small industries and limited commerce came the revolutionary steam engine, destined to effect an economic transformation unparalleled in the history of the race. It was applied to industry, then to commerce. First employed in mining, it was early adopted by the manufacturers of cotton and woolen goods to give the force for the inventions of Crompton and Arkwright and Hargreaves and Cartwright, inventions which succeeded each other rapidly after 1767, and which completely revolutionized one of the world's basic industries, textile manufacturing.

An Era of Inventions. The making of cloth consists of two main processes, first the *spinning* of the thread out of the raw material, cotton, wool, or flax, then the *weaving* of the thread into a solid fabric, cloth. The art of spinning had been known for ages, but it had not greatly developed. By the distaff and spindle, or by the spinning wheel, a person could make a thread, but he could only make one thread at a time. In 1767 James Hargreaves, an English spinner, invented the so-called spinning jenny which enabled him to make eight or ten threads at once, thus doing the work of eight or ten men. In 1769 Richard Arkwright invented a "water frame" or a machine which spun a stronger and firmer thread and which, moreover, was immensely more productive as it was run by water power instead of by hand or foot. But Arkwright's machines were so heavy that they had to be installed in special buildings or factories. Later inventions resulted in machines spinning two hundred threads at the same time. At this rate spinning outdistanced weaving and improvements must be made in the processes of weaving or this enormous increase in the output of thread could not be utilized. The crying need produced the man to solve it. Dr. Edmund Cartwright, a clergyman, constructed a self-acting loom, run by water power, and increasing greatly the rapidity with which weaving could be done.

Since these revolutionary innovations of the eighteenth century in the arts of spinning and weaving, other inventions too numerous to mention have been made, perfecting and facilitating every part of the general process of textile manufacture. A single machine now

does the work which formerly required the labor of a hundred or two hundred men.

What was thus accomplished in the textile industries was later accomplished in others, particularly in the manufacture of iron. Wherever possible the machine was substituted for the human being. A single individual could tend many machines and thus several other individuals were released for other work. The productive power of the race was greatly, in some lines fabulously, augmented. It was inevitable that these improved processes would be applied on a larger and larger scale and to more and more branches of activity and that the grand total of manufactured articles would exceed the wildest imaginations of men.

The Steam Engine Applied to Industry. No sooner did machines become common than it was seen that a new motive force was necessary to run them. They were usually too heavy to be operated by human strength, by the arm or by the foot. Moreover wind and water power were restricted in amount and were precarious. The wind might cease, the river might run dry. The new industry that was developing needed a new motive force, always procurable, inexhaustible in amount, and capable of easy regulation. This new force was, as already indicated, at hand, — steam, now rendered available for the new and enormous work by the inventions of James Watt. The steam engine became the center of the modern factory system of production, the throbbing heart of every industry. The machine superseded the hand of man as the chief element in production, increasing the output ultimately in certain lines a hundred, even a thousand-fold. Domestic industry waned and disappeared. Manufacturing became concentrated in large establishments employing hundreds of men, and ultimately thousands. And this concentration of industry caused the rapid growth of cities, one of the characteristic features of the nineteenth century.

The Steam Engine Applied to Transportation. It was shortly seen that there was a limit imposed upon the utility of the steam engine in industry. Production on the large scale involved necessarily two other factors — larger sources of supply from which to draw the raw materials, larger markets for the finished products. Right here the inadequate means of communication called halt. The necessity for improvement was imperative. A single illustration is sufficient evidence. The port of Liverpool and the great manufacturing

city of Manchester were separated by only about thirty miles. Three canals connected them, yet traffic on them was so congested that it sometimes took a month for cotton to reach the factories from the sea. The new machine industry was in danger of strangulation. Moreover the size of cities was conditioned upon the ability to procure food supplies, an ability strictly limited by the existing methods of transportation.

The Steamboat. The steam engine, applied to locomotion, came to the rescue of the steam engine applied to looms and spindles. And first to locomotion on water. Fulton's steamboat, the *Clermont*, leaving New York August 7, 1807, arrived at Albany, a hundred and fifty miles distant, in thirty-two hours. The practicability of steam navigation was thus, after much experimenting, definitely established. But steam navigation only slowly eclipsed navigation by sail. In 1814 there were only two steamers, with a tonnage of 426 tons, in the whole British Empire. In 1816 Liverpool, which now has the largest steam fleet in existence, did not have a single steamer. It is impossible here to trace the growth of this method of locomotion. Its expansion was reasonably rapid. It was at first thought impossible to construct ships large enough to carry sufficient coal for long voyages. It was not until 1838 that a ship relying solely upon steam propulsion crossed the Atlantic Ocean. The *Great Western*, a British vessel, sailed from Bristol to New York in fifteen days, to the discomfiture of those who were at that very time showing the impossibility of such a feat. The experimental stage was over. In 1840 Samuel Cunard, a native of Nova Scotia living in England, founded the first regular transatlantic steamship line, thus raising his name out of obscurity forever. In 1847 the Hamburg-American, in 1857 the North German Lloyd, in 1862 the French lines, began their notable careers, the two former ultimately constituting veritable fleets and serving all parts of the globe.

Invention of the Railroad. But more important still was the application of steam to locomotion on land, the invention of the railroad. This, like most inventions, was a slow growth. In the mines and quarries of England carts had for some time been drawn on rails made at first of wood, later of iron. It was found that horses could thus draw much heavier loads, the friction of the wheel being reduced. The next step was to substitute the steam engine for the

horse. Several men were studying this problem in the early nineteenth century. William Hedley, chief engineer of a colliery near Newcastle, constructed in 1813 a locomotive, *Puffing Billy*, which worked fairly well. The significance of George Stephenson lies in the fact that by his inventions and improvements, extending through many years, he made it "actually cheaper," to use his own words, "for the poor man to go by steam than to walk." His first locomotive, constructed in 1814, proved capable of hauling coal at the rate of three miles an hour, but at such a rate was not commercially valuable. He perfected his machine by increasing the power of the boiler so that the *Rocket* was able to make thirty miles an hour at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester railway in 1830. The experimental stage was over. The railway was a proved success. Construction began forthwith and has continued ever since. The development of the new means of locomotion has proceeded with the development of chemistry, metallurgy, mechanics, engineering, electricity. Rails have been constantly improved, locomotives augmented in drawing power, bridges flung over rivers and ravines, tunnels cut through mountains. Navigation, too, has had its record of triumph. Steamships, plying regularly and in all directions, have become larger and larger, swifter and swifter, more and more numerous. Traveling and transportation have thus been revolutionized by methods entirely dissimilar from those in existence during all the previous history of mankind. They represent not a difference of degree, but of kind.

Spread of the Industrial Revolution. The Industrial Revolution, begun in the closing quarter of the eighteenth century, has been in progress ever since. It had progressed far in England by the time of the overthrow of Napoleon and it had been one of the causes of England's final victory because of the great increase in wealth which it had brought her. This union of machinery with steam power multiplied tremendously the resources of mankind. Gradually the new methods, the new system of production, have been introduced into other countries, first into France, after 1815, and later into Germany. There were several important consequences of the new system, some of which have already been indicated.

The Factory System of Production. The Industrial Revolution meant a change from home work to factory work. Previously spinning, weaving, and other industries had been carried on in homes

or in small shops and frequently all the members of the family, not only the men but the women and the children, took part in the process. The head of the group himself owned the tools outright, bought the raw materials, and marketed the produce. It was truly a "domestic system" of manufacture, offering in general no great rewards, but insuring a sound and healthy life under conditions favorable for the development of mind and body. Under the new system; the workers must leave home for the day's labor, were gathered together in large numbers in factories which were at first poorly ventilated and poorly lighted, and were frequently exposed to conditions that endangered health. They no longer owned their own shops and tools, for the new factories were too large, the new machines too expensive, for any but the rich to own. Thus the independent worker became a wage earner, selling his labor to another, and forced to sell it, if he would avoid starvation. Under the factory system women and children became competitors of the men, as they could tend the machines in most industries as well as the men, and would accept lower wages. This dislocation of the family from the home to the factory brought with it many evils and abuses, as did also the long hours of labor, and the frequent lack of employment, owing to causes which the worker could not control, such as bad management of the business or glutting of the market. An entirely new set of problems arose out of the factory system, problems which will appear frequently in the course of this narrative, some of which have been solved more or less satisfactorily. Others await solution.

The Advantages of the Factory System. Of course the great advantage of the factory system is that it has enabled men to produce in immensely greater quantities the necessities and comforts and even the luxuries of life. The application of machinery to production, in agriculture, in manufacture, in transportation, has increased vastly the quantity and reduced the price of most commodities. Many products which only the well-to-do could formerly enjoy are now within the reach of the millions. The plane of living has been distinctly raised, but the higher standard begets a desire for a standard higher still.

Significant Effects of the Factory System. While the new system of production offered many advantages, its disadvantages to all but a few were more apparent in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. By differentiating more sharply than they had been

differentiated before the two classes engaged in the process of production, namely the wage earners and the capitalists, the factory system raised a large number of difficult, contentious questions concerning the relations of capital and labor, questions that have preoccupied and perplexed the world for a full century and whose solution is not yet in sight. By collecting together in large factories hundreds and even thousands of men, women, and children, who had previously worked in small shops or at home, it created grave problems concerning the health and morals and mental development of the workers. By bringing the workers together it inevitably led them to organize into unions for the protection and furtherance of their collective and individual interests. By bringing about a more and more minute subdivision of labor, eighty or a hundred persons, for instance, being employed in making the different parts of a shoe where formerly under the old system of hand labor the shoemaker made the entire shoe, the factory system has greatly multiplied the output by increasing the dexterity of the individual laborer, who, however, repeating the same motions over and over again finds his work less interesting, more tedious—which is one of the reasons why he demands a shorter working day. By building up large factory towns, by encouraging emigration from the country to the city, the factory system has affected municipal life profoundly. Many were the good features of the new industrial régime, many the evil. That régime has gone on developing ever since it was introduced in the eighteenth century for the reason that it offered more to humanity than the system it displaced.

QUESTIONS

- I. What do we mean by the Industrial Revolution? What was the domestic system of production? By what system was it displaced?
- II. What were the inventions that were essential to the Industrial Revolution? What were the advantages of the new system of production? What were the disadvantages?

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CHAPTER XVI

AN ERA OF REFORM IN ENGLAND

Influence of the French Revolution upon England. The French Revolution, by the abuses it had swept away and by the reforms it had introduced, had brought about a decided improvement in the conditions of life in many countries, notably in France, Germany, and Italy. But upon one country its effect was wholly unfortunate. England had long needed a thoroughgoing reorganization of her institutions and policies, if they were to conform to even an elementary conception of justice. The ablest writers and thinkers had long indicated in unambiguous language the changes that were required, and a statesman like William Pitt had recognized the force of their criticisms and was disposed to undertake the work of quickening the national life by breathing a new spirit into it. Then came the Revolution, enthusiastically hailed at first by the more liberal-minded as the dawn of a new and happier era. But conservative Englishmen were outraged by the attacks of the French upon property rights and social discriminations, and when the excesses of the Revolution came, the vast majority of them were frightened by the very idea of change. Would not any reform lead to the same excesses in England? This was the chord all English conservatives, led by the rhetorical Edmund Burke, continually harped upon. The result was that reform had no chance in England from 1793 to 1815, that changes which would have been an unqualified blessing were delayed for a whole generation.

England a Land of the Old Régime. Even after the long war with France was over and the battle of Waterloo was won, the same unreasonable dread of any change continued and the same attitude of stiff opposition to all reform. This unbending, undeviating hostility to all change on the part of the British Parliament, controlled during this period by the Tory party, is easily understood when we come to examine the structure of English institutions and Eng-

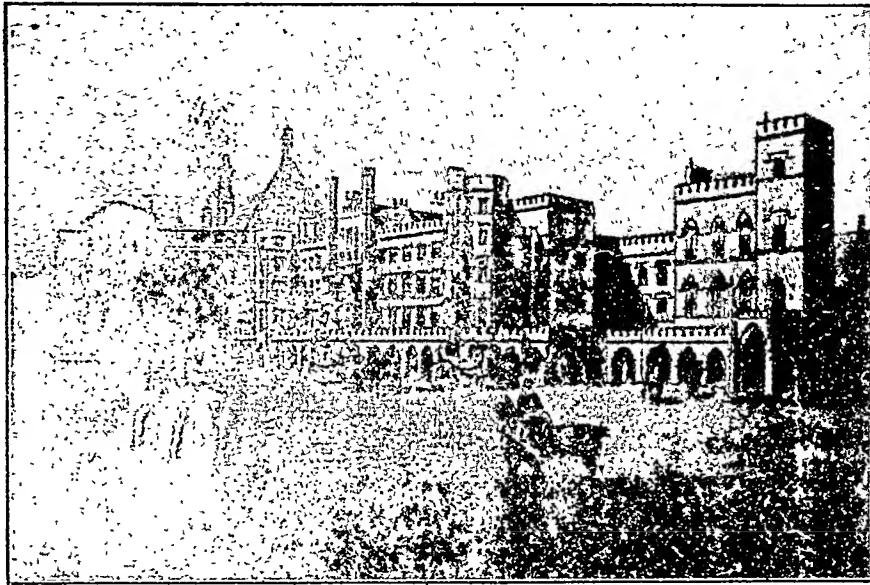
lish public and private life. The Revolution proclaimed the doctrine of equality and proceeded to abolish privilege. But England was conspicuously a land of privilege, of glaring discriminations between social classes, a land emphatically of the Old Régime. Inequality, of a pronounced character, reigned in church and state and school.

Social and Political Condition of England. Power rested with the aristocracy, composed of the nobility and the gentry. The "local self-government" of England, so much praised and idealized abroad, as if it were government of the people by the people, did not exist. In the county governments the local nobility filled most of the important offices ; in the borough or town governments their influence was generally decisive. In the national government, that is, in Parliament, the aristocracy was solidly intrenched. The House of Lords was composed almost exclusively of large landed proprietors. This was the very bulwark of the dominant social class. But the House of Commons was another stronghold hardly less secure. This body, generally supposed to represent the commoners of England, conspicuously failed to do so. Its composition was truly extraordinary.

The House of Commons. The House of Commons in 1815 consisted of 658 members : 489 of these were returned by England, 100 by Ireland, 45 by Scotland, 24 by Wales. There were three kinds of constituencies, the counties, the boroughs, and the two universities. In England each county had two members, and nearly all of the boroughs had two each, though a few had but one. Representation had no relation to the size of the population in either case. A large county and a small county, a large borough and a small borough, had the same number of members. Thus the county and borough representation of the ten southern counties of England was 237, and of the thirty others only 252 ; yet the latter had a population nearly three times as large as the former. All Scotland returned only 45 members, while the single English county of Cornwall (including its boroughs, of course) returned 44. Yet the population of Scotland was eight times as large as that of Cornwall.

The County Suffrage. The suffrage in the counties was uniform, and was enjoyed by those who owned land yielding them an income of forty shillings a year. But as this worked out it gave a very restricted suffrage. The county voters were chiefly the men who had large county estates, and their dependents. Counties in which there

were so few voters could be easily controlled by the wealthy land owners. In all Scotland there were not three thousand county voters; yet the population of Scotland was nearly two millions. Fife had 240 voters, Cromarty, 9. The climax was reached in Bute, where there were 21 voters out of a population of 14,000, only one of whom lived in the county. On a certain occasion only one voter attended the election meeting of that county. He constituted him-



THE OLD PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS. BURNED IN 1834

After an aquatint by R. Havell.

self chairman, nominated himself, called the list of voters, and declared himself elected to Parliament.

The Borough Suffrage. In the boroughs, the influence of the landowning and wealthy class was even greater and more decisive than in the counties. The boroughs were of several kinds or types — nomination boroughs, rotten or close boroughs, boroughs in which there was a considerable body of voters, boroughs in which the suffrage was almost democratic. It was the existence of the first two classes that contributed the most to the popular demand for the reform of the House. In the nomination boroughs, the right to choose the two burgesses was completely in the hands of the patron, or great landowner of the region. Such places might have lost all their inhabitants, yet, representation being an attribute of geographical

areas rather than of population, these places were still entitled to their two members. Thus Corfe Castle was a ruin, Old Sarum a green mound, Gatton was part of a park, while Dunwich had long been submerged beneath the sea ; yet these places, entirely without inhabitants, still had two members each in the House of Commons, because it had been so decided centuries before, when they did have a population, and because the English Parliament took no account of changes. Thus the owner of the ruined wall, or the green mound, or this particular portion of the bottom of the sea, had the right of nomination.

In the rotten or close boroughs the members were elected by the corporation, that is, by the mayor and aldermen, or the suffrage was in the hands of voters, who, however, were so few, from a dozen to fifty in many cases, and generally so poor that the patron could easily influence them by bribery or intimidation to choose his candidates. Elections in such cases were a mere matter of form.

Unrepresented Towns. There were some boroughs with a fairly large or even democratic electorate. Here bribery was resorted to by the rich, which was easily possible and greatly encouraged by the fact that the polls were kept open for fifteen days. On the other hand there were large towns like Manchester, Birmingham, Leeds, Sheffield, which had no representation at all in the House of Commons, although they had a population of seventy-five or a hundred thousand or more. Well might the younger Pitt exclaim : "This House is not the representation of the people of Great Britain ; it is the representation of nominal boroughs, of ruined and exterminated towns, of noble families, of wealthy individuals, of foreign potentates." The government of England was not representative, but was oligarchical.

The Established Church. Closely identified with the State, and, like the State, thoroughly permeated with the principle of special privileges, was another body, the Church of England. Though there was absolute religious liberty in Great Britain, though men might worship as they saw fit, the position of the Anglican Church was one greatly favored. Only members of that church possessed any real political power. No Catholic could be a member of Parliament, or hold any office in the state or municipality. In theory Protestants who dissented from the Anglican Church were likewise excluded from holding office. In practice, however, they

were enabled to, by the device of the so-called Act of Indemnity, an act passed each year by Parliament, pardoning them for having held the positions illegally during the year just past. The position of the Dissenter was both burdensome and humiliating. He had to pay taxes for the support of the Church of England, though he did not belong to it. He could only be married by a clergyman of that church, unless he were a Quaker or a Jew. There was no such thing as civil marriage, or marriage by dissenting clergymen. A Roman Catholic or a Dissenter could not graduate from Cambridge, could not even enter Oxford, owing to the religious tests exacted, which only Anglicans could meet. The natural result of the supremacy of this church was that those entered it who were influenced by self-interest, who were ambitious for political preferment, for social advancement, or for an Oxford or Cambridge education for their sons. It was "ungentlemanlike" to be a Dissenter.

The Need of Reform. The great institutions of England, therefore, were controlled by the rich, and in the interest of the rich. Legislation favored the powerful, the landed nobility, and the wealthy class of manufacturers that was growing up, whose interests were similar. The immense mass of the people received scant consideration. Their education was woefully neglected. Probably three-fourths of the children of England did not receive the slightest instruction. Laborers were forbidden to combine to improve their conditions, which the state itself never dreamed of improving. Even their food was made artificially dear by tariffs on breadstuffs passed in the interest of the landowners. The reverse side of the picture of English greatness and power and prosperity was gloomy in the extreme. England was in need of sweeping and numerous reforms.

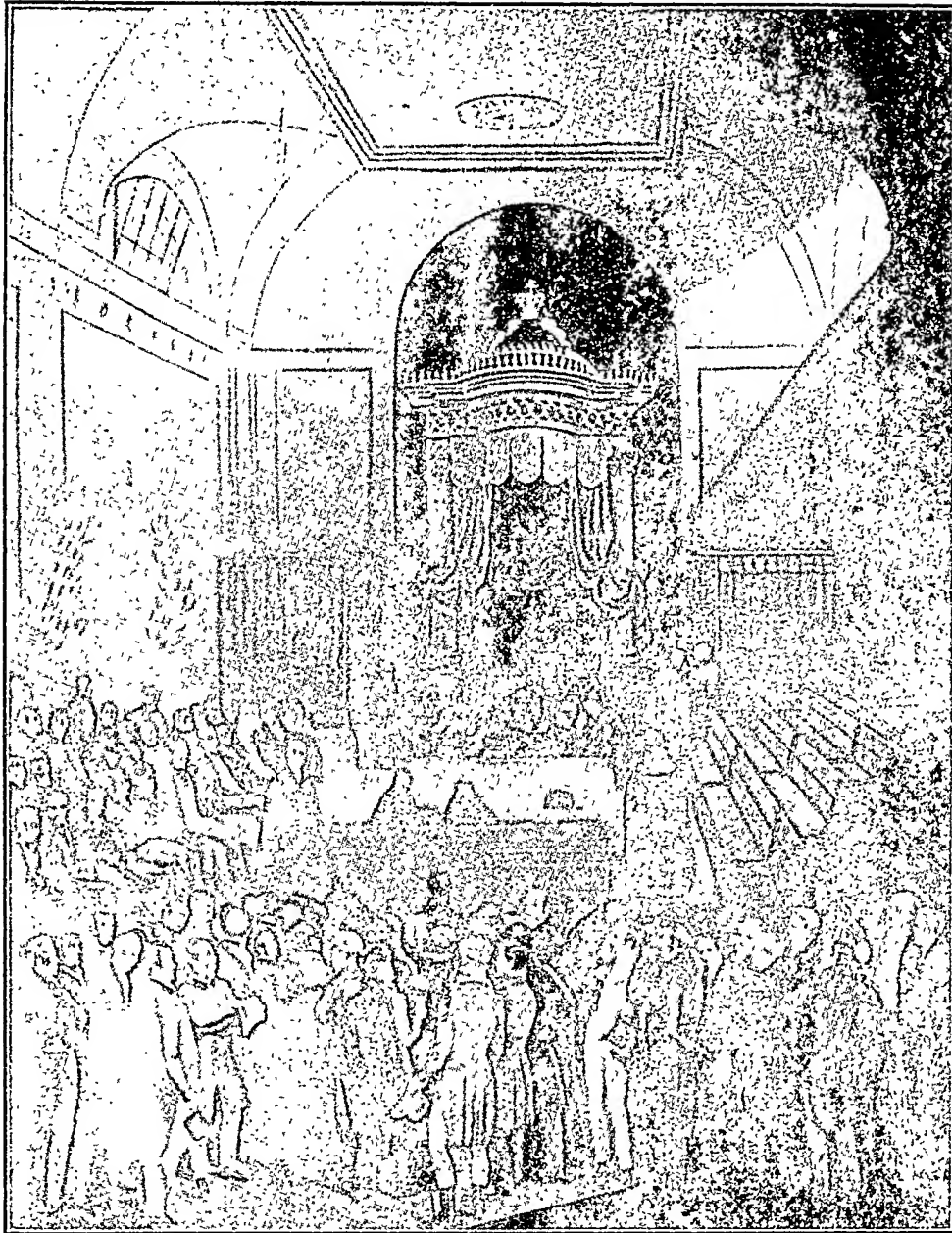
A Period of Partial Reform. In 1820 George III died at the age of eighty-one. He had for many years been insane, and the regency had been exercised by his son, who now became George IV and who reigned from 1820 to 1830. After 1820 a change gradually came over the political life of England. Canning, as Foreign Secretary, freed England's foreign policy from all connection with the Holy Alliance. Huskisson removed some of the restrictions upon the carrying trade and reduced many tariff duties. Sir Robert Peel carried through a reform of the Penal Code. That code was a disgrace to England and placed her far behind France and other countries. The punishment of death could be legally inflicted for about

two hundred offenses — for picking pockets, for stealing five shillings from a store, or forty shillings from a dwelling house, for stealing a fish, for injuring Westminster Bridge, for sending threatening letters. In 1823 the death penalty was abolished in about a hundred cases.

Another reform of these years lay in the direction of greater religious liberty. The disabilities from which Protestant dissenters suffered were removed in 1828. In the following year, after a long and bitter controversy which went to the very verge of civil war, Parliament redressed the grievances of the Catholics by the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Act, which permitted Catholics henceforth to sit in either house of Parliament and to hold, with a few exceptions, any municipal or national office. This act established real political equality between Catholics and Protestants.

The reforms that have just been described were carried through by the Tory party. There was one reform, however, more fundamental and important, which it was clear that that party would never concede, — the reform of Parliament itself. A combination of circumstances, however, now brought about the downfall of the party so long dominant, and rendered possible the great reform. George IV died on June 26, 1830, and was succeeded by his brother William IV (1830–1837). Shortly after, the Whigs came in under Earl Grey, who for forty years had been demanding parliamentary reform.

The Reform Bill of 1832. On March 1, 1831, a Reform Bill was introduced in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. It aimed to effect a redistribution of seats on a more equitable plan, and the establishment of a uniform franchise for boroughs in place of the great and absurd variety of franchises then existing. The redistribution of seats was based on two principles, the withdrawal of the right of representation from small, decayed boroughs and its bestowal upon large and wealthy towns hitherto without it. The introduction of the bill precipitated a remarkable parliamentary discussion, which continued with some intervals for over fifteen months, from March 1, 1831, to June 5, 1832. After a long and bitter debate characterized by several grave crises and by considerable popular violence, the bill was finally passed. At one time, indeed, England seemed to be on the very brink of civil war. The most serious obstacle was the House of Lords. It was the Lords who chiefly profited by the existing system of nomination and rotten boroughs, and they were enraged at the proposal to end it. They were determined



PASSING OF THE REFORM BILL IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS
From an engraving after the painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds.

not to lose the power it gave them. There was one way only in which the measure could be carried. The King might create enough new peers to give its supporters a majority in the House of Lords. This, however, William IV at first refused to do, but in the end he gave way, signing a paper stating, "The King grants permission to Earl Grey and to his Chancellor, Lord Brougham (brö'-am), to create such a number of peers as will be sufficient to insure the passing of the Reform Bill." These peers were never created. The threat sufficed. The bill passed the Lords, June 4, 1832, about 100 of its opponents absenting themselves from the House. It was signed and became a law.

The bill, in its final form, provided that fifty-six "rotten" boroughs each with a population of less than 2000 should lose their representation entirely; that thirty-two others with a population of less than 4000 should lose one member each. The seats thus obtained were redistributed as follows: twenty-two large towns were given two members each; twenty others were given one each, and the larger counties were given additional members, sixty-five in all. There was no attempt to make equal electoral districts, but only to remove more flagrant abuses. Constituencies still differed greatly in population.

The Enlargement of the Suffrage. The Reform Bill also altered and widened the suffrage. Previously the county franchise had depended entirely upon the ownership of land; that is, was limited to those who owned outright land of an annual value of forty shillings, the forty-shilling free-holders. The county suffrage was now extended to include, under certain conditions, those who leased land. Thus in the counties the suffrage was dependent still upon the tenure of land, but not upon outright ownership.

In the boroughs a far greater change was made. The right to vote was given to all ten-pound householders, which meant all who owned or rented a house or shop or other building of an annual rental value, with the land, of ten pounds. Thus the suffrage was practically given in boroughs to the wealthier middle class. There was henceforth a uniform suffrage in boroughs, and a diversified suffrage in counties.

Not a Democratic Reform. The Reform Bill of 1832 was not a democratic measure, but it made the House of Commons a truly representative body. It enfranchised, as stated, the upper middle

class. The number of voters, particularly in the boroughs, was considerably increased ; but the laborers of England had no votes, nor had the poorer middle class. Even then only about one individual in forty had the vote. The measure, therefore, though regarded as final by the Whig ministry, was not so regarded by the vast majority, who were still disfranchised. No further alteration was made until 1867, but during the whole intervening period there was a demand for extension. In 1831 and 1832 the people, by their monster meetings, riots, acts of violence, had helped greatly to pass the bill only to find when the struggle was over that others and not themselves had profited by their efforts.

The Abolition of Slavery. The reforming activity of the Whigs, which had achieved the notable triumph of the great change in the House of Commons, continued unabated for several years. Several measures of great importance were passed by the reformed Parliament during the next few years. One of the first of these was the abolition of slavery in 1833. It had been long held by the British courts that slavery could not exist in the British Isles, that the instant a slave touched the soil of England he became free. But slavery existed in the West Indies, in Mauritius, and in South Africa. There were about 750,000 slaves in these colonies. To free them was a difficult matter for it was considered an interference with the rights of property, and it might ruin the prosperity of the colonies. But there was a growing sensitiveness to the moral evil of the institution and it was this that ultimately insured the success of the anti-slavery agitation ably led by Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, father of the historian. A bill was passed in August, 1833, decreeing that slavery should cease August 1, 1834, and appropriating a hundred million dollars as compensation to the slave owners for the loss of their property. The slave owners were not satisfied, considering the sum insufficient, but were obliged to acquiesce.

Child Labor. Conscience was aroused at the same time by a cruel evil right at home, the employment, under barbarous conditions, of children in factories. The employment of child labor in British industries was one of the results of the rise of the modern factory system. It was early seen that much of the work done by machinery could be carried on by children, and as their labor was cheaper than that of adults they were swept into the factories in larger and larger numbers, and a monstrous evil grew up. They were, of course, the

children of the poorest people. Many began this life of misery at the age of five or six, more at the age of eight or nine. Incredible as it may seem, they were often compelled to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. Half hour intervals were allowed for meals, but by a refinement of cruelty they were expected to clean the machinery at such times. Falling asleep at their work, they were beaten by overseers or injured by falling against the machinery. In this inhuman régime there was no time or strength left for education or recreation or healthy development of any kind. The moral atmosphere in which the children worked was harmful in the extreme. Physically, intellectually, morally, the result could only be stunted human beings.

This monstrous system was defended by political economists, manufacturers, and statesmen in the name of individual liberty, in whose name, moreover, crimes have often been committed, the liberty of the manufacturer to conduct his business without interference from outside, the liberty of the laborer to sell his labor under whatever conditions he might be disposed or, as might more properly be said, compelled to accept. A Parliament, however, which had been so sensitive to the wrongs of negro slaves in Jamaica, could not be indifferent to the fate of English children.

The Factory Act of 1833. Thus the long efforts of many English humanitarians, Robert Owen, Thomas Sadler, Fielden, Lord Ashley, resulted in the passage of the Factory Act of 1833, which prohibited the employment in spinning and weaving factories of children under nine, made a maximum eight-hour day for those from nine to thirteen, and of twelve for those from thirteen to eighteen. This was a very modest beginning, yet it represented a great advance on the preceding policy of England. It was the first of a series of acts regulating the conditions of laborers in the interests of society as a whole, acts which have become more numerous, more minute, and more drastic from 1833 to the present day.

Accession of Queen Victoria. In the midst of this period of reform occurred a change in the occupancy of the throne. King William IV died June 20, 1837, and was succeeded by his niece, Victoria. The young Queen was the daughter of the Duke of Kent, fourth son of George III. She was, at the time of her accession, eighteen years of age. She had been carefully educated, but owing to the fact that William IV disliked her mother, she had seen very

little of court life, and was very little known. Carlyle, oppressed with all the weary weight of this unintelligible world, pitied her, quite unnecessarily. "Poor little Queen!" said he; "she is at an age at which a girl can hardly be trusted to choose a bonnet for herself ;



QUEEN VICTORIA, AT THE AGE OF 20

After the painting by Sir Edwin Landseer
at Windsor Castle.

yet a task is laid upon her from which an archangel might shrink." Not such was the mood of the Queen. She was buoyant and joyous, and entered with zest upon a reign which was to prove the longest in the annals of England. She impressed all who saw her with her dignity and poise. Her political education was conducted under the guidance, first of Leopold, King of Belgium, her uncle, and after her accession, of Lord Melbourne, both of whom instilled in her mind the principles of constitutional monarchy. The question of her marriage was important and was decided by herself. Summoning her cousin, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, into her presence, she offered him her hand — "a nervous thing to do," as she afterward said, yet the only thing as "he would never

have presumed to take such a liberty" himself as to ask for the hand of the Queen of England. It was a marriage of affection. "She is as full of love as Juliet," said Sir Robert Peel. Her married life was exceptionally happy, and when the Prince Consort died twenty-one years later, she was inconsolable. During these years he was her constant adviser, and so complete was the harmony of their views that he was practically quite as much the ruler of the country as was she.

The People's Charter. As the Reform Bill of 1832 had given the suffrage only to the upper part of the middle classes, as it excluded the working classes from all political power, it was only natural that the latter should refuse to consider it a finality and should agitate for the extension of the suffrage to themselves, particularly as they had helped decidedly to pass the great measure. Therefore the workingmen conducted a vehement agitation for several years to secure the rights to which they felt they were as entitled as were those who were fortunate enough to be richer than they. In a pamphlet entitled *The Rotten House of Commons* (December, 1836), Lovett, one of their leaders, proved from official returns that, out of 6,023,752 adult males living in the United Kingdom, only 839,519 were voters. He also showed that despite the reform of 1832 there were great inequalities among the constituencies, that twenty members were chosen by 2411 votes, twenty more by 86,072. The immediate demands of the Radicals were expressed in "The People's Charter," or program, a petition to Parliament drawn up in 1838. They demanded that the right to vote be given to every adult man; that voting be secret, by ballot rather than orally as was then the custom, so that every voter could be free from intimidation, and less exposed to bribery; that property qualifications for membership in the House be abolished; and that the members receive salaries so that poor men, laborers themselves and understanding the needs of laborers, might be elected to Parliament if the voters wished. They also demanded that the House of Commons should be elected, not for seven years, as was then the law, but simply for one year. The object of this was to prevent their representatives from misrepresenting them by proving faithless to their pledges or indifferent or hostile to the wishes of the voters. Annual elections would give the voters the chance to punish such representatives speedily by electing others in their place. Such were the five points of the famous Charter designed to make Parliament representative of the *people*, not of a class. Once adopted, it was felt that the masses would secure control of the legislature and could then improve their conditions.

Character of the Chartist Agitation. The Chartists had almost no influence in Parliament, and their agitation had consequently to be carried on outside in workingmen's associations, in the cheap press, in popular songs and poems, in monster meetings addressed by

impassioned orators, in numerous and unprecedentedly large petitions. One of these petitions was presented in 1839. It was in the form of a large cylinder of parchment about four feet in diameter, and was said to have been signed by 1,286,000 persons. It was summarily rejected. Notwithstanding this failure another was presented in 1842, signed, it was asserted, by over three million persons. Borne through the streets of London in a great procession it was found too large to be carried through the door of the House of Commons. It was therefore cut up into several parts and deposited on the floor. This, too, was rejected. In 1848 another petition was presented, but was found to contain, not 5,700,000 signatures, as asserted, but less than two million. It was summarily rejected. The Chartist agitation finally died out owing to ridicule, to internal quarrels, but particularly because of the growing prosperity of the country, which resulted from the abolition of the Corn Laws and the adoption of Free Trade.

Significance of the Chartist Movement. It is difficult to appraise the value and significance of this movement. Judged superficially and by immediate results the Chartists failed completely. Yet most of the changes they advocated have since been brought about. There are now no property qualifications for members of the House of Commons, and the secret ballot has been secured; the suffrage is now enjoyed by practically all men and by more than eight million women; members now receive salaries, and Parliaments are now elected for five years. It seems that some of the tremendous impetus of England toward democracy, which grew so marked toward the close of the nineteenth century, was derived from this movement of the Chartists.

The Free Trade Movement. Simultaneously with the Chartist movement another was going on which had a happier issue. The adoption of the principle of free trade must always remain a great event in English history, and was the culmination of a remarkable agitation that extended over forty years, though its most decisive phase was concentrated into a few years of intense activity. The change was complete from a policy which England in common with the rest of the world had followed for centuries and which other countries still follow.

The Corn Laws. England had long believed in protection. Hundreds of articles were subject to duties as they entered the coun-

try, manufactured articles, raw materials. The most important single interest among all those protected was agriculture. Corn is a word used in England to describe wheat and breadstuffs generally. The laws imposing duties on corn were the keystone of the English system of protection. The advocates of free trade necessarily, therefore, delivered their fiercest assaults upon the Corn Laws. If these could be overthrown it was believed that the whole system would fall. But for a long while the landlord class was so intrenched in political power that the law remained impregnable. The manufacturers and the merchants, however, were in favor of free trade, as the only way of enlarging the foreign market of England and thus keeping English factories running and English workingmen employed. But foreigners would buy English goods only if they might pay for them in their own commodities, their grain, their lumber. Again, as the population was increasing, England needed cheaper food. In 1839 there was founded in Manchester, a great manufacturing center, the Anti-Corn-Law League



RICHARD COBDEN

whose leader was Richard Cobden, a successful and traveled young business man. He was soon joined by John Bright, like himself a manufacturer, unlike him one of the great popular orators of the nineteenth century. The methods of the League were businesslike and thorough. Its campaign was one of persuasion. It distributed a vast number of pamphlets, sent out a corps of speakers to deliver lectures setting forth the leading arguments in favor of free trade. Year after year this process of argumentation went on. It was an earnest and sober attempt to convince Englishmen that they should completely reverse their commercial policy in the interest of their own prosperity. But it does not seem that this agitation would

have succeeded in securing the repeal of the Corn Laws had it not been for a great natural calamity, the Irish famine of 1845. The food of the vast majority of the Irish people was the potato. More than half of the eight million inhabitants of Ireland depended upon it alone for sustenance and with a large part of the rest it was the chief article of diet. Now this crop completely failed, owing to a



JOHN BRIGHT

disease that had set in. Famine came and tens of thousands perished from starvation. The only way to rescue the population was to repeal the Corn Laws and thus let in the food supplies of the Continent, to take the place of the blighted potato. In 1846, under this tremendous pressure, Sir Robert Peel carried against bitter opposition the repeal of the Corn Laws. There still remained after this many duties in the English tariff, but the keystone of the whole system of protection was removed. One after another during the next twenty years the remaining protective duties were removed.

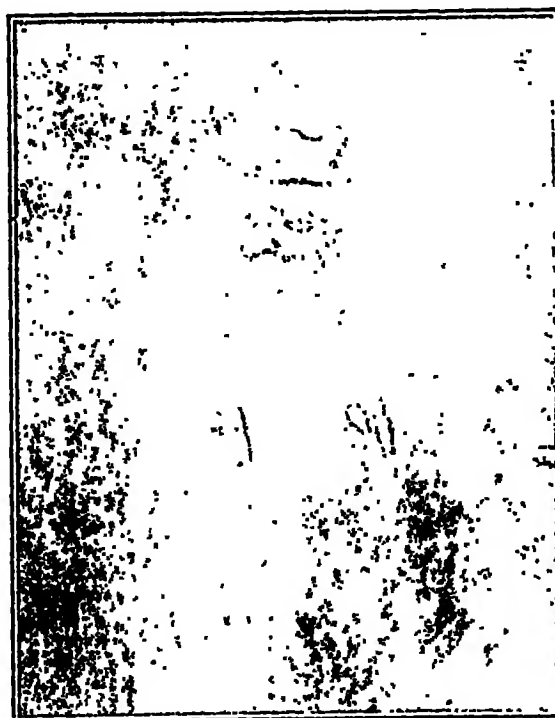
Labor Legislation. The twenty years succeeding the repeal of the Corn Laws were years of quiescence and transition. Comparatively few changes of importance were made in legislation. Those of greatest significance concerned the regulation of employment in factories and mines. The initial step in such legislation had been taken in the Factory Act of 1833, already described, a law that regulated somewhat the conditions under which children and women could be employed in the textile industries. But labor was unpro-

ected in many other industries, in which gross abuses prevailed. One of the most famous parliamentary reports of the nineteenth century was that of a commission appointed to investigate the conditions in mines. Published in 1842, its amazing revelations revolted public opinion and led to quick action. It showed that children of five, six, seven years of age were employed underground in coal mines, girls as well as boys ; that women as well as men labored under conditions fatal to health and morals ; that the hours were long, twelve or fourteen a day, and the dangers great. They were veritable beasts of burden, dragging and pushing carts on hands and knees along narrow and low passageways, in which it was impossible to stand erect. The revelations of this report were so astounding and sickening that a law was passed in 1842 which forbade the employment of women and girls in mines, and which permitted the employment of boys of ten for only three days a week.

Once embarked on this policy of protecting the economically dependent classes, Parliament was forced to go farther and farther in the governmental regulation of private industry. It has

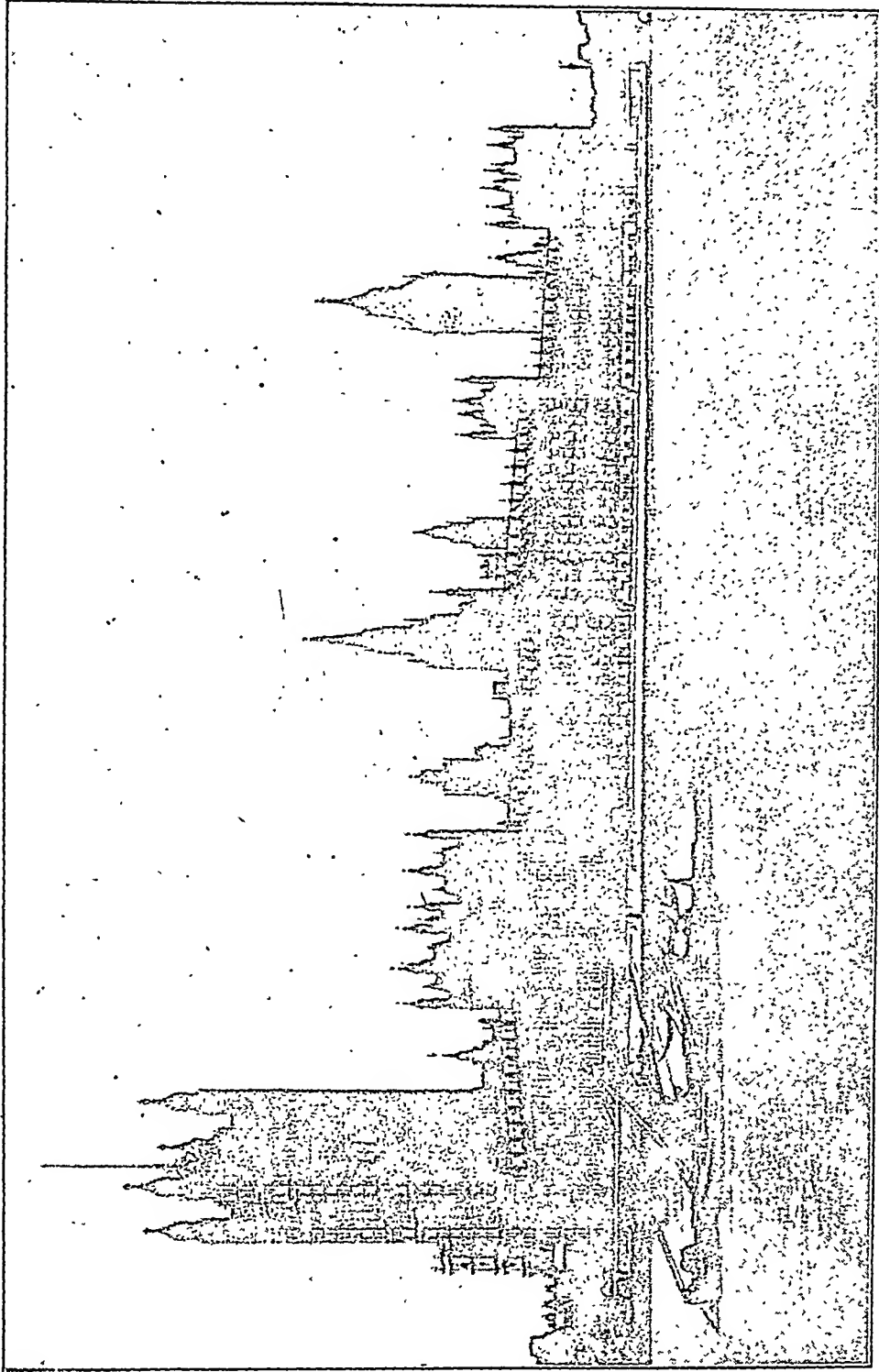
enacted a long series of factory laws which it is here impossible to describe, so extensive and minute are their provisions. The series is being constantly lengthened.

Extension of the Suffrage. During this period the demand was frequently made that the suffrage be extended. At that time not more than one man in six had the right to vote — only "the ten-pound householders." In 1866, to meet the growing demand, Gladstone, leader of the House of Commons, proposed a moderate extension of the suffrage. The very moderation sealed its doom, as it



SIR ROBERT PEEL

After painting by John Linnell.



HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT, LONDON. BEGUN 1840, COMPLETED 1852

aroused no enthusiasm among the people, and it was accordingly killed by the Conservatives, joined by many Liberals. But this rejection of so modest a measure had unexpected consequences. It aroused the people to indignation. Seeing this, and feeling that reform was inevitable, the Conservatives themselves, in the following year, introduced a new Reform Bill, which, before it was finally adopted, was made very radical.

The Reform Bill of 1867. The bill, as finally passed in August, 1867, closed the rule of the middle class in England, and made England a democracy. The franchise in boroughs was given to all householders. Thus, instead of ten-pound householders, all householders, whatever the value of their houses, were admitted; also all lodgers who had occupied for a year lodgings of the value, unfurnished, of ten pounds, or about a dollar a week. In the counties the suffrage was given to all those who owned property yielding five pounds clear income a year, rather than ten pounds, as previously; and to all "occupiers" who paid at least twelve pounds, rather than fifty pounds, as hitherto. Thus the better class of laborers in the boroughs, and practically all tenant farmers in the counties, received the vote. By this bill the number of voters was nearly doubled.

So sweeping was the measure that the prime minister himself, Lord Derby, called it a "leap in the dark." Carlyle, forecasting a dismal future, called it "shooting Niagara." It should be noted that during the debates on this bill, John Stuart Mill made a strongly reasoned speech in favor of granting the suffrage to women. The House considered the proposition highly humorous. Nevertheless this movement, then in its very beginning, was destined to persist and grow.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the influence of the French Revolution upon England? Describe the Parliament of England in 1815. What were nomination boroughs? What were "rotten" boroughs? What privileges did the Church of England enjoy in 1815? What rights were denied Dissenters and Catholics?

II. What reforms were effected before the great Reform Bill of 1832? How was the Reform Bill of 1832 carried through and what were its main provisions? How did slavery come to be abolished in British colonies? What was the Factory Act of 1833?

III. What were the demands of the Chartists? What were the methods of the Chartists? What was the significance of their movement? Give an account of the Free Trade movement. What changes did the Reform Bill of 1867 accomplish?

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CHAPTER XVII

REACTION AND REVOLUTION IN FRANCE

The Reign of Louis XVIII (1814-1824). The House of Bourbon had been put back upon the throne of France by the Allies who had conquered Napoleon in 1814. It was put back a second time in 1815, after Waterloo. But the new monarch, Louis XVIII, recognized, as did the Allies, that the restoration of the royal line did not at all mean the restoration of the Old Régime. He saw that the day of the absolute monarchy had passed forever in France. The monarchy must be constitutional and must safeguard many of the acquisitions of the Revolution or its life would certainly be brief. The King, recognizing that he must compromise with the spirit of the age, issued in 1814 the Constitutional Charter. This established a parliament of two houses, a Chamber of Peers, appointed for life, and a Chamber of Deputies, elected for a term of five years, but by a restricted body of voters, for the suffrage was so limited by age and property qualifications that there were less than 100,000 voters out of a population of 29,000,000, and that not more than 12,000 were eligible to become deputies. The Charter proclaimed the equality of all Frenchmen, yet only a petty minority was given the right to participate in the government of the country. France was still in a political sense a land of privilege, only privilege was no longer based on birth but on fortune. Nevertheless, this was a more liberal form of government than she had ever had under Napoleon, and was the most liberal to be seen in Europe, outside of England.

The Constitutional Charter. There was another set of provisions in this document of even greater importance than those determining the future form of government, namely, that in which the civil rights of Frenchmen were narrated. These provisions showed how much of the work of the Revolution and of Napoleon the Bourbons were prepared to accept. They were intended to reassure the people of France, who feared to see in the Restoration a loss of

liberties or rights which had become most precious to them. It was declared that all Frenchmen were equal before the law, and thus the cardinal principle of the Revolution was preserved; that all were equally eligible to civil and military positions, that thus no class should monopolize public service, as had largely been the case before the Revolution; that no one should be arrested or prosecuted

save by due process of law, that thus the day of arbitrary imprisonment was not to return; that there should be complete religious freedom for all sects, although Roman Catholicism was declared to be the religion of the state; that the press should be free. Those who had purchased the confiscated property of the crown, the church, and the nobles, during the Revolution, were assured that their titles were inviolable.

Louis XVIII and the Ultra-royalists. The personality of Louis XVIII seemed admirably adapted to the situation in which France found itself. A man of moderate opinions, cold-



LOUIS XVIII

From an engraving by P. Audouin, after the bust by A. Valois.

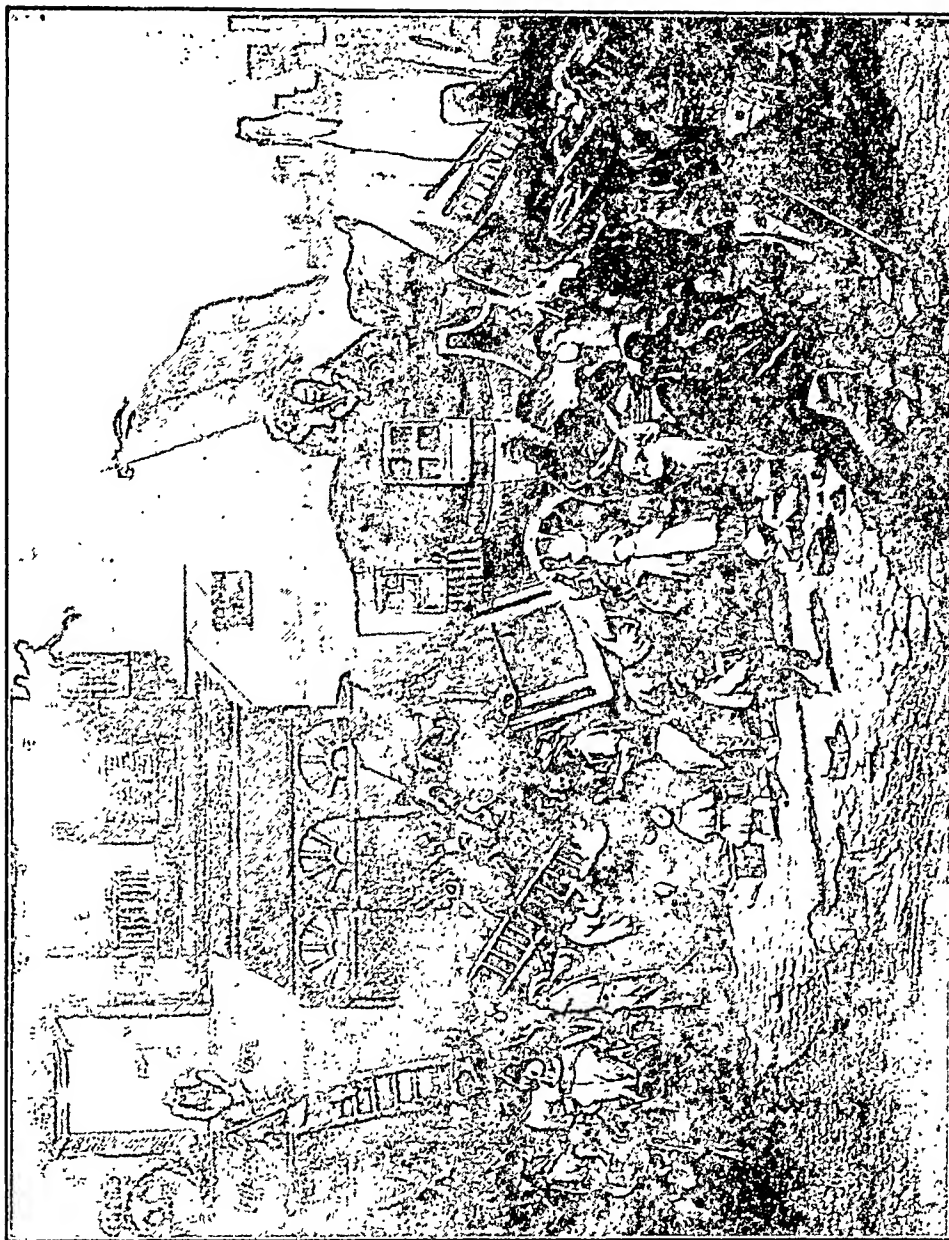
blooded, skeptical, free from illusions, free from the passion of revenge, indolent by nature, Louis desired to avoid conflicts and to enjoy his power in peace. But there were difficulties in the way. He had been restored by foreign armies. His presence on the throne was a constant reminder of the humiliation of France. But a more serious feature was the character of the persons with whom he was in constant contact. The court was now composed of the nobles who had suffered greatly from the Revolution, who had been robbed of their property, who had seen many of their relatives executed by the guillotine. It was but natural that these men should have come back full of hatred

for the authors of their woes, that they should detest the ideas of the Revolution and the persons who had been identified with it. These men were not free from passion, as was Louis XVIII. More eager to restore the former glory of the crown, the former rank of the nobility and the clergy, more bitter toward the new ideas than the King himself, they were the Ultra-royalists, or Ultras — men more royalist than the King, as they claimed. They saw in the Revolution only robbery and sacrilege and gross injustice to themselves. They bitterly assailed Louis XVIII for granting the Charter, a dangerous concession to the Revolution, and they secretly wished to abolish it, meanwhile desiring to nullify its liberal provisions as far as possible. Their leader was the Count of Artois, brother of Louis XVIII, who, the King being childless, stood next in line of succession.

The Activity of the Ultras. For some years Louis XVIII was able to hold this extreme party in check and to follow a moderate policy. He was supported in this by the large majority of Liberals, moderate like himself, who until 1820 controlled Parliament. The Ultras were indignant at the moderation of the King and Parliament and did their best to break it down. They were alert to seize upon every incident that might discredit the party in power. A number of radicals were elected to the Chamber of Deputies. The Ultras raged against them, painting a lurid future. The murder in 1820 of the Duke of Berry, who stood in line for the throne, gave them their chance. The King was so horrified by this crime, as were also many moderate members of Parliament, that he offered less and less resistance to the Ultras. The closing years of the reign were less liberal than the earlier ones. Louis XVIII died in 1824 and was succeeded by his brother, the Count of Artois, who assumed the title of Charles X.

The Reign of Charles X (1824–1830). The characteristics of the new King were well known. He was the convinced leader of the reactionaries in France from 1814 to 1830. He had been the constant and bitter opponent of his brother's liberalism, and had finally seen that liberalism forced to yield to the growing strength of the party which he led. He was not likely to abandon lifelong principles at the age of sixty-seven, and at the moment when he seemed about to be able to put them into force.

The coronation of the King revealed the temper of the new reign. France was treated to a spectacle of medieval mummary that amused and at the same time disgusted a people that had never been known



THE CONSTRUCTION OF A BARRICADE
After a lithograph by Victor Adam.

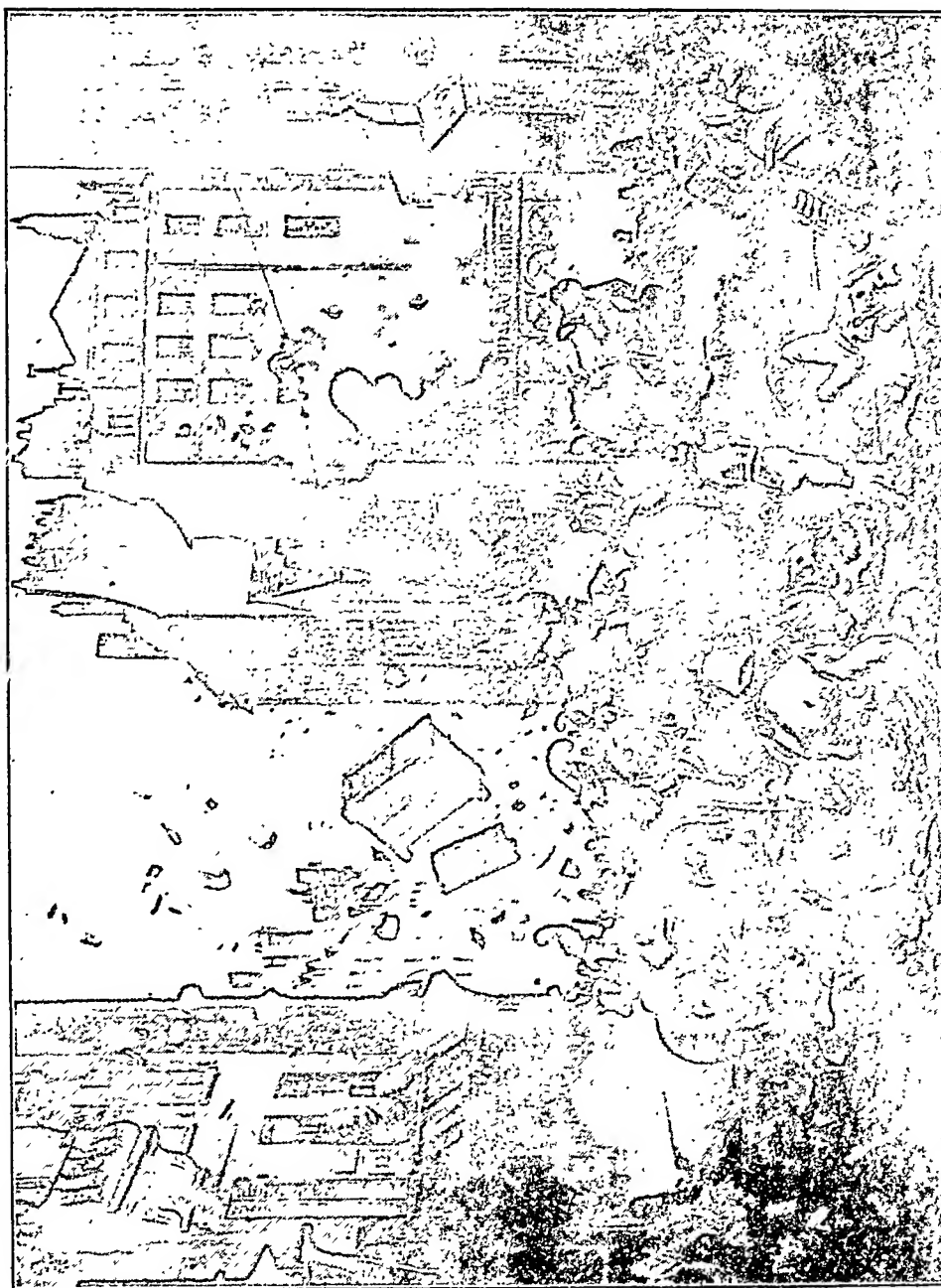
to lack an appreciation of the ridiculous. Charles was anointed on seven parts of his person with sacred oil, miraculously preserved, it was asserted, from the time of Clovis.

The legislation urged by the King and largely enacted showed the belated political and social ideas of this government. Nearly a billion francs were voted as an indemnity to the nobles for their lands which had been confiscated and sold by the state during the Revolution. Many Frenchmen thought that France had more urgent needs than to vote money to those who had deserted the country and had then fought against her. But the King had been leader of the *émigrés* and was in entire sympathy with their point of view. Other unpopular legislation favored the church. Many Frenchmen began to fear a clerical reaction more even than the political and social. Their apprehension was not decreased when they saw the King himself, clad in the violet robe of a prelate and accompanied by the court, walking in a religious procession and carrying a lighted candle through the streets of Paris. Was it the purpose of the aristocratic and clerical party to restore both the nobility and the church to the proud position they had occupied before the Revolution?

That it was, was proclaimed by Polignac (pō-lēn-yāk'), the most reactionary minister of this reign, who declared, on his accession to office in 1829, that his object was "to reorganize society, to restore to the clergy its former preponderance in the state, to create a powerful aristocracy and to surround it with privileges."

Conflict between Charles X and the Chamber of Deputies. The appointment of the Polignac ministry and its audacious and alarming announcement precipitated a crisis, which shortly exploded in a revolution. The Chamber of Deputies practically demanded the dismissal of the unpopular ministry. The King replied by declaring that "his decisions were unchangeable" and by dissolving the Chamber, hoping by means of new elections to secure one subservient to his will. But the voters thought otherwise. The elections resulted in a crushing defeat for the King and his ministry. Charles would not yield. His own brother, Louis XVI, had come to a tragic end, he said, because he had made concessions. Charles thought that he himself had learned something from history. In fact, he had learned the wrong lesson.

The July Ordinances. Other methods of gaining his ends having failed, Charles now determined upon coercion. On July 26, 1830,



STREET FIGHTING ON JULY 28, 1830
After a lithograph.

he issued several ordinances, suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the Chamber of Deputies, changing the electoral system, reducing the number of voters from 100,000 to 25,000, and ordering new elections. In other words, the King was the supreme lawgiver, not at all hampered by the Charter. If these ordinances were to stand the people would enjoy their liberties simply at the pleasure of the monarch. Not to have opposed them would have been to acquiesce quietly in the transformation of the government into the absolute monarchy of Louis XIV.

The July Revolution (1830). As the significance of the ordinances became apparent, popular anger began to manifest itself. Crowds assembled in the streets shouting, "Down with the Ministry"; "Long live the Charter." On Wednesday, July 28, 1830, civil war broke out. The insurgents were mainly old soldiers and a group of republicans and workmen — men who hated the Bourbons, who followed the tricolor flag as the true national emblem, rather than the white flag of the royal house. This war lasted three days. It was the July Revolution — the Glorious Three Days. It was a street war and was limited to Paris. The insurgents were not very numerous, probably not more than ten thousand. But the government had itself probably not more than fourteen thousand troops in Paris. The insurrection was not difficult to organize. The streets of Paris were narrow and crooked. Through such tortuous lanes it was impossible for the government to send artillery, a weapon which it alone possessed. The streets were paved with large stones. These could be torn up and piled in such a way as to make fortresses for the insurgents. In the night of July 27–28 the streets were cut up by hundreds of barricades made in this manner of paving stones, of overturned wagons, of barrels and boxes, of furniture, of trees and objects of every description. Against such obstacles the soldiers could make but little progress. If they overthrew a barricade and passed on, it would immediately be built up again behind them more threatening than before because cutting their line of reinforcements and of possible retreat. The fighting continued amid the fierce heat of July. On July 31 Charles, seeing that all was lost, abdicated in favor of his nine-year-old grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux, son of the murdered Duke of Berry, and fled to England with his family. For two years he lived in Great Britain, keeping a melancholy court in Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, of somber memory in the life of

Mary, Queen of Scots. Removing later to Austria, he died 1836.

The Candidacy of Louis Philippe. What was the future government to be, now that triumphant revolution had for the second time swept a Bourbon monarch from his throne? Those who had done the actual fighting undoubtedly wanted a republic. But certain group of journalists and deputies and the majority of the Parisians favored Louis Philippe, Duke of Orleans, who represented a younger branch of the royal family, a man who had always sympathized with liberal opinions. With such a man as king, it was said, there would be no more attempts to reenthronize the nobility and the clergy, but the government would be liberal, resting on the middle classes, and the Charter would be scrupulously observed.

Louis Philippe King. The final decision between monarchy and republic lay in the hands of Lafayette, the real leader of the Republicans. He finally threw his influence in favor of Louis Philippe, arguing that a monarchy under so liberal and democratic a prince would after all be "the best of republics." On August 7 the Chamber of Deputies called Louis Philippe to the throne, ignoring the claims of the legitimate ruler, the little Duke of Bordeaux.

Such was the July Revolution, an unexpected, impromptu affair. Not dreamed of July 25, it was over a week later. One king had been overthrown, another created, and the Charter had been slightly modified. Parliamentary government had been preserved; a return to aristocracy prevented. The tricolor flag superseded the white flag of the Bourbons. Thus ended the Restoration. The reign of Louis Philippe now began.

Influence of the July Revolution upon Europe. The influence of the Revolution of 1830 was felt all over Europe — in Poland, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, England, and the Netherlands. It was the signal and encouragement for widespread popular movements which for a short time seemed to threaten the whole structure erected in 1815 at Vienna. It created an immediate problem for the rulers of Europe. Now that revolution had again broken out in France would they "intervene" as they had done in Spain and Italy? At first they were disposed to do so. Metternich's immediate impulse was to organize a coalition against Louis Philippe, "King of the Barricades." But for various reasons this was impracticable. All the powers, therefore, recognized Louis Philippe, though

with varying indications of annoyance. In one particular, consequently, the settlement of 1815 was undone forever. The elder branch of the House of Bourbon, put upon the throne of France by the Allies of 1815, was now pushed from it, and the revolution, hated of the other powers, had done it.

The Kingdom of the Netherlands. Another part of the diplomatic structure of 1815 was now overthrown. The Congress of Vienna had created an essentially artificial state to the north of France, the Kingdom of the Netherlands. It had done this explicitly for the purpose of having a barrier against France. The Belgian provinces, hitherto Austrian, were in 1815 annexed to Holland, to strengthen that state in order that it might be in a position to resist attack until the other powers should come to its rescue.

But it was easier to declare these two peoples formally united under one ruler than to make them in any real sense a single nation. Though it might seem by a glance at the map that the peoples of this little corner of Europe must be essentially homogeneous, such was not at all the case. There were many more points of difference than of similarity between them. They spoke different languages. They belonged to different religions, the Dutch being Protestant, the Belgians Catholic. They differed in their economic life and principles. The Dutch were an agricultural and commercial people and inclined toward free trade, the Belgians were a manufacturing people and inclined toward protection.

For the Belgians the union with the Dutch was from the start an unhappy one. They saw themselves added to and subjected to another people inferior in numbers to themselves, whereas the feeling of nationality had been aroused in them as in other peoples by the spirit and example of the French Revolution and they had hoped for a larger and more independent life than they had ever had before.

A union so inharmoniously begun was never satisfactory to the Belgians. Friction was constant. The Belgians resented the fact that the officials in the state and army were nearly all Dutch. They objected to the King's attempts to force the Dutch language into a position of undue privilege. The evident desire of the King to fuse his two peoples into one was a constant irritation. The system was more and more disliked by the Belgians as the years went by.

The Kingdom of Belgium Created. The July Revolution came as a spark in the midst of all this inflammable material. There was

street fighting in Brussels as there had been in Paris. The revolution spread rapidly. The royal troops were driven out and on October 4, 1830, Belgium declared itself independent. A congress was called to determine the future form of government. It decided in favor of a monarchy, adopted a liberal constitution, and elected as king Leopold of Coburg, who, in July, 1831, was crowned.



LEOPOLD I

Engraved by Levy, after the painting by Winterhalter.

Would the Great Powers which in 1815 had added Belgium to Holland consent to the undoing of their work? Would they recognize the new kingdom? They had suppressed revolution in Spain and Italy, as we have seen. Would they do it again in the interest of their handiwork, the treaties of Vienna? Now, however, they were divided, and in this division lay the salvation of the new state. They therefore made the best of the situation. At a conference in London, Russia, Prussia, Austria, France, and England recognized the independence of Belgium; they went farther and formally promised to respect its neutrality forever.

This part of the work of the Congress of Vienna had consequently been undone. A new state had arisen in Europe, as a result of revolution.

The Kingdom of Poland. The Poles had hoped that the French Revolution and, later, that Napoleon might restore their nation, so wantonly destroyed, as we have seen. In this they were disappointed. But in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna they found unexpected aid, though it proved in the end illusory. Alexander I, Tsar of Russia, was at that time aglow with generous and romantic sentiments, and under the influence of these he conceived the plan of

restoring the old Kingdom of Poland. Poland should be a kingdom entirely separate from the Empire of Russia. He would be Emperor of Russia and King of Poland. The union of two states would be simply personal.

Alexander had desired to restore Poland to the full extent of its possessions in the eighteenth century. To render this possible Prussia and Austria must relinquish the provinces they had acquired in the three partitions. This, however, was not accomplished at the Congress of Vienna. Although Prussia and Austria did give back some of their Polish possessions, they retained some. The new Polish Kingdom, erected in 1815, was simply a part, therefore, of historic Poland, nor did it even include all of the Polish territories that Russia had acquired. Of this new state Alexander was to be king. To it he granted a constitution, establishing a parliament of two chambers, with considerable powers. Roman Catholicism was recognized as the state religion; but a generous measure of toleration was given to other sects. Liberty of the press was guaranteed. Polish was made the official language. All positions in the government were to be filled by Poles, not by Russians. No people in central Europe possessed such liberal institutions as those with which the Poles were now invested. A prosperous career as a constitutional monarchy seemed about to begin. The Poles had never enjoyed so much civil freedom, and they were now receiving a considerable measure of home-rule. But this régime, well-meant and full of promise, encountered obstacles from the start. The Russians were opposed to the idea of a restored Poland, and particularly to a constitutional Poland, when they themselves had no constitution. Why should their old enemy be so greatly favored when they, the real supporters of the Tsar, were not? The hatred of Russians and Poles, a fact centuries old, continued undiminished. Moreover, what the



ALEXANDER I

From an engraving by Allais.

dominant class of Poles desired, far more than liberal government, was independence. They could never forget the days of their prosperity. Independence Alexander would never grant. His purposes and the aspirations of the Poles were irreconcilable. After a few years friction developed between the ruler and the ruled. The latter became more and more convinced that they must fight for their liberty, waiting only for a favorable moment. That moment seemed to have come in 1830. The Poles, inflamed by the reports of the successful revolution in France, rose in insurrection against the new Tsar, Nicholas I, toward the end of 1830, declared that the House of Romanoff had ceased to rule in Poland, and prepared for a life and death struggle.

The Polish Insurrection. Russia's military resources were so great that Poland could not hope alone to achieve her national independence. The Poles expected foreign intervention, but no intervention came. Enthusiasm for the Poles was widespread among the people in France, in England, and in Germany. But the governments, none of which was controlled by public opinion, refused to move. Thus Poland was left to fight alone with Russia and of the outcome there could be no doubt. The Poles fought with great bravery, but without good leadership, without careful organization, without a spirit of subordination to military authorities. The war went on from January, 1831, until September of that year, when Warsaw fell before the Russians. The results of this ill-advised and ill-executed insurrection were deplorable in the extreme. Poland ceased to exist as a separate kingdom and became merely a province of the Russian Empire. Its constitution was abolished and it was henceforth ruled with great severity and arbitrariness. The insurgents were savagely punished. Many were executed, many sent to Siberia. Thousands of Polish officers and soldiers escaped to the countries of western Europe and became a revolutionary element in Paris, Berlin, and Vienna, always ready to fight for liberty. They were the sworn foes of tyranny everywhere as they were its most conspicuous victims. Even the Polish language seemed doomed, so repressive was the policy now followed by Russia.

The Reign of Louis Philippe (1830-1848). Louis Philippe (lō-ē-fi-lēp'), the new monarch of the French, was already in his fifty-seventh year. He was the son of the notorious Philippe Egalité, who had intrigued during the Revolution for the throne occupied

by his cousin, Louis XVI, who had, as a member of the Convention, voted for the latter's execution, and who had himself later perished miserably on the scaffold. In 1789 Louis Philippe was only sixteen years of age, too young to take part in politics, although he became a member of the Jacobin Club. Later he joined the army and fought valiantly for the Republic at Valmy and Jemappes. Becoming sus-

pected of treason he fled from France in 1793 and entered upon a life of exile that was to last twenty-one years. He went to Switzerland, where he lived for a while, teaching geography and mathematics in a school at Reichenau. Leaving Switzerland when his incognito was discovered he traveled as far north as the North Cape, and as far west as the United States. He finally settled in England and lived on a pension granted by the British government. Returning to France on the fall of Napoleon he was able to recover a large part of the family property, which, though confis-

cated during the Revolution, had not been actually sold. During the Restoration he lived in the famous Palais Royal in the very heart of Paris, cultivating relations that might some day prove useful, particularly appealing to the solid, rich bourgeoisie by a display of liberal sentiments and by a good-humored, unconventional mode of life. He walked the streets of Paris alone, talked and even drank with workmen with engaging informality, and sent his sons to the public schools to associate with the sons of the middle class — a delicate compliment



LOUIS PHILIPPE

Engraving by Pannier, after the painting by Winterhalter.

fully appreciated by the latter. But beneath this exterior of republican simplicity there lay a strong ambition for personal power, a nature essentially autocratic.

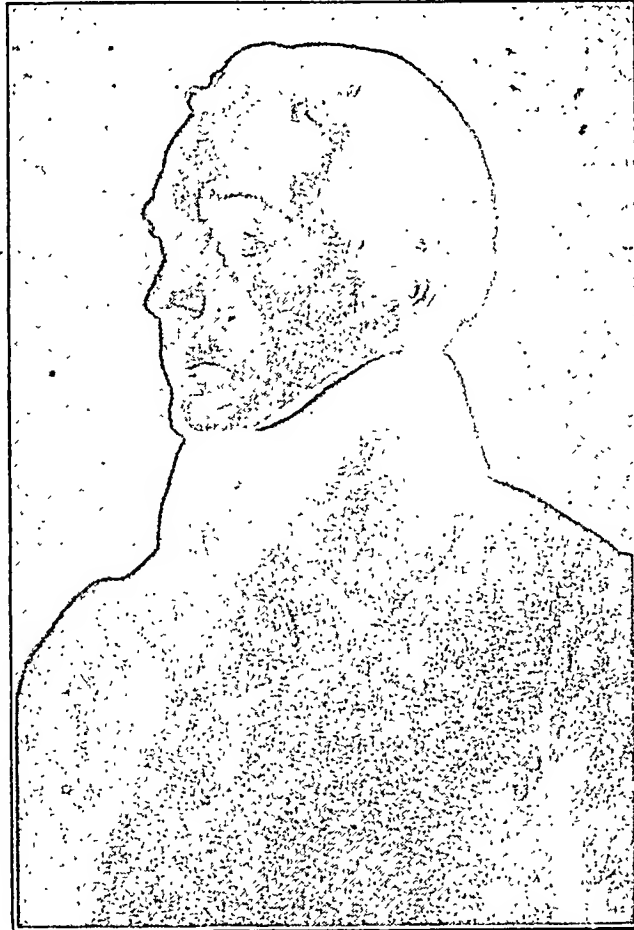
Opposition to Louis Philippe. The first part of the reign of Louis Philippe was troubled. It was doubtful whether it could long endure. It had many enemies, Legitimists, Bonapartists, and Republicans. The Legitimists defended the rights of Charles X and his descendants. They regarded Louis Philippe as a usurper, a thief who had treacherously and shamelessly stolen the crown of the young Duke of Bordeaux. This party was numerically small, so thoroughly had the reign of Charles X offended and alienated the nation. It gave Louis Philippe little trouble save through the biting sarcasms with which aristocratic society regaled itself at the expense of his honor and chivalry; also at the expense of his personal appearance. It attempted only one insurrection, which was easily put down.

But Louis Philippe's struggle with the Republicans was far more severe. The latter had acquiesced at first in his rule on the assurance of Lafayette, in whom they reposed great confidence, that that rule would really constitute the best of republics, that the King was essentially democratic, that the popular throne would be surrounded by republican institutions. But both they and Lafayette were shortly undeceived. They had expected that the new government would adopt a broad, liberal, national policy, would consider the interests of all sections of the population, and would favor a democratic evolution of the country. Instead, they saw rapidly set up a narrow class system, which opposed democracy as it opposed aristocracy. The July Monarchy early asserted that its policy would be that of the "golden mean," neither conservative nor radical, but moderate. At the beginning the suffrage was broadened, by a reduction of age and property qualifications, so that the electorate was doubled and there were now about 200,000 voters, where there had formerly been 100,000. This might have been tolerable as a beginning in the right direction. But the government soon made it clear that it was not only the beginning but the end, that there would be no further enlargement of the electorate. This meant, of course, that the great mass of the people were to have no power.

The Republicans, bitterly disappointed at the turn things were taking, soon became sworn enemies of the July Monarchy. They attempted insurrections which were serious but which were put down.

The government adopted vigorous measures for the suppression of this party, breaking up their societies, restricting the right of association, prosecuting their editors, crushing their newspapers under heavy fines, finally declaring illegal any argument for, or defense of, any other form of government than that of the existing monarchy, and forbidding any one to declare himself an adherent of any fallen royal house.

The September Laws (1835). These laws greatly weakened the moral position of the July Monarchy, as they made individual liberty only an empty word. But they were successful in their immediate aim. They drove all rival parties to cover, and France was governed for eighteen years by the propertied classes, by an aristocracy of wealth. The Republicans were effectually silenced for many long years. Their enmity, however, was a factor in the ultimate overthrow of this system.



GUIZOT

After a lithograph by Lassalle, from the portrait by Delaroche.

The Guizot Ministry. The parliamentary history of France during the ten years from 1830 to 1840 was marked by instability. There were ten ministries within ten years. But from 1840 to 1848 there was only one, that of Guizot (gē-zō'). For several years after his accession to the throne Louis Philippe was careful to guard himself from all appearance of assuming personal power. But now that his enemies were crushed he began to reveal his real purpose of being

monarch in fact as well as in name. He had no intention of following the English theory that the king reigns but does not govern. He now found in Guizot a man who sympathized with his views of kingship, and who did not believe that the monarch should be simply an ornamental head of the state. Louis Philippe had in his chief minister a man after his own heart. Guizot, eminent as a professor, an historian, and an orator, held certain political principles with the tenacity of a mathematician. He refused to recognize that France needed any alteration in her political institutions. He believed in the Charter of 1814, as revised in 1830. Any further reform would be unnecessary and dangerous. Guizot's policy was one of stiff, unyielding conservatism. He opposed any extension of the suffrage, he opposed any legislation for the laboring classes, he opposed this, he opposed that. All discontent appeared to him frivolous, fictitious, merely the devious work of designing men bent on feathering their own nests.

Year after year this negative policy, this policy of mere inertia, was pursued, arousing more and more disgust. "What have they done for the past seven years?" exclaimed a deputy in 1847. "Nothing, nothing, nothing." "France is becoming bored," said Lamartine. Yet this stagnant government was living in a world fermenting with ideas, apparently oblivious of the fact. The legislation enacted during these eighteen years made no attempt to meet the needs of the masses. Yet the distress of the masses was widespread and deep and should have received the careful and sympathetic attention of the government.

The Beginning of Socialism. Not only was Guizot's policy of rigid conservatism strongly opposed by the Liberals but the whole theory upon which it rested, the entire existing economic system, was subjected at this time to a far more radical attack. The condition of the masses provoked discussion, and many writers began to preach new doctrines concerning the organization of industry and the crucial question of the relations of capital and labor, doctrines henceforth called socialistic, and appealing with increasing force to the millions of laborers who believed that society weighed with unjustifiable severity upon them, that their labor did not by any means receive its proportionate reward. Saint-Simon was the first to announce a socialistic scheme for the reorganization of society in the interest of the most numerous class. He believed that the

state should own the means of production and should organize industry on the principle of "Labor according to capacity and reward according to services." Saint-Simon was a speculative thinker, not a practical man of affairs. His doctrine gained in direct importance when it was adopted by a man who was a politician, able to recruit and lead a party, and to make a program definite enough to appeal to the masses. Such a man was Louis Blanc, who was destined to play a part in the overthrow of the July Monarchy and in the Republic that succeeded. In his writings he tried to convince the laborers of France of the evils of the prevailing economic conditions, a task which was not difficult. He denounced in vehement terms the government of the bourgeoisie as government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. It must be swept away and the state must be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis. Louis Blanc proclaimed the *right* of every man to employment and the duty of the state to provide it. This it could do if it would organize industry. Let the state establish, with its own capital, national workshops. Let the workmen manage these and share the profits. The class of employers would thus disappear and the laborers would get the full result of their labor. Louis Blanc's theories, propounded in a style at once clear and vivid, were largely adopted by workingmen. A socialist party was thus created. It believed in a republic; but it differed from the other republicans in that, while they desired simply a change in the form of government, it desired a far more sweeping change in society.

The Demand for Electoral and Parliamentary Reform. The volume of discontent with the July Monarchy constantly increased, yet it could accomplish nothing because the ministry was steadily supported by the Chamber of Deputies and that Chamber was elected by the two hundred thousand voters. To meet this situation a party was gradually formed which did not at all wish to overthrow the monarchy but which did demand a change in the composition of the Chamber of Deputies and an enlargement of the suffrage, parliamentary reform and electoral reform. Against both these propositions, renewed year after year, during his entire ministry, Guizot resolutely set his face. He asserted that the reform movement was only the work of a few, that the people as a whole were entirely indifferent to it. To prove the falsity of this assertion the Opposition instituted, in 1847, a series of "reform banquets" which

were attended by the people and addressed by the reformers. These banquets were instituted by those loyal to the monarchy, but hostile to its policy. Similar meetings, however, were instituted by the Republicans, who were opposed to the very existence of the monarchy. One of these being forbidden, a vast crowd of students, workingmen and others, congregated in the heart of Paris on February 22, 1848. They had no leader, no definite purpose. The crowd committed slight acts of lawlessness, but nothing serious happened that day. But in the night barricades arose in the workingmen's quarters of the city. Some shots were fired. The Government called out the National Guard. It refused to march against the insurgents. Some of the members of the Guard began to shout, "Long live Reform!" "Down with Guizot!" The King, frightened at this alarming development, was willing to grant reform. Guizot would not consent and consequently withdrew from office. This news was greeted with enthusiasm by the crowds and, in the evening of February 23, Paris was illuminated and the trouble seemed ended. The contest thus far had been simply between Royalists, those who supported the Guizot ministry, and those who wished reform, and the fall of Guizot was the triumph of the latter. But the movement no longer remained thus circumscribed. The Republicans now entered aggressively upon the scene, resolved to arouse the excited people against Louis Philippe himself and against the monarchy. They marched through the boulevards and made a hostile demonstration before Guizot's residence. Some unknown person fired a shot at the guards. The guards instantly replied, fifty persons fell, more than twenty dead. This was the doom of the monarchy. The Republicans seized the occasion to inflame the people further. Several of the corpses were put upon a cart which was lighted by a torch. The cart was then drawn through the streets. The ghastly spectacle aroused everywhere the angriest passions: cries of "Vengeance!" followed it along its course. From the towers the tocsin sounded its wild and sinister appeal.

The Overthrow of Louis Philippe. Thus a riot had begun which grew in vehemence hourly, and which swept all before it. The cries of "Long live Reform!" heard the day before, now gave way to the more ominous cries of "Long live the Republic!" Finally, on February 24, the King abdicated in favor of his grandson, the little Count of Paris, and, under the incognito of "Mr. Smith," finally

reached England. Guizot followed, as did Metternich somewhat later, for reasons of his own. The King's life of exile was ended two years later by his death at Claremont.

4. **The Second Republic Proclaimed.** Louis Philippe had abdicated in favor of his grandson, but the Republicans and Socialists who had forced the abdication would not consent to the continuance of the monarchy. They were able to procure the creation of a Provisional Government, composed of the leaders of both parties, with Lamartine, famous as poet and as orator, at its head and Louis Blanc as one of the members. The Provisional Government immediately proclaimed the Republic, subject to ratification by the people.

QUESTIONS

I. How was the restoration of the Bourbons brought about? What form of government was set up by the Constitutional Charter of 1814? What civil rights were guaranteed by the Charter? Who were the Ultras?

II. Compare the political views of Louis XVIII and Charles X. What were the general causes of the Revolution of 1830? What were the July Ordinances? Describe the Revolution of 1830. How did Louis Philippe become King?

III. What influence did the Revolution of 1830 exercise upon the rest of Europe? What were the sources of friction within the Kingdom of the Netherlands after 1815? How did the Kingdom of Belgium come into existence?

IV. Was the Kingdom of Poland created in 1815 a restoration of the former kingdom? Why did Alexander I create that kingdom in 1815 and with what institutions did he endow it? Was Alexander's Polish policy a success or a failure?

V. What was the July Monarchy and why was it so called? What was the nature of the opposition it encountered? What were Guizot's political principles? Describe the theories of Louis Blanc. Did the reign of Louis Philippe represent any advance over that of Charles X? How was Louis Philippe overthrown?

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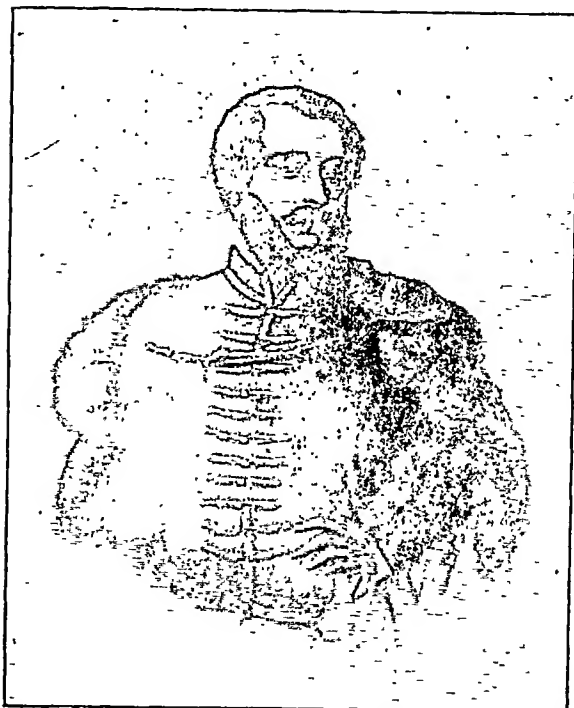
CHAPTER XVIII

CENTRAL EUROPE IN REVOLT

The Great Mid-Century Uprising of the Peoples. Central Europe at the opening of 1848 was in a restless, disturbed, expectant state. Everywhere men were wearied with the old order and demanding change. A revolutionary spirit was at work, the public mind in Germany, Italy, and Austria was excited. Into a society so perturbed and so active came the news of the fall of Louis Philippe. It was the spark that set the world in conflagration. The French Revolution of 1848 was the signal for the most wide-reaching disturbance of the century. Revolutions broke out from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, from France to the Russian frontier. The whole system of reaction, which had succeeded Waterloo and which had come to be personified in the imperturbable Metternich, crashed in unutterable confusion. The great mid-century uprising of the peoples had begun, the most widespread convulsion Europe was destined to know until 1914. The storm center of this convulsion was Vienna, hitherto the proud bulwark of the established order. Here in the Austrian Empire one of the most confused chapters in European history began. It seemed for a time as if Austria was doomed to complete disruption, as if she was about to disappear as a great state.

Louis Kossuth and the Hungarians. The immediate impulse of this revolution came from Hungary, where for several years a nationalistic and reform movement had been in progress. The institutions of Hungary were thoroughly medieval. The nobility alone possessed political power, at the same time being entirely exempt from taxation. A liberal and democratic party, nourished on the ideas of western Europe, had grown up, led by Louis Kossuth (1802-1894), one of Hungary's greatest heroes, and Francis Deák (dă'-äk), whose personality is less striking, but whose services to his country were to be more solid and enduring. Kossuth had first

come into notice as the editor of a paper which described in vivid and liberal style the debates in the Hungarian Diet. When it was forbidden to print these reports he had them lithographed. When this was forbidden he had them written out by hand by a corps of amanuenses and distributed by servants. Finally he was arrested and sentenced to prison. During his imprisonment of three years Kossuth applied himself to serious studies, particularly to that of the English language, with such success that he was able later to



LOUIS KOSSUTH

address large audiences in England and the United States with great effect. In 1840 he was released and obtained permission to edit a daily paper.

The Demands of the Hungarians. Kossuth was the very incarnation of the great democratic ideas of the age. He demanded reforms in every department of the national life. Kossuth's impassioned appeals were made directly to the people. He sought to create, and did create, a powerful public opinion clamorous for change.

This vigorous liberal opposition to the established order, an opposition ably led and full of fire, grew rapidly. In 1847 it published its program, drawn up by Deák. This demanded the taxation of the nobles, the control by the Diet of all national expenditures, larger liberty for the press, and a complete right of public meeting and association; it demanded also that Hungary should not be subordinate to Austrian policy, and to the Austrian provinces. Such was the situation when the great reform wave of 1848 began to sweep over Europe.

The Fall of Metternich. The effect of the news of the fall of Louis Philippe was electrifying. The passion of the hour was ex-

pressed in a flaming speech by Kossuth, who proved himself a consummate spokesman for a people in revolt. Of impressive presence, and endowed with a wonderful voice, he was revolutionary oratory incarnate. In a speech in the Hungarian Diet, March 3, 1848, he voiced the feelings of the time, bitterly denouncing the whole system of Austrian government. The effect of this speech was immediate and profound, not only in Hungary but in Austria proper. Translated into German, and published in Vienna, it inflamed the passions of the people. Ten days later a riot broke out in Vienna itself, organized largely by students and workingmen. The soldiers fired, and bloodshed resulted. Barricades were erected and the people and soldiers fought hand to hand. The crowd surged about and into the imperial palace, and invaded the hall in which the Diet was sitting, crying "Down with Metternich!" Metternich, who for thirty-nine years had stood at the head of the Austrian states, who was the very source and fount of reaction, imperturbable, pitiless, masterful, was now forced to resign, to flee in disguise from Austria to England, to witness his whole system crash completely beneath the onslaught of the very forces for which he had for a generation shown contempt.

The effect produced by the announcement of Metternich's fall was prodigious. It was the most astounding piece of news Europe had received since Waterloo. His fall was correctly heralded as the fall of a system hitherto impregnable.

Revolution in Hungary. As Hungary, under the spell of Kossuth's oratory, had exerted an influence upon Vienna, so now the actions of the Viennese reacted upon Hungary. The Hungarian Diet, dominated by the reform and national enthusiasm just unchained and constantly fanned by Kossuth, passed on March 15 and the days succeeding, the famous March Laws, by which the process of reforming and modernizing Hungary, which had been going on for some years, was given the finishing touch. These celebrated laws represented the demands of the Hungarian national party led by Kossuth. They swept away the old aristocratic political machinery and substituted a modern democratic constitution. Feudal dues were abolished, and liberty of the press, religious liberty, trial by jury were established. The March Laws also demanded a separate Hungarian ministry, composed exclusively of Hungarians. All this was conceded by Austria under the compulsion of dire necessity (March 31)

Revolution in Bohemia. The example of Hungary was speedily followed by Bohemia. Here there were two races: the Germans, wealthy, educated, but a minority, and the Czechs, a branch of the great Slavic race, poorer, but a majority, ambitious to make Bohemia a separate state, subject only to the Emperor. The Bohemians demanded (March 19) practically the same things that the Hungarians had demanded. The Emperor conceded them.

Revolution in Austria and in Italy. The Austrian provinces west of Vienna made somewhat similar demands. These too were granted, of course, because of the helplessness of the government. That helplessness was due chiefly to the critical situation in Italy. For the Italians had seized the propitious moment to attempt the overthrow of Austrian influence in Italy. Lombardy and Venetia, ruled since 1815 by the House of Hapsburg, rose against the hated foreigner. Venice, under the inspiring leadership of Daniel Manin, restored the republic which Napoleon had suppressed after his first campaign. Piedmont threw in its lot with these rebels and sent its army forward to aid in the war of liberation. So did other Italian states, under popular pressure, Tuscany, the Papal States, Naples. At the same time several of these states gained liberal constitutions. Italy had thus practically declared her independence.

Revolution in Germany. Meanwhile there were March Days in Germany, too. The King of Prussia promised a constitution, intimidated thereto by an uprising of the people of Berlin, which was marked by the erection of barricades, great turbulence, and some bloodshed. He also promised to lead in the attempt to achieve unity for Germany. Preliminary steps were immediately taken to bring this about by a great German National Assembly or Parliament, popularly elected for the purpose. This Assembly met two months later in Frankfort amid the high hopes of the people. Constitutions were granted by their princes to several German states.

The Month of March, 1848. Thus by the end of March, 1848, revolution, universal in its range, was everywhere successful. The famous March Days had demolished the system of government which had held sway in Europe for a generation. Throughout the Austrian Empire, in Germany, and in Italy the revolution was triumphant. Hungary and Bohemia had obtained sweeping concessions; a constitution had been promised the Austrian provinces; several Italian states had obtained constitutions; the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom

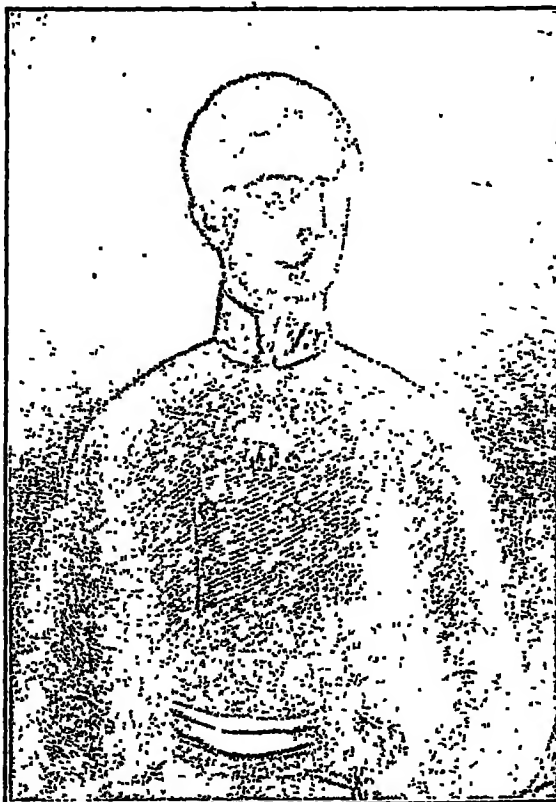
had declared itself independent of Austria, and the rest of Italy was moving to support the rebels; a constitution had been promised Prussia, and a convention was about to meet to give liberty and unity to Germany.

The Recovery of Austria. The period of revolutionary triumph was brief. At the moment of greatest humiliation Austria began to show remarkable powers of recovery. In the rivalries of her races and in her army lay her salvation. In June, 1848, Windischgrätz, commander of the imperial troops in Prague, bombarded the city, subdued it, and became dictator. The army had won its first victory, and that, too, by taking advantage of the bitter racial antagonisms in which the Austrian Empire so abounded.

In Italy also the army was victorious. The Italians, after the first flush of enthusiasm, began to be torn by jealousies and dissensions. The rulers of Tuscany, Naples, and the Papal States deserted the national cause, leaving Charles Albert of Piedmont and the Lombard rebels alone, confronting the Austrians under Radetzky, a man who had

served with credit in every Austrian war for sixty years and who now, at the age of eighty-two, was to increase his reputation. Radetzky defeated Charles Albert at Custozza, on July 25, 1848, and then agreed to an armistice of several months, expecting to complete his work later. Thus by the middle of the summer of 1848 the Austrian government was again in the saddle in Bohemia, and had partially recovered its power in Italy.

Accession of Francis Joseph I. The reactionary party in Austria, emboldened by the partial successes of the army in Bohemia



FRANCIS JOSEPH I

At the time of his accession.

and Italy, now resolved to tighten its grip upon the state. First it forced the weak Emperor Ferdinand to abdicate. He was succeeded December 2, 1848, by his nephew, Francis Joseph I; a lad of eighteen, destined to a long and eventful reign. Austria now prepared to subdue Hungary as she had subdued Bohemia. Hungary stiffened for the conflict, going so far as to declare its independence.

The Fate of Hungary. The year 1849 saw a great war in Hungary. Austria, aided by large armies sent by the Tsar of Russia, Nicholas I, invaded that country, stamped out this independence movement, executed and imprisoned right and left, and drove Kossuth and other leaders into exile. Hungary became a mere province of Austria, and was crushed beneath the iron heel. The catastrophe of 1849 seemed the complete annihilation of that country.

The Conquest of Italy. Meanwhile Italy also had been reconquered by the revived military power of Austria. As we have seen, the Italian campaign of 1848 against Austria had been led by Charles Albert, King of Sardinia. He had not been successful and had been forced to sign an armistice at Custozza in August. But there were many republicans in Italy who believed that Charles Albert had been only half-hearted, that Italy could never be saved by constitutional monarchists. These republicans now decided to carry out their own views. They effected revolutions in both Florence and Rome and declared both of those states republics. The Grand Duke of Tuscany fled to the Kingdom of Naples, as did the Pope. The temporal power of the Pope was abolished.

The result of all these changes was that when the armistice was over and Charles Albert took the field in the spring of 1849 against Austria he took it alone. The republicans were neither able nor disposed to aid him. The Italians at this critical moment were divided among themselves. Had they been united they would have had difficulty enough in their struggle for independence. As it was, the case was hopeless. No help came to Charles Albert from the states to the south of Piedmont. At Novara, March 23, 1849, the Sardinian army was utterly overthrown. The King himself sought death on the battlefield, but in vain. "Even death has cast me off," he said. "Believing that better terms could be made for his country if another sovereign were on the throne, he abdicated in favor of his son, Victor Emmanuel II, whose reign, begun in the darkest adversity, was destined to be glorious. Passing into exile, Charles Albert

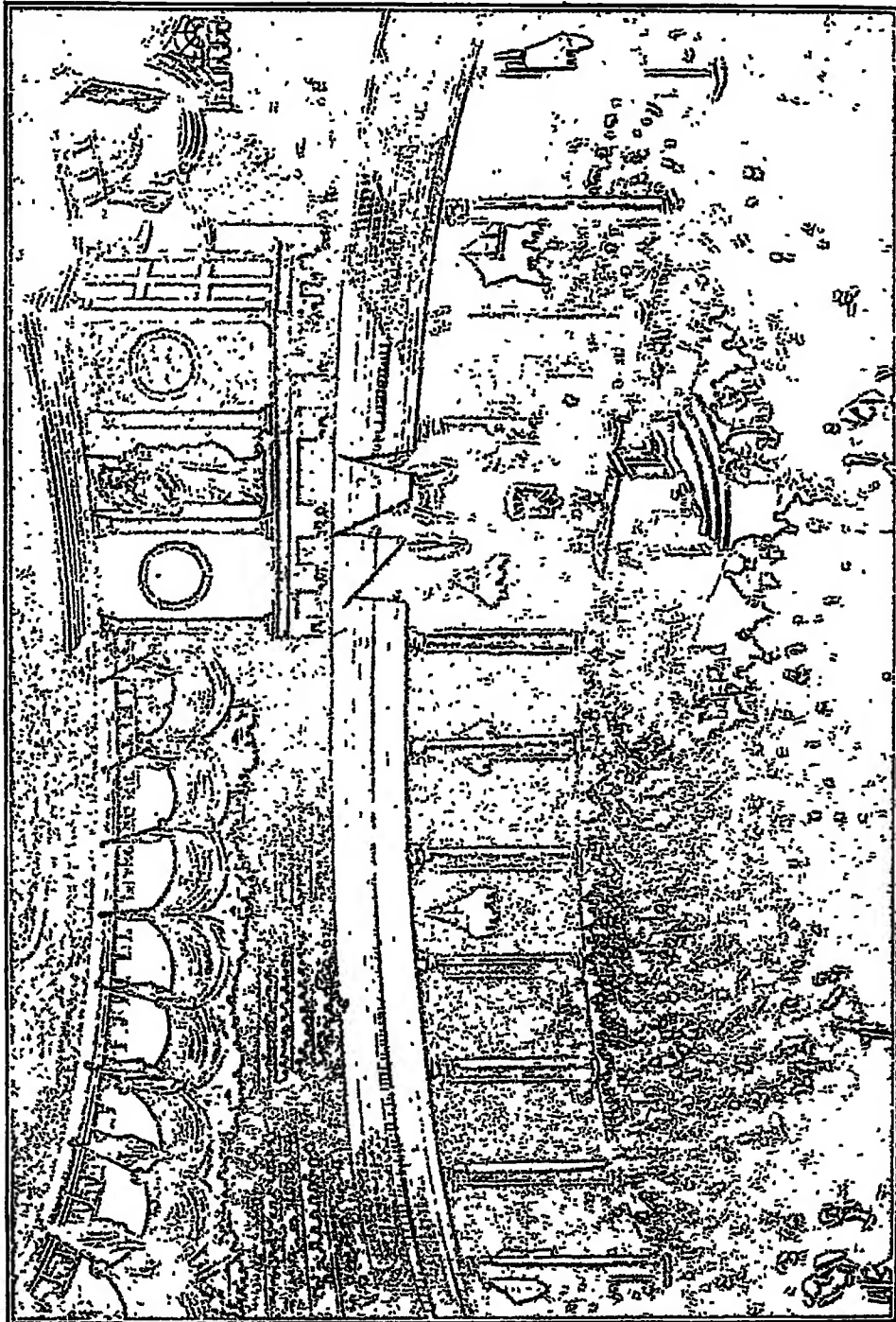
THE OVERTHROW OF THE ITALIAN REPUBLICS 307

died a few months later. He had rendered, however, a great service to his house and to Italy, for he had shown that there was one Italian prince who was willing to risk everything for the national cause. He had enlisted the interest and the faith of the Italians in the government of Piedmont, in the House of Savoy. He was looked upon as a martyr to the national cause.

The Overthrow of the Italian Republics. In 1849 the republics of Florence, Rome, and Venice were, one after the other, overthrown. The radiant hopes of 1848 had withered fast. A cruel reaction soon held sway throughout most of the peninsula. The power of Austria was restored, greater apparently than ever. Piedmont alone preserved a real independence, but was for the time being crushed beneath the burdens of a disastrous war and a humiliating peace.

The Parliament of Frankfort. While these events were happening in Austria and Italy the victories of the Liberals in Germany were also being succeeded by defeats. Their hope had centered in the deliberations of the Parliament at Frankfort, consisting of nearly six hundred representatives, elected by universal suffrage. The Frankfort Parliament had been summoned in response to a popular demand for a real German nation, in place of the hollow mockery of the Confederation established in 1815 at Vienna. It was expected to draw up a constitution and it was also expected that this constitution would be democratic. Its aim was to achieve not only German unity but German political freedom, popular government in place of government by absolute monarchs or privileged classes. It was hoped that a great free German state would issue from its deliberations, unity resting upon a large measure of democracy.

Failure of the Frankfort Parliament. The Parliament of Frankfort, on which such hopes had been centered, failed in the end, to some extent because of the mistakes of its members, but chiefly because of the resolute opposition of the princes of Germany, and, in particular, of Prussia and Austria, the two leading German states, neither of which was willing to make any sacrifices for the common good and each of which was jealous and suspicious of the other. It, however, succeeded in drafting a constitution of many high merits, a constitution nobly planned, which guaranteed civil liberty to every German, equality before the law, responsible parliamentary control



THE PARLIAMENT OF FRANKFORT
After the lithograph by May of the drawing by Bamberger.

for the central government and for the government of the separate states. It was decided that in the new German nation German Austria should be included, but not the non-German possessions of the House of Hapsburg, a decision which displeased Austria, as she wished to be included with all her territories, not with simply a part of them. A most important question was what should be the form of the new government and who should be the executive. Should there be an emperor or a president, and if an emperor, should his office be hereditary, or for life, or for a term of years? Should he be the monarch of Prussia or Austria, or should first one and then the other rule? The final decision was that Germany should be an hereditary empire, and on March 28, 1849, the King of Prussia was chosen to be its head. Austria announced curtly that she "would neither let herself be expelled from the German Confederation, nor let her German provinces be separated from the indivisible monarchy."

The German Crown Rejected by the King of Prussia. The center of interest now shifted to Berlin, whither a delegation went to offer to Frederick William IV the imperial crown of a united Germany. He declined the offer of the Frankfort Parliament. He disliked the idea of receiving a crown from a revolutionary assembly, from "the gutter," as he expressed it; rather, in his opinion, ought such a gift to come from his equals, the princes of Germany.

Thus the two great German powers, Austria and Prussia, rejected the work of the Frankfort Parliament. Rebuffed in such high quarters, that body was unable to impose its constitution upon Germany, and it finally ended its existence wretchedly. In session for over a year it accomplished nothing. But the responsibility for the failure of Germans to achieve a real unity in 1848 and 1849 rests primarily not with it, but with the rulers of Prussia and Austria.

The collapse of the Frankfort Parliament was a bitter disappointment. It drove a number of the more radical Germans to a bold and desperate attempt to establish a republic by force of arms, since these monarchs of Germany spurned the work of the Parliament. It was all in vain. The republicans were shot down or dispersed by Prussian troops in May, 1849. The republican party in Germany never recovered from this blow.

Emigration of German Liberals. For men who held democratic and republican ideas and ideals intensely there was no hope in Germany. Many, not willing to abandon their convictions, not

wishing to live under a régime which denied the most elementary rights to individuals, moreover not safe in such states and not desired, had only the sad resource of leaving the land of their birth. One of these was Carl Schurz, a Prussian, whose part in the revolution of 1848 was most romantic and honorable. He, like many others, emigrated to the United States, with a heavy heart, because he believed that the cause of freedom was lost in Germany and in Europe, and that he had to make the poignant choice between liberty and his native land. Great was the gain of America. If these men could not have democratic institutions at home they could find them in the New World and could enjoy the opportunities they insure.

Restoration of the German Confederation. The King of Prussia had refused the headship of a united Germany offered him by the Frankfort Parliament and had thus rendered its labors fruitless. Austria now demanded that the old German Confederation of 1815, which had been suspended in 1848, be revived with its Diet at Frankfort. This was done in 1851. Austria was stronger than ever in the Diet.

Results of the Revolutions of 1848. The permanent results of this mid-century uprising of central Europe were very slight. Everywhere the old governments slipped back into the old grooves and resumed the old traditions. Two states, however, emerged with constitutions which they kept, Sardinia, whose Constitutional Statute granted by Charles Albert on March 4, 1848, established a real constitutional and parliamentary government, the only one in Italy; and Prussia, whose Constitution issued by the King in its final form in 1850 was far less liberal, yet sufficed to range Prussia among the constitutional states of Europe. By it the old absolutism of the state was changed, at least in form. There was henceforth a parliament consisting of two chambers. In one respect this document was a bitter disappointment to all Liberals. In the March Days of 1848 the King had promised universal suffrage, but the Constitution as finally promulgated rendered it illusory. It established a system unique in the world. Universal suffrage was not withdrawn, but was marvelously manipulated. The voters were divided in each electoral district throughout Prussia into three classes, according to wealth. The amount of taxes paid by the district was divided into three equal parts. Those voters who paid the first third were grouped into one class, those, more numerous, who

paid the second third into another class, those who paid the remainder into still another. The result was that a few very rich men were set apart by themselves, the less rich by themselves, and the poor by themselves. Each of these three groups, voting separately, elected an equal number of delegates to a convention, which convention chose the delegates of that constituency to the lower house of the Prussian Parliament. Thus in every electoral assembly two-thirds of the members belonged to the wealthy class. There was no chance in such a system for the poor, for the masses. This system, established by the Constitution of 1850, existed in Prussia down to the end of the World War. Thus universal suffrage did not mean democracy: it meant plutocracy.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the sweep of the revolutionary movements of 1848? Who was Louis Kossuth and what was his influence in Hungary? Describe the March Days in the possessions of the House of Hapsburg.

II. What change occurred in the occupancy of the throne of Austria in 1848? How was the revolution suppressed in Bohemia? in Hungary? in Italy?

III. What was the Parliament of Frankfort? Why was it convoked? What did it accomplish? What was the attitude of Prussia and Austria toward its work? What were the permanent gains of the revolutions of 1848?

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CHAPTER XIX

THE SECOND FRENCH REPUBLIC AND THE FOUNDING OF THE SECOND EMPIRE

The Second Republic. The Second Republic, born of the Revolution of 1848, as we have seen, lasted nominally nearly five years, from February 24, 1848, to December 2, 1852, when the Second Empire was proclaimed. Practically, however, as we shall see, it came to an end one year earlier, December 2, 1851. During this period the state was administered successively by the Provisional Government, chosen on February 24, and remaining in power for about ten weeks, then for about a year by the National Constituent Assembly, which framed the Constitution of the Republic, and then by the President and Legislative Assembly, created by that constitution. The history of the Republic was to be a very troubled one.

The Provisional Government and the Socialists. The Provisional Government was from the first composed of two elements. The larger number, led by Lamartine, were simply Republicans, desirous of a republican form of government in place of the monarchical. The other element was represented particularly by Louis Blanc, who believed in a republic, but as a means to an end, and that end a social, economic revolution; who wished primarily to improve the condition of the laboring classes, to work out in actual laws and institutions the socialistic theories propounded with such effectiveness during the later years of the reign of Louis Philippe, and particularly the principle represented in the famous phrase, "the right to employment." What he most desired was not a mere political change, but a thoroughgoing reconstruction of society in the interest of the largest and weakest class, the poor, the wage-earners.

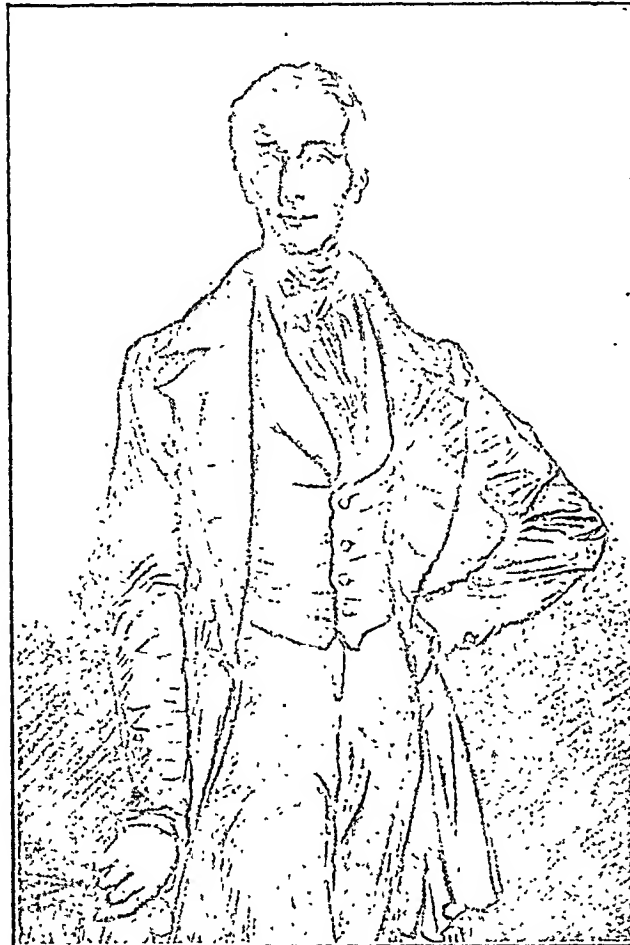
The Provisional Government, divided as it was into Socialists and Anti-Socialists, ran the risk of all coalitions, that of being reduced to impotence by internal dissensions. Conflicts between the two great currents of opinion began on the very day of the proclamation

of the Republic. Armed workmen came in immense numbers to the Hôtel de Ville (ō-tel' dé vël) and demanded that henceforth the banner of France should be the red flag, emblem of Socialism. Lamartine repelled this demand in a speech so brilliant and so persuasive that the workmen themselves stamped pon the red flag.

But the Government, achieving an oratorical victory, saw itself forced to yield to the Socialist party in two important respects. On motion of Louis Blanc, it recognized the so-called "right to employment." It promised work to all citizens, and as a means to this end it established, against its own real wishes, the famous National Workshops. It also established a Labor Commission, with Blanc at its head and with its place of meeting the Luxembourg Palace. This was a mere debating society, a body to investigate economic questions and report to the Government. It had no power of action, or of putting its opinions into

execution. Moreover, by removing Louis Blanc from the Hôtel de Ville to another part of Paris, the Government really reduced his influence and that of his party. Naturally this irritated the Socialists.

The National Workshops. The National Workshops were a source of ultimate disappointment to those who had looked to them to solve the complex labor problems of the modern industrial system. Conceded by the Provisional Government against its will, and to gain



LAMARTINE IN 1832

After a lithograph by Chasseriau.

time, that Government did not intend that they should succeed. Louis Blanc wished to have every man practice his own trade in real factories, started by state aid. They should be engaged in productive enterprises; moreover, only men of good character should be permitted to join these associations. Instead of this, the Government simply set men of the most varied sorts — cobblers, carpenters, metal workers, masons, to labor upon unproductive tasks, such as making excavations for public works. They were organized in a military fashion, and the wages were uniform, two francs a day. This was properly no system of production, but was merely a system of relief for the unemployed, who were very numerous owing to the fact that many factories had had to close because of the generally disturbed state of affairs. The number of men flocking to these National Workshops increased alarmingly: 25,000 in the middle of March; 66,000 in the middle of April; over 100,000 in May. As there was not work enough for all, the number of working days was reduced for each man to two a week, and his total wage for the week fixed at eight francs. The result was that large numbers of men were kept idle most of the time, were given wretched wages, and had plenty of time to discuss their grievances. They furnished excellent material for socialist agitators. This experiment wasted the public money, accomplished nothing useful, and led to a street war of the most appalling kind.

The Constituent Assembly. The Provisional Government was, as the name signified, only a temporary organization whose duty was to administer the state until an assembly should be elected to frame a constitution. The Provisional Government established universal suffrage and thus political power passed suddenly from the hands of about two hundred thousand privileged wealthy persons to over nine million electors. The elections were held on April 23, and the National Constituent Assembly met on May 4, 1848. The assembly consisted of nine hundred men, about eight hundred of them Moderate Republicans. The Socialists, so conspicuous during the February Revolution and immediately after, had almost disappeared.

The Assembly and the June Days. The Assembly showed at once that it was bitterly opposed to the Socialists of Paris. The government, believing that the National Workshops were breeding-spots of Socialism and dangerous unrest, resolved to root them out. It announced their immediate abolition, giving the workmen the

alternative of enrolling in the army or going into the country to labor on public works. If they did not leave voluntarily, they would be forced to leave. The laborers, goaded to desperation, prepared to resist. The Assembly saw the terrible nature of the conflict impending. General Cavaignac (kä-vān-yāk') wæ: given dictatorial powers by the Assembly. During four June days (June 23-26, 1848) the most fearful street fighting Paris had ever known went on behind a baffling network of barricades. The issue was long doubtful, but finally the insurgents were put down. The cost was terrible. Ten thousand were killed or wounded. Eleven thousand prisoners were taken, and their deportation was immediately decreed by the Assembly. The June Days left among the poor an enduring legacy of hatred toward the bourgeoisie.

The Moderate Republicans had thus definitely triumphed over the Socialistic Republicans. But so narrow had been their escape, so fearful were they for the future, that the dictatorship of Cavaignac was continued until the end of October. Thus the Second Republic, proclaimed in February, 1848, after ten troubled weeks under a Provisional Government, passed under military leadership for the next four months. One-man power was rapidly developing.

The results of this socialist agitation and of the sanguinary Days of June were lamentable and far-reaching. The republic was immeasurably weakened by this dreadful fratricidal strife. It was gravely wounded in the house of its friends.

The Framing of the Constitution. After the suppression of the Socialists in June the Assembly proceeded to frame the constitution, for which task it had been chosen. It proclaimed the Republic as the definitive government of France. It declared universal suffrage. It provided that there should be a legislature consisting of a single chamber, composed of 750 members, chosen for three years, to be renewed in full at the end of that period.

The executive was to be a president elected for four years and ineligible for reelection save after a four years' interval. He was given very considerable powers. How he should be chosen was a most important question, and was long debated. It was finally decided that he should be elected directly by the voters. The danger in this procedure lay in the lack of political experience of the French electorate, and the probability that they would be blinded by some distinguished or famous name in making their choice, not guided by

an intelligent analysis of character and of fitness for the high office. In thus leaving the choice of the president to universal suffrage, this republican assembly was playing directly into the hands of a pretender to a throne, of a man who believed he had the right to rule France by reason of his birth, Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, nephew of the Great Napoleon and legitimate heir to his pretensions. At the time of the February Revolution this man was practically without influence or significance, but so swiftly did events move and opinion shift in that year 1848 that, by the time the mode of choosing the president was decided upon, he was already known to be a leading candidate, a fact which stamped that decision as all the more foolhardy.

Louis Napoleon Bonaparte. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte had become chief of the house of Bonaparte in 1832 at the age of twenty-four, on the death of Napoleon's son, known as the "King of Rome." He was the son of Louis, the former King of Holland. He conceived his position with utmost seriousness. He believed that he had a right to rule over France, and that the day would come when he would rule. He clung to this belief for sixteen years, though those years brought him no practical encouragement, but only the reverse. Gathering about him a few adventurers, he attempted in 1836, at Strasbourg, and in 1840, at Boulogne, to seize power. Both attempts were puerile in their conception, and were bunglingly executed. Both ended in fiasco. He had gained the name of being ridiculous, a thing exceedingly difficult for Frenchmen to forgive or forget. As a result of the former attempt he had been exiled to the United States, from which country he shortly returned. As a result of the latter he was imprisoned in the fortress of Ham in northern France, from which he escaped in 1846, disguised as a mason. He then went to England and in 1848, at the time of the Chartist risings, he was a special constable stationed in Trafalgar Square. This was certainly no record of achievement. But the stars in their courses were fighting for him. The Revolution of 1848 created his opportunity, as that of 1789 had created that of the First Napoleon. Like his great prototype, whom he constantly sought to imitate, he offered his services to the Republic. He was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly, where the impression he created was that of a mediocre man, with few ideas of his own, who could probably be controlled by others. His name, however, was a name to conjure with. This

was his only capital, but it was sufficient. The word Napoleon was seen to be a marvelous vote-winner with the peasants, who, now that universal suffrage was the law of the land, formed the great majority. "How should I not vote for this gentleman," said a peasant to Montaigne, "I whose nose was frozen at Moscow?" Louis Napoleon was an avowed candidate for the presidency, and, as the most colorless, was the strongest. Cavaignac was the candidate of the democratic Republicans, who had governed France since February, but he was now hated by the workingmen for his part in the June Days. Thus when the presidential election was held in December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was overwhelmingly chosen with over five million votes to Cavaignac's million and a half. The new President entered upon his duties December 20, 1848. On that day before the Assembly he swore "to remain faithful to the democratic republic," and said: "My duty is clear. I will fulfill it as a man of honor. I shall regard as enemies of the country all those who endeavor to change by illegal means that which France has established." He kept his oath for nearly three years and then he broke it, because he wished to remain in power, having no desire to retire to private life; yet the Constitution forbade the reelection of a president at the end of the four-year term. Louis Napoleon therefore took a leaf out of the biography of Napoleon I, and climbed to power by carrying through a *coup d'état*, far more skillfully than his uncle had engineered that of the 19th of Brumaire.

The Coup d'État of December, 1851. On December 2, 1851, anniversary of the coronation of Napoleon I and of the battle of Austerlitz, the Prince President struck, and struck hard. During the early morning hours many of the military and civil leaders of France, republican and monarchist, were arrested in bed and taken to prison. A battalion of infantry was sent to occupy the Legislative Chamber. Placards were posted on all the walls of Paris, pretending to explain the President's purposes, which included a remodeling of the constitution in the direction of the system established by Napoleon I at the time of the Consulate. "This system, created by the First Consul at the beginning of the century, has already given to France repose and prosperity; it will guarantee them to her again." The people were called upon to approve or disapprove these suggestions.

The significance of all this was at first not apparent to those who

read the placards. But signs of opposition began to show themselves as their meaning became clearer. Some of the deputies, going to their hall of meeting, found entrance prevented by the military. Withdrawing to another place, and proceeding to impeach the President, they were attacked by the troops, who arrested a large number and took them off to prison. Thus the leaders of France, civil and military, were in custody and the President saw no organized authority erect before him. This was the work of December 2. Would the people resent the high-handed acts of this usurper?

The "Massacre of the Boulevards." The President had not neglected to make unprecedented preparations for the contingency of a popular uprising. His police controlled all the printing establishments, whence usually in periods of crisis emerged flaming appeals to revolt; also all the bell towers, whence in revolutionary times the tocsin was accustomed to ring out the appeal to insurrection. Nevertheless, on the 3d, barricades were raised. On the 4th occurred the famous "massacre of the boulevards." Over 150 were killed and a large number wounded. Paris was cowed. The *coup d'état* was crowned with success. To prevent any possible rising of the provinces martial law was proclaimed in thirty-two departments, thousands of arbitrary arrests were made, and the work on which the Prince President entered on the night of December 2 was thoroughly carried out. Probably a hundred thousand arrests were made throughout France. All who appeared dangerous to Louis Napoleon were either transported, exiled, or imprisoned. This vigorous policy was aimed particularly at the Republicans, who were for years completely silenced.

Having thus abolished all opposing leadership, Louis Napoleon appealed to the people for their opinion as to intrusting him with power to remodel the Constitution along the lines indicated in his proclamation. On December 20, 7,439,216 voted in favor of so doing, and only 640,737 voted in the negative. While the election was in no sense fair, while the issue presented was neither clear nor simple, while force and intimidation were resorted to, yet it was evident that a large majority of Frenchmen were willing to try again the experiment of a Napoleon.

The Second Empire Established. The Republic, though officially continuing another year, was now dead. Louis Napoleon, though still nominally President, was in fact an absolute sovereign.

It was a mere detail when a year later (November 21, 1852) the people of France were permitted to vote on the question of reestablishing the imperial dignity, and of proclaiming Louis Napoleon Bonaparte emperor, under the name of Napoleon III. 7,824,189 Frenchmen voted yes; 253,145 voted no. On the anniversary of the *coup d'état*, December 2, a day so fortunate for Bonapartes, Napoleon III was proclaimed Emperor of the French, and the Second Empire was established.

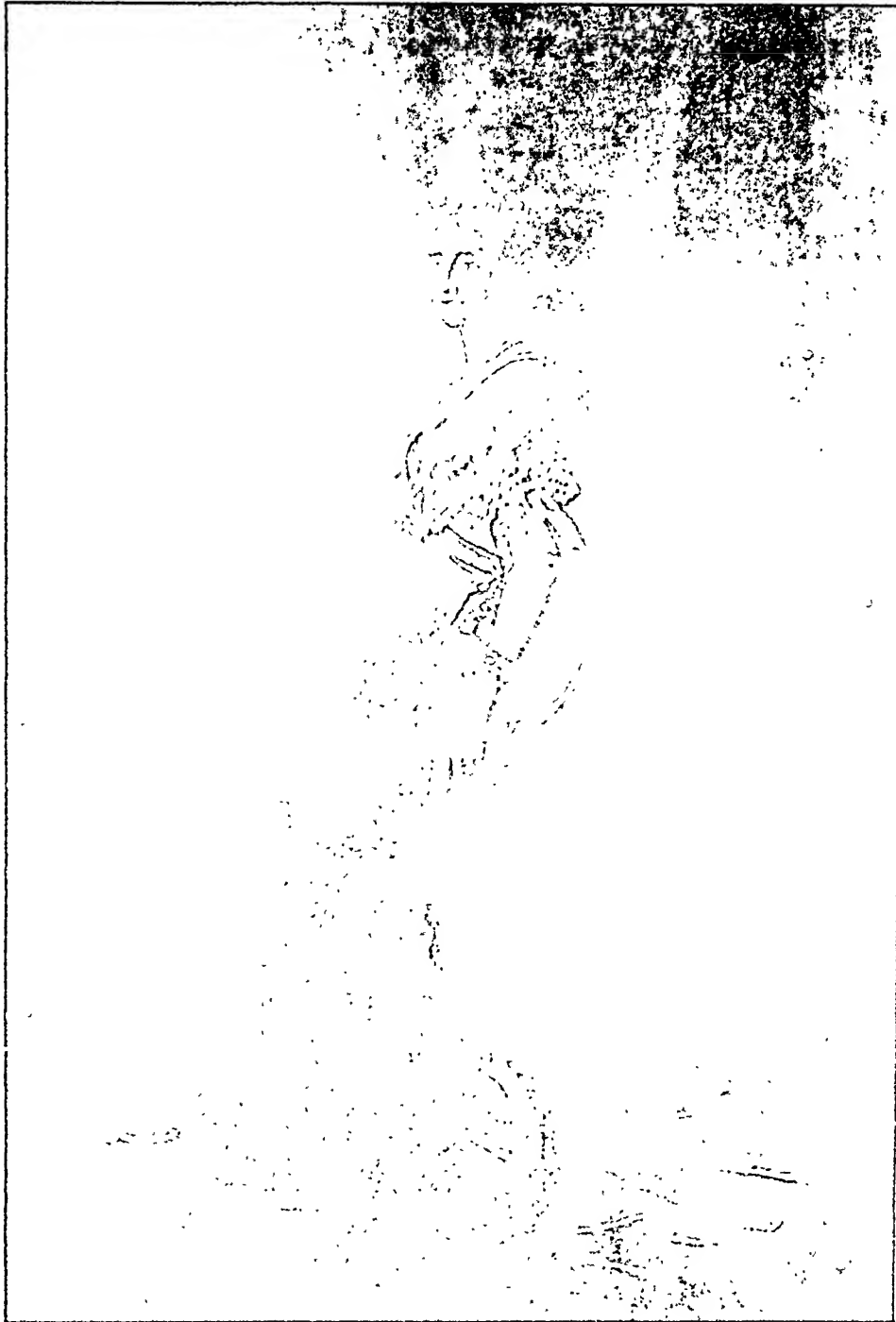
The Program of the New Emperor. The President who, by the endless witchery of a name, by a profitable absence of scruples, and by favorable circumstances, had known how to become an Emperor, was destined to be the ruler of France and a leading figure in European politics for eighteen years. He announced at the outset that what France needed, after so turbulent a history, was government by an enlightened and benevolent autocrat.



NAPOLEON III

Then when the necessary work of reorganization had been carried through and the national life was once more in a healthy state, the autocratic would give way to a liberal form of government which the country would then be in a condition to manage and enjoy. As a matter of fact the history of the Second Empire falls into these two divisions — autocracy unlimited from 1852 to 1860, and a growing liberalism from 1860 to 1870, when the Empire collapsed, its program woefully unrealized.

The political institutions of the Empire were largely based on those of the Consulate. The machinery was elaborate, but was mainly designed to deceive the French people into thinking that they en-



EMPRESS EUGÉNIE
After the painting by Winterhalter.

joyed self-government. The principle of universal suffrage was preserved but was ingeniously rendered quite harmless to the autocrat. There was a Legislative Body and there was a Senate, but their powers were very slight. The important fact was not the activity of these various bodies but of the one man. France was no longer a land of freedom. The new ruler was particularly ruthless in his policy of crushing the Republicans, as he had a very clear instinct that they would never forgive him for having overthrown by violence the Republic which had honored him with its highest office and which he had solemnly sworn to protect from all enemies.

The Empire both Repressive and Progressive. In politics a despot and a reactionary, stamping out every possible spark of independence, Napoleon was, however, in many other ways progressive. Particularly did he seek to develop the wealth of the country, and his reign was one of increasing economic prosperity; manufactures, commerce, banking, all were greatly encouraged. It was a period of great business enterprises and fortunes were made quickly, and of a size hitherto unknown in France. Paris was modernized and beautified on a most elaborate scale and became the most attractive and comfortable capital in Europe. In 1853 Napoleon III married a young Spanish lady of remarkable beauty and of noble birth, Mlle. Eugénie de Montijo, "a marriage of love" as the Emperor told the French people. The Tuileries immediately became the center of a court life the most brilliant and luxurious of the nineteenth century.

The Congress of Paris (1856). In 1856 Napoleon III was at the zenith of his power. The Empire had been recognized by all the other states of Europe. The Emperor had, with England and Piedmont as allies, waged a successful war against Russia in the Crimea. He was supposed to have the best army in Europe, and he was honored in the face of all the world by having Paris chosen as the seat of the congress which drew up the treaties at the end of that war. And now an heir was born to him, the Prince Imperial, as interesting in his day and as ill-fated as the King of Rome had been in his. Fortune seemed to have emptied her full horn of plenty upon the author of the *coup d'état*.

Foreign Policies of Napoleon III. The Empire had already reached its apogee, though this was not evident for some time. Had Napoleon limited his activity to the improvement and development of conditions at home his reign might have continued successful and

advantageous. But he adopted a showy and risky foreign policy, whose consequences were to prove embarrassing and ultimately ruinous. The beginning of Napoleon's serious troubles was his participation in the Italian war of 1859.

To understand the course of the Second Empire from 1860 to 1870 one must study the part played by Napoleon III in the making of modern Italy, the consequences of which were to be for him so unexpected, so far-reaching, and in the end so disastrous. And correctly to appraise that policy we must first trace the history of the rise of the Kingdom of Italy.

QUESTIONS

I. How long did the Second Republic endure? What was the Provisional Government? What were the National Workshops? What were the June Days? Describe the constitution of the Second Republic.

II. Give an account of the career of Louis Napoleon down to the year 1848. By what processes did Louis Napoleon become Emperor? What were his policies during the early part of his reign?

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CHAPTER XX

THE MAKING OF THE KINGDOM OF ITALY

Italy Lacks Unity and Freedom. Italy, as we have seen, was a land of small states, of arbitrary government, and of Austrian domination. The revolutionary and independence movements of 1848 and 1849 had failed. The Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia was ruled by Austria, to whom it belonged; the Papal States by a reactionary Pope; the Kingdom of Naples by a thoroughly despicable despot, who, moreover, like the Pope and the dukes of Tuscany and Parma and Modena, was quite dependent upon Austria, a great military power. Only the King of Sardinia followed a really independent policy. The spirit of nationality, the spirit of freedom, were nowhere recognized. Indeed, every effort was made to stamp them out whenever they appeared. Thus far these efforts had been successful. They were now about to break down utterly and a noble and stirring movement of reform was to sweep over the peninsula in triumph, completely transforming and immensely enriching a land which, greatly endowed by nature, had been sadly treated by man.

Joseph Mazzini (1805-1872). The deepest aspirations of the Italian people had finally found a voice, clear, bold, and altogether thrilling, in the person of Joseph Mazzini. Mazzini (mät-sē'nē) was the spiritual force of the Italian *Risorgimento* or resurrection, as this national movement was called, the prophet of a state that was not yet but was to be, destined from youth to feel with extraordinary intensity a holy mission imposed upon him. He was born in 1805 in Genoa, his father being a physician and a professor in the university. Even in his boyhood he was morbidly impressed with the unhappiness and misery of his country. "In the midst of the noisy, tumultuous life of the students around me I was," he says, "somber and absorbed and appeared like one suddenly grown old. I childishly determined to dress always in black, fancying myself in mourning for my country."

As Mazzini grew up all his inclinations were toward a literary life. "A thousand visions of historical dramas and romances floated before my mental eye." But this dream he abandoned, "my first great sacrifice," for political agitation. He joined the Carbonari, not because he approved even then of their methods, but because at least they were a revolutionary organization. As a member of it, he was



JOSEPH MAZZINI

arrested in 1830. The governor of Genoa told Mazzini's father that his son was "gifted with some talent," but was "too fond of walking by himself at night absorbed in thought. What on earth has he at his age to think about? We don't like young people thinking without our knowing the subject of their thoughts." Mazzini was imprisoned in the fortress of Savona. Here he could see only the sky and the sea, "the two grandest things in Nature, except the Alps," he said. After six months he was released, but was forced to leave

his country. For nearly all of forty years he was to lead the bitter life of an exile in France, in Switzerland, but chiefly in England, which became his second home.

"Young Italy." After his release from prison Mazzini founded in 1831 a society, "Young Italy," destined to be an important factor in making the new Italy. The society must be a secret organization; otherwise it would be stamped out. But it must not be merely a body of conspirators; it must be educative, proselyting, seeking to win Italians by its moral and intellectual fervor to an idealistic view of life, a self-sacrificing sense of duty. Only those under forty were

to be admitted to membership, because his appeal was particularly to the young. "Place youth at the head of the insurgent multitude," he said ; "you know not the secret of the power hidden in these youthful hearts, nor the magic influence exercised on the masses by the voice of youth. You will find among the young a host of apostles of the new religion." With Mazzini the liberation and unification of Italy was indeed a new religion, appealing to the loftiest emotions, entailing complete self-sacrifice, complete absorption in the ideal, and the young were to be its apostles. Never did a cause have a more dauntless leader, a man of purity of life, a man of imagination, of poetry, of audacity, gifted, moreover, with a marvelous command of persuasive language and with burning enthusiasm in his heart. This is the romantic proselyting movement of the nineteenth century, all the more remarkable from the fact that its members were unknown men, bringing to their work no advantage of wealth or social position. But, as their leader wrote later, "All great national movements begin with the unknown men of the people, without influence except for the faith and will that counts not time or difficulties."

The program of this society was clear and emphatic. First, Austria must be driven out. War must come — the sooner the better. Let not Italians rely on the aid of foreign governments, upon diplomacy, but upon their own unaided strength. "The only thing wanting to twenty millions of Italians, desirous of emancipating themselves, is not power, but faith," he said.

Unity a Practicable Ideal. At a time when the obstacles seemed insuperable, when but few Italians dreamed of unity even as an ultimate ideal, Mazzini declared that it was a practicable ideal, that the seemingly impossible was easily possible if only Italians would dare to show their power ; and his great significance in Italian history is that he succeeded in imparting his burning faith to multitudes of others. Mazzini was a republican and he wished his country, when united, to be a republic. That a solution of the Italian problem lay in combining the existing states into a federation he did not for a moment believe. Every argument for federation was a stronger argument for unity. "Never rise in any other name than that of Italy and of all Italy."

Italy was not made as Mazzini wished it to be, as we shall see ; nevertheless is he one of the chief of the makers of Italy. He and the society he founded constituted a leavening, quickening force in

the realm of ideas. Around them grew up a patriotism for a country that existed as yet only in the imagination.

Piedmont the Leader of the Future. Italy was not to be a republic, as Mazzini urged and hoped, and the reason was because there were in the northwestern part of the peninsula a monarch and a monarchy that inspired respect and that were now to reveal exceptional powers of leadership. The monarch was Victor Emmanuel II (1820-1878), known as the "Honest King," and the monarchy was that of the House of Savoy ruling in Piedmont, since 1848 a constitutional state and a progressive one. For these reasons Piedmont became the one hope of Italian Liberals.

Victor Emmanuel was a brave soldier, a man, not of brilliant mind, but of sound and independent judgment, of absolute loyalty to his word, of intense patriotism. And he had from 1850 on, in his leading minister, Count Camillo di Cavour, one of the greatest statesmen and diplomatists of the nineteenth century.

Count Camillo di Cavour (1810-1861). Cavour was born in 1810. His family belonged to the nobility of Piedmont. He received a military education and joined the army as an engineer. By his liberal opinions, freely expressed, he incurred the hostility of his superiors and was kept for a time in semi-imprisonment. He resigned his commission in 1831, and for the next fifteen years lived the life of a country gentleman, developing his estates. During these years, to vary the monotony of existence, he visited France and England repeatedly, interested particularly in political and economic questions. He was anxious to play a part in politics himself, though he saw no chance in a country as yet without representative institutions. "Oh! if I were an Englishman," he said, "by this time I should be something, and my name would not be wholly unknown." Meanwhile, he studied abroad the institutions he desired for his own country, particularly the English parliamentary system. Night after night he sat in the gallery of the House of Commons, seeking to make himself thoroughly familiar with its modes of procedure. He welcomed with enthusiasm the creation in 1848 of a parliament for Piedmont and of a constitution, which he had, indeed, been one of the boldest to demand. "Italy," he said, "must make herself by means of liberty, or we must give up trying to make her." This belief in parliamentary institutions Cavour held tenaciously all through his life, even when at times they seemed to be a hindrance to his policies,

He believed that in the end, sooner or later, the people reach the truth of a matter. He was elected to the first Piedmontese Parliament, was taken into the cabinet in 1850, and became prime minister in 1852. He held this position for the remainder of his life, with the exception of a few weeks, proving himself a great statesman and an incomparable diplomat.

Cavour and Mazzini. Cavour's mind was the opposite of Mazzini's, practical, positive, not poetical and speculative. He desired the unity and the independence of Italy. He hated Austria as the oppressor of his country, as an oppressor everywhere. But, unlike Mazzini, he did not underestimate her power, nor did he overestimate the power of his own countrymen. Cavour believed, as did all the patriots, that Austria must be driven out of Italy before any Italian regeneration could be achieved. But he did not believe with Mazzini and



CAVOUR

From a lithograph by Desmaisons.

others that the Italians could accomplish this feat alone. In his opinion the history of the last forty years had shown that plots and insurrections would not avail. It was essential to win the aid of a great military power comparable in strength and discipline to Austria.

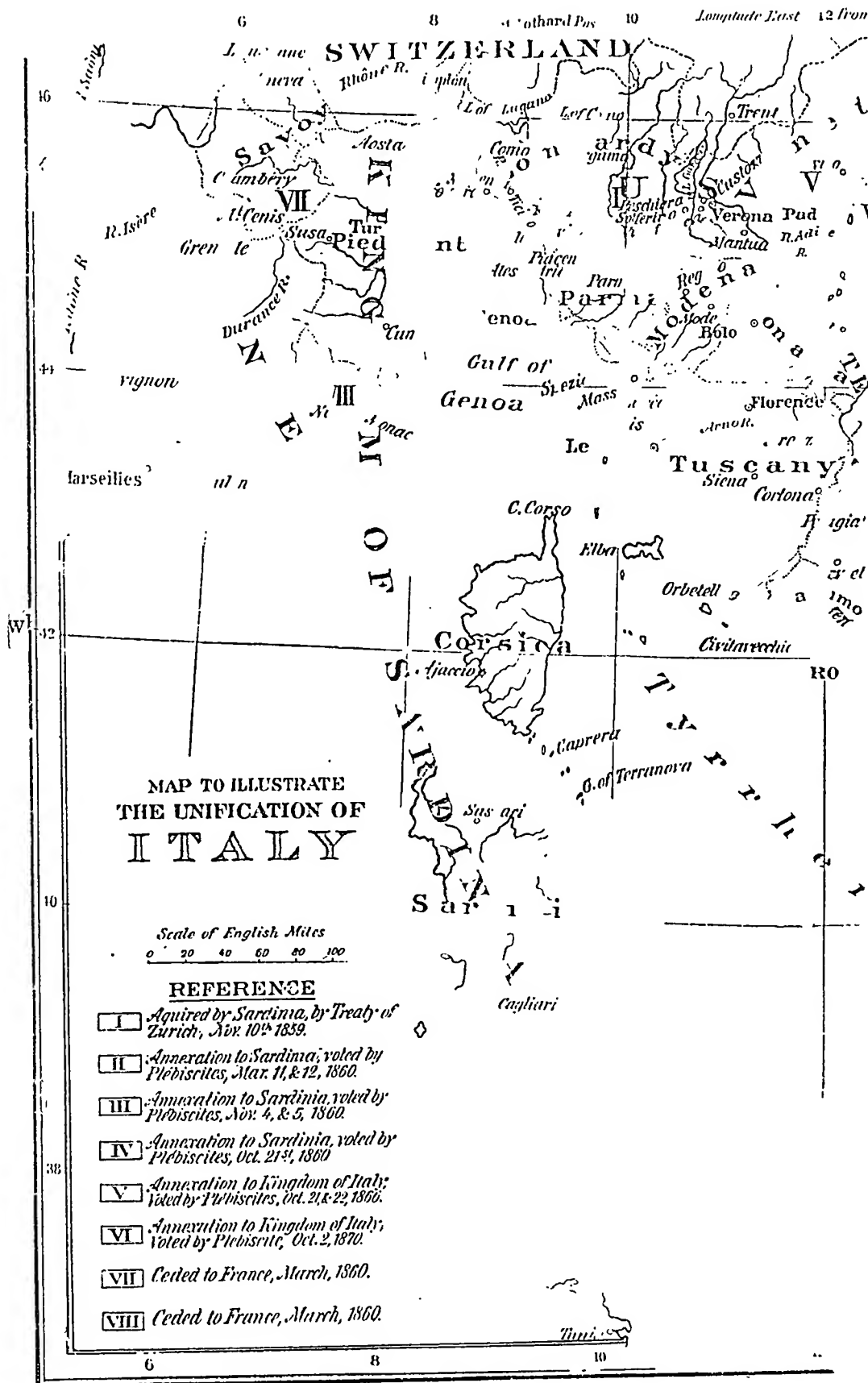
Piedmont a Model State. Cavour considered that the only possible leader in the work of freeing and unifying Italy was the House of Savoy and the Piedmontese monarchy, and he felt that the proper government of the new state, if it should ever arise, would be a constitutional monarchy. He wished to make Piedmont a model

state so that, when the time came, the Italians of other states would recognize her leadership. Piedmont had a constitution and the other states had not. He saw to it that she had a free political life and received a genuine training in self-government. Also he bent every energy to the development of the economic resources of his kingdom, by encouraging manufactures, by stimulating commerce, by modernizing agriculture, by building railroads. In a word, he sought to make and did make Piedmont a model small state, liberal and progressive, hoping thus to win for her the Italians of the other states and the interest and approval of the countries and rulers of western Europe.

Cavour as Diplomatist. The fundamental purpose, the constant preoccupation of this man's life, determining every action, prompting every wish, was to gain a Great Power as an ally. In the pursuit of this elusive and supremely difficult object, year in, year out, Cavour displayed his measure as a diplomat, and stood forth finally without a peer. It is a marvelously absorbing story, from which we are precluded here because it cannot be properly presented except at length. The reader must go elsewhere for the details of this fascinating record, in which were combined, in rare harmony, sound judgment, practical sense, powers of clear, subtle, penetrating thought, unfailing attention to prosaic details, with imagination, audacity, courage, and iron nerve. Though the minister of a petty state of only five million people, Cavour was the most dynamic personality in Europe.

Cavour and Napoleon III. Cavour was seeking an ally. He saw that the field was limited. It must be either England or France. The former country had no large army and was disposed to keep itself as free from European entanglements as possible. France, on the other hand, was supposed to have the best army in Europe and her ruler, Napoleon III, was an ambitious and adventurous person. "Whether we like it or not," said Cavour, "our destinies depend upon France." He sought to ingratiate himself with Napoleon. The Crimean War gave an opportunity. Piedmont made an unconditional and very risky alliance in 1855 with France and England, then at war with Russia, and rendered a distinct service to them. They in turn rendered her the service of securing her admittance to the Congress of Paris which terminated that war, of thus securing her recognition as an equal among the powers of Europe.

Two years later Cavour received his great reward. Napoleon III





bade him come to Plombières (July 21, 1858), a watering place in the Vosges (vōzh) mountains, where the Emperor was taking the cure. And there in a famous carriage drive which these two took through the forests of the Vosges, Napoleon holding the reins, and in subsequent interviews, they plotted to bring about a war which should result in driving Austria out of Italy. Italy was to be freed "from the Alps to the Adriatic." Piedmont should be given Lombardy and Venetia and a part of the Papal States. The Italian states should then be united in a confederation with the Pope as president. France should receive Savoy, and possibly Nice.

Napoleon's Motives. The motives that influenced Napoleon to take this step which was to be momentous for himself as well as for Italy were numerous. The principle of nationality which he held tenaciously, and which largely determined the foreign policy of his entire reign, prompted him in this direction — the principle, namely, that people of the same race and language had the right to be united politically if they wished to be. Moreover, it was one of his ambitions to tear up the treaties of 1815, treaties that sealed the humiliation of the Napoleonic dynasty. These treaties still formed the basis of the Italian political system in 1858. Again, he was probably lured on by a desire to win glory for his throne, and there was always the chance, too, of gaining territory.

The Franco-Sardinian-Austrian War (1859). In 1859 there came about a war between Austria on the one hand and Piedmont and France on the other. The latter were victorious in two great battles, that of Magenta (mä-jen'-tä) (June 4) and of Solferino (June 24). The latter was one of the greatest battles of the nineteenth century. It lasted eleven hours, more than 260,000 men were engaged, nearly 800 cannon. The allies lost over 17,000 men, the Austrians about 22,000. All Lombardy was conquered, and Milan was occupied. It seemed that Venetia could be easily overrun and the termination of Austrian rule in Italy effected, and Napoleon's statement that he would free Italy "from the Alps to the Adriatic" accomplished. Suddenly Napoleon halted in the full tide of success, sought an interview with the Emperor of Austria at Villafranca, and there on July 11, without consulting the wishes of his ally, concluded a famous armistice. The terms agreed upon by the two Emperors were that Lombardy should pass to Piedmont, that Austria should retain Venetia, that the Italian states should form a confederation, that the rulers

of Tuscany and Modena should be restored to their states, whence they had just been driven by popular uprisings.

The Truce of Villafranca. Why had Napoleon stopped in the middle of a successful campaign, and before he had accomplished the object for which he had come into Italy? There were several reasons. He had been shocked by the horrors of the battlefield. He saw that the completion of the conquest of Austria meant a far larger sacrifice of life. Prussia was preparing to intervene. Moreover, Napoleon became apprehensive about the results of his policy. If it should end in the creation of a strong national state, as seemed likely, would not this be dangerous to France? A somewhat enlarged Piedmont was one thing, but a kingdom of all Italy, neighbor to France, would be something very different.

Resignation of Cavour. The news of the peace came as a cruel disappointment to the Italians, dashing their hopes just as they were apparently about to be realized. The Government of Victor Emmanuel had not even been consulted. In intense indignation at the faithlessness of Napoleon, overwrought by the excessive strain under which he had long been laboring, Cavour completely lost his self-control, urged desperate measures upon the King and, when they were declined, in a fit of rage, threw up his office. The King by overruling Cavour showed himself wiser than his gifted minister. As disappointed as the latter, he saw more clearly than did Cavour that though Piedmont had not gained all that she had hoped to, yet she had gained much. It was wiser to take what one could get and bide the future than to imperil all by some mad course. Here was one of the supreme moments when the independence and common sense of Victor Emmanuel were of great and enduring service to his country.

Expansion of Piedmont. Napoleon had not done all that he had planned for Italy, yet he had rendered a very important service. He had secured Lombardy for Piedmont. It should also be noted that he himself acknowledged that the failure to carry out the whole program had canceled any claim he had upon the annexation of Savoy and Nice to France.

But the future of Italy was not to be determined solely by the Emperor of France and the Emperor of Austria. The people of Italy had their own ideas and were resolved to make them heard. During the war, so suddenly and unexpectedly closed, the rulers of Modena,

Parma, Tuscany had been overthrown by popular uprisings and the Pope's authority in Romagna (rō-män -yā), the northern part of his dominions, had been destroyed. The people who had accomplished this had no intention of restoring the princes they had expelled. They defied the two Emperors who had decided at Villafranca that those rulers should be restored. In this they were supported diplomatically by the English Government. This was England's great service to the Italians. "The people of the duchies have as much right to change their sovereigns," said Lord Palmerston, "as the English people, or the French, or the Belgian, or the Swedish. The annexation of the duchies to Piedmont will be an unfathomable good to Italy." The people of these states voted almost unanimously in favor of annexation (March 11-12, 1860). Victor Emmanuel accepted the sovereignty thus offered him, and on April 2, 1860, the first parliament of the enlarged kingdom met in Turin. A small state of less than 5,000,000 had grown to one of 11,000,000 within a year. This was the most important change in the political system of Europe since 1815. As far as Italy was concerned it made waste paper of the treaties of 1815. It constituted the most damaging breach made thus far in the work of the Congress of Vienna. What that congress had decided was to be a mere "geographical expression" was now a nation in formation. And this was being accomplished by the triumphant assertion of two principles utterly odious to the monarchs of 1815, the right of revolution and the right of peoples to determine their own destinies for themselves, for these annexations were the result of war and of plebiscites.

Napoleon III acquiesced in all this, taking for himself Savoy and Nice in return for acquiescence. The Peace of Villafranca was never enforced.

The Conquest of the Kingdom of Naples. Much had been achieved in the eventful year just described, but much remained to be achieved before the unification of Italy should be complete. Venetia, the larger part of the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples still stood outside. In the last, however, events now occurred which carried the process a long step forward. Early in 1860 the Sicilians rose in revolt against the despotism of their new king, Francis II. This insurrection created an opportunity for a man already famous but destined to an amazing achievement and to a memorable service to his country, Giuseppe Garibaldi, already the

most popular military leader in Italy, and invested with a half mythical character of invincibility and daring, the result of a very spectacular, romantic career.

Giuseppe Garibaldi (1807-1882). Garibaldi was born at Nice in 1807. He was therefore two years younger than Mazzini and



GARIBALDI

From a photograph.

three years older than Cavour. Destined by his parents for the priesthood, he preferred the sea, and for many years he lived a roving and adventurous sailor's life. He early joined "Young Italy." His military experience was chiefly in irregular, guerrilla fighting. He took part in the unsuccessful insurrection organized by Mazzini in Savoy in 1834, and as a result was condemned to death. He managed to escape to South America where, for the next fourteen years, he was an exile. He participated in the abundant wars of the South American states with the famous "Italian Legion," which he organized and com-

manded. Learning of the uprising of 1848 he returned to Italy, though still under the penalty of death, and immediately thousands flocked to the standard of the "Hero of Montevideo" to fight under him against the Austrians. After the failure of that

campaign he went, in 1849, to Rome to assume the military defense of the republic. When the city was about to fall he escaped with four thousand troops, intending to attack the Austrian power in Venetia. French and Austrian armies pursued him. He succeeded in evading them, but his army dwindled away rapidly and the chase became so hot that he was forced to escape to the Adriatic. When he landed later, his enemies were immediately in full cry again, hunting him through forests and over mountains as if he were some dangerous game. It was a wonderful exploit, rendered tragic by the death, in a farmhouse near Ravenna, of his wife Anita, who was his companion in the camp as in the home, and who was as high-spirited, as daring, as courageous as he. Garibaldi finally escaped to America and began once more the life of an exile. But his story, shot through and through with heroism and chivalry and romance, moved the Italian people to unwonted depths of enthusiasm and admiration.

Garibaldi's Conquest of the Two Sicilies (1860). For several years Garibaldi was a wanderer, sailing the seas, commander of a Peruvian bark. For some months, indeed, he was a candle-maker on Staten Island, but in 1854 he returned to Italy and settled down as a farmer on the little island of Caprera. But the events of 1859 once more brought him out of his retirement. Again, as a leader of volunteers, he plunged into the war against Austria and immensely increased his reputation. He had become the idol of soldiers and adventurous spirits from one end of Italy to the other. Multitudes were ready to follow in blind confidence wherever he might lead. His name was one to conjure with. There now occurred, in 1860, the most brilliant episode of his career, the Sicilian expedition and the campaign against the Kingdom of Naples. For Garibaldi, the most redoubtable warrior of Italy, whose very name was worth an army, now decided on his own account to go to the aid of the Sicilians who had risen in revolt against their king, Francis II of Naples.

The Expedition of "The Thousand." — On May 5, 1860, the expedition of "The Thousand," the "Red Shirts," embarked from Genoa in two steamers. These were the volunteers, nearly 1150 men, whom Garibaldi's fame had caused to rush into the new adventure, an adventure that seemed at the moment one of utter folly. The King of Naples had 24,000 troops in Sicily and 100,000 more on the mainland. The odds against success seemed overwhelming. But fortune favored the brave. After a campaign of a few weeks, in which he was sev-

eral times in great danger, and was only saved by the most reckless fighting, Garibaldi stood master of the island, helped by the Sicilian insurgents, by volunteers who had flocked from the mainland, and by the incompetency of the commanders of the Neapolitan troops. Audacity had won the victory. He assumed the position of Dictator in Sicily in the name of Victor Emmanuel II (August 5, 1860).

Conquest of the Mainland of Naples. Garibaldi now crossed the straits to the mainland determined to conquer the entire Kingdom of Naples (August 19, 1860). The King still had an army of 100,000 men, but it had not even the strength of a frail reed. There was practically no bloodshed. The Neapolitan Kingdom was not overthrown; it collapsed. Treachery, desertion, corruption did the work. On September 6, Francis II left Naples for Gaeta (gä-ä'-tä) and the next day Garibaldi entered it by rail with only a few attendants, and drove through the streets amid a pandemonium of enthusiasm. In less than five months he had conquered a kingdom of 11,000,000 people, an achievement unique in modern history.

Garibaldi Plans to Attack Rome. Garibaldi now began to talk of pushing on to Rome. To Cavour the situation seemed full of danger. Rome was occupied by a French garrison. An attack upon it would almost necessarily mean an attack upon France. Cavour therefore decided to intervene, to take the direction of events out of the hands of Garibaldi, and to guide the future evolution himself. At his instance, therefore, Victor Emmanuel led an army into the Papal States. But he did not lead it to Rome as he knew that Napoleon III, because of the strong Catholic feeling in France, would not permit him to annex the Papal capital. Napoleon, however, was willing that he should annex the Marches (march'-ez) and Umbria, which were parts of the Pope's possessions. Only the city of Rome and the country round about it must not be touched.

Victor Emmanuel Proclaimed King of Italy. Victor Emmanuel's army defeated the Papal troops at Castelfidardo (September 18, 1860). It then entered the territory of Naples. On November 7, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi drove together through the streets of Naples. The latter refused all rewards and honors and with only a little money and a bag of seed beans for the spring planting sailed away to his farm on the island of Caprera.

Victor Emmanuel completed the conquest which Garibaldi had alone carried so far. The people in the Marches, Umbria, and the

Kingdom of Naples voted overwhelmingly in favor of annexation to the new Kingdom of Italy, which had been created in this astonishing fashion.

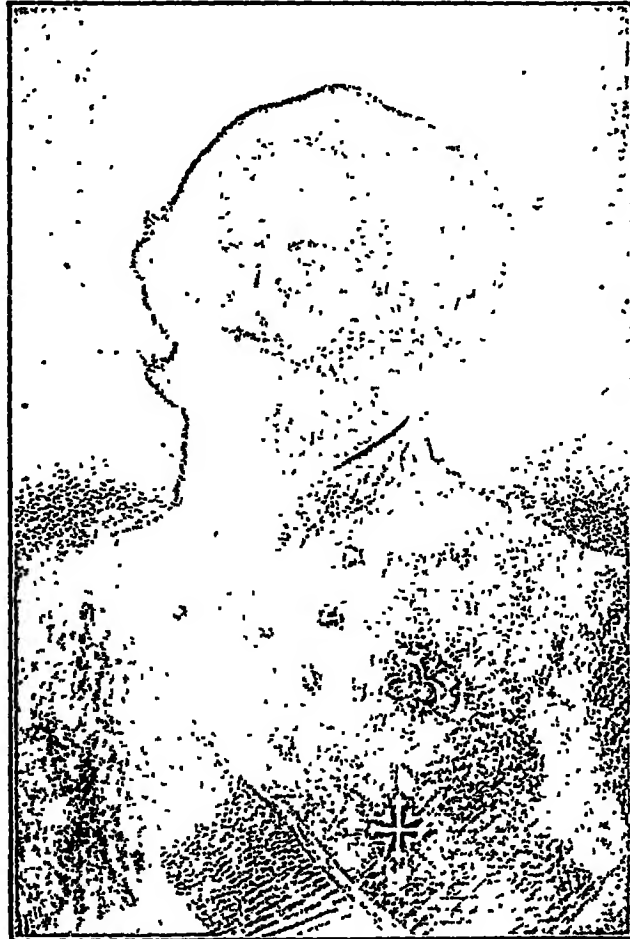
On the 18th of February, 1861, a new Parliament, representing all Italy except Venetia and Rome, met in Turin. The Kingdom of Sardinia now gave way to the Kingdom of Italy, proclaimed on March 17. Victor Emmanuel II was declared "by the grace of God and the will of the nation, King of Italy."

A new kingdom, comprising a population of about twenty-two millions, had arisen during a period of eighteen months, and now took its place among the powers of Europe. But the Kingdom of Italy was still incomplete. Venetia was still Austrian and Rome was still subject to the Pope. The acquisition of these had to be postponed.

Death of Cavour. Cavour felt that "without Rome there was no Italy." He was working

on a scheme which he hoped might reconcile the Pope and the Catholic world everywhere to the recognition of Rome as the capital of the new kingdom, when he suddenly fell ill. Overwork, the extraordinary pressure under which he had for months been laboring, brought on insomnia; finally fever developed and he died on the morning of June 6, 1861, in the very prime of life, for he was only fifty-one years of age.

"Cavour," said Lord Palmerston, in the British House of Com-



VICTOR EMMANUEL II

From the engraving by Metzmacher.

mons, "left a name 'to point a moral and adorn a tale.' The moral was, that a man of transcendent talent, indomitable industry, inextinguishable patriotism, could overcome difficulties which seemed insurmountable, and confer the greatest, the most inestimable benefits on his country. The tale with which his memory would be associated was the most extraordinary, the most romantic, in the annals of the world. A people which had seemed dead had arisen to new and vigorous life, breaking the spell which bound it, and showing itself worthy of a new and splendid destiny."

Throughout his life Cavour remained faithful to his fundamental political principle, government by parliament and by constitutional forms. Urged at various times to assume a dictatorship he replied that he had no confidence in dictatorships. "I always feel strongest," he said, "when Parliament is sitting." "I cannot betray my origin, deny the principles of all my life," he wrote in a private letter not intended for the public. "I am the son of liberty and to her I owe all that I am. If a veil is to be placed on her statue, it is not for me to do it."

QUESTIONS

- I. What were the various states of Italy in 1850? Give an account of the life of Mazzini. What is Mazzini's historical significance? How was Piedmont marked out for leadership in the movement for Italian unification?
- II. Describe the early life of Cavour. What was Cavour's domestic policy? What was his foreign policy? What did Piedmont gain by participating in the Crimean War? What was the significance of the interview at Plombières? Why did Napoleon III intervene in Italian affairs?
- III. Give an account of the war waged by France and Sardinia against Austria in 1859. What did Sardinia gain as a result of that war? Why did Napoleon III make the Truce of Villafranca?
- IV. Give an account of the early life of Garibaldi. What part did Garibaldi play in the unification of Italy? What parts of Italy did the Kingdom of Italy not include at the time it was proclaimed?

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CHAPTER XXI

THE UNIFICATION OF GERMANY

Reaction in Germany after 1849. In 1848 and 1849 the liberal elements of Germany had made an earnest effort to achieve national unity, but the work of the Parliament of Frankfort had been rejected by the sovereigns of the leading states, Austria and Prussia, and had been rendered null and void. The old Confederation was restored, resuming its sessions in May, 1851.

One gain had been made in that turbulent year. The King of Prussia had granted a constitution and created a Parliament, but he did not at all intend that the creation of a parliament should mean the introduction of the English parliamentary system, with parliament, representing the people, the dominant authority in the state. The King of Prussia did not propose to divide his power with any assembly. While Prussia preserved her constitution the ministers developed great skill in really nullifying it, though pretending to maintain it. The government of Prussia was, after 1848 as before, a scarcely veiled autocracy.

William I (1797-1888) and Parliament. A change came over Prussia, with the beginning of a reign destined to prove most illustrious; that of William I. William became King of Prussia in 1861. He was the son of the famous Queen Louise, was born in 1797, and had served in the campaign against Napoleon in 1814. He was now sixty-four years old. His mind was in no sense brilliant but was slow, solid, and sound. His entire lifetime had been spent in the army, which he loved passionately. In military matters his thorough knowledge and competence were recognized. He believed that Prussia's destinies were dependent upon her army. "Whoever wishes to rule Germany must conquer it," he wrote in 1849, "and that cannot be done by phrases."

William believed that the Prussian army needed strengthening, and he brought forward a plan that would nearly double it. He de-

manded the necessary appropriations of Parliament, which declined to grant them. A bitter and prolonged controversy arose between the Crown and the Chamber of Deputies, each side growing stiffer as the contest proceeded. The King was absolutely resolved not to abate one jot or tittle from his demands. On the other hand, the

Chamber persisted in asserting its control over the purse, as the fundamental power of any parliament that intends to count for anything in the state. A deadlock ensued. The King was urged to abolish Parliament altogether. This he would not do because he had sworn to support the constitution which established it. He thought of abdicating. He never thought of abandoning the reform of the army. He had written out his abdication and signed it, and it was lying upon his desk when he at last consented to call to the ministry as a final experiment a new man, known for his boldness,



WILLIAM I

From a photograph taken in 1870.

his independence, his devotion to the monarchy, Otto von Bismarck. Bismarck was appointed President of the Ministry September 23, 1862; on that very day the Chamber rejected anew the credits asked for by the King for the new regiments. The conflict entered upon its most acute phase and a new era began for Prussia and for the world.

In this interview Bismarck told the King frankly that he was willing to carry out his policy whether Parliament agreed to it or

not. "I will rather perish with the King," he said, "than forsake your Majesty in the contest with parliamentary government." His boldness determined the King to tear up the paper containing his abdication and to continue the struggle with the Chamber of Deputies.

Otto von Bismarck-Schönhausen (1815-1898). The man who now entered upon the stage of European politics was one of the most

original and remarkable characters of his century. Born in 1815, he came of a noble family in Brandenburg and was an aristocrat to his finger tips. Receiving a university education, he entered the civil service of Prussia, only to leave it shortly, disgusted by its monotony. He then settled upon his father's estate as a country squire. Unlike Cavour in Italy, Bismarck was enraged when the King granted a constitution to Prussia in 1850. While Cavour saw in England the model of what he wished his own country to become, Bismarck said, "The references to England are our misfortune." Bismarck's

political ideas centered in his ardent belief in the Prussian monarchy. It had been the Prussian kings, not the Prussian people, who had made Prussia great. This, the great historic fact, must be preserved. What Prussian kings had done, they still would do. A reduction of royal power would only be damaging to the state. Bismarck hated democracy as he hated parliaments and constitutions. "I look for Prussian honor in Prussia's abstinence before all things from every shameful union with democracy," he said. In 1851 he was appointed



BISMARCK

From a photograph.

Prussian delegate to the Diet in Frankfort, where for the next eight years he studied and practiced the art of diplomacy, in which he was later to win many a sweeping victory. He became strongly anti-Austrian in his sentiments. As early as 1853 he told his government that there was not room in Germany for both Prussia and Austria, that one or the other must bend. His utterances and attitudes became more and more irritating to Austria. Consequently King William, wishing to continue on good relations with the latter power, appointed him in 1859 ambassador to St. Petersburg, or, as Bismarck put it, sent him "to cool off on the banks of the Neva." Later he was, for a short time, ambassador to France.

Such was the man, who, in 1862 at the age of forty-seven, accepted the position of President of the Prussian Ministry at a time when King and Parliament confronted each other in angry deadlock, and when no other politician would accept the leadership. For four years, from 1862 to 1866, the conflict continued. The constitution was not abolished, Parliament was called repeatedly, the Lower House voted year after year against the budget, supported in this by the voters, the Upper House voted for it, and the King acted as if this made it legal. The period was one of virtual dictatorship. Parliament was beaten.

Army Reform. The increase in the army was secured. But an army is a mere means to an end. The particular end that Bismarck had in view was the creation of German unity by means of Prussia and for the advantage of Prussia. There must be no absorption of Prussia in Germany, as there had been of Piedmont in Italy, Piedmont as a separate state entirely disappearing. And in Bismarck's opinion this unity could only be achieved by war.

"Not by speeches and majority votes are the great questions of the day decided — that was the great blunder of 1848 and 1849 — but by blood and iron," said he, in what was destined to be the most famous speech of his life.

Prussia's Three Wars. The German Empire was the result of the policy of blood and iron as carried out by Prussia in three wars which were crowded into the brief period of six years, the war with Denmark in 1864, with Austria in 1866, and with France in 1870, the last two of which were largely the result of Bismarck's will and his diplomatic ingenuity and unscrupulousness, and the first of which he exploited consummately for the advantage of Prussia.

The Schleswig-Holstein Question. The first of these wars grew out of one of the most complicated questions that have ever perplexed diplomatists and statesmen, the future of Schleswig (shlāz-vig) and Holstein. These were two duchies in the Danish peninsula, which is itself simply an extension of the great plain of northern Germany. Holstein was inhabited by a population of about 600,000, entirely German; Schleswig by a population of from 250,000 to 300,000 Germans and 150,000 Danes. These two duchies had for centuries been united with Denmark, but they did not form an integral part of the Danish Kingdom. Their relation to Denmark was personal, arising from the fact that a Duke of Schleswig and Holstein had become King of Denmark, just as an Elector of Hanover had become a King of England. In 1863 the Danes declared Schleswig incorporated in Denmark.

The War with Denmark. Bismarck saw in the situation a chance for a possible aggrandizement of Prussia and a chance for a quarrel with Austria, both things which he desired for the greater glory of his country. He induced Austria to cooperate with Prussia in settling the Schleswig-Holstein question. The two powers delivered an ultimatum to Denmark allowing that country only forty-eight hours in which to comply with their demands. The Danes not complying, Prussia and Austria immediately declared war. A war between one small state and two large ones could not be doubtful. Sixty thousand Prussians and Austrians invaded Denmark in February, 1864, and though their campaign was not brilliant, they easily won, and forced Denmark to cede the two duchies to them jointly (October, 1864). They might make whatever disposition of them they chose to.

But the two powers soon fell to quarreling over the disposition of their spoils. The situation was one that exactly suited Bismarck. Out of it he hoped to bring about the war with Austria which he earnestly desired. There was not room enough in Germany, he thought, for both powers. That being the case, he wished the room for Prussia. The only way to get it was to take it. As Austria had no inclination gracefully to yield, there would have to be a fight. Both began to arm.

The Austro-Prussian War of 1866. Finally war broke out in June, 1866. Bismarck had thus brought about his dream of a conflict between people of the same race to determine the question of

control. It proved to be one of the shortest wars in history, one of the most decisive, and one whose consequences were most momentous. It is called the Seven Weeks' War. It began June 16, 1866, was virtually decided on July 3, was brought to a close before the end of that month by the preliminary Peace of Nikolsburg, July 26,



MOLTKE

From the painting by Lenbach.

which was followed a month later by the definitive Peace of Prague, August 23. Prussia had no German allies of any importance. Several of the North German states sided with her, but these were small and their armies were unimportant. On the other hand, Austria was supported by the four kingdoms, Bavaria, Württemberg, Saxony, and Hanover; also by Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, and Baden. But Prussia had one important ally, Italy, without whose aid she might not have won the victory. Italy was to receive Venetia, which she coveted, if Austria were defeated.

Prussia had many enemies. Being absolutely prepared, as her enemies

were not, she could assume the offensive, and this was the cause of her first victories. War began June 16. Within three days Prussian troops had occupied Hanover, Dresden, and Cassel, the capitals of her three North German enemies. A few days later the Hanoverian army was forced to capitulate. The King of Hanover and the Elector of Hesse were taken prisoners of war. All North Germany was now controlled by Prussia, and within two weeks of

the opening of the war she was ready to attempt the great plan of her very able leader, General von Moltke, an invasion of Bohemia. The rapidity of the campaign struck Europe with amazement. Moltke sent three armies by different routes into Bohemia, and on July 3, 1866, one of the great battles of history, that of Koniggratz, or Sadowa, was fought. It was a decisive victory for Prussia.

Results of Austro-Prussian War. The results of the Seven Weeks' War were momentous. Austria was to cede Venetia to Italy but was to lose no other territory. She was to withdraw from the German Confederation, which, indeed, was to cease to exist. She was to allow Prussia to organize and lead a new confederation, composed of those states which were north of the river Main. The South German states, Bavaria, Baden, Württemberg, were left free to act as they chose. Thus Germany, north of the Main, was to be united.

Having accomplished this, Prussia proceeded to make important annexations to her own territory. The Kingdom of Hanover, the Duchies of Nassau and Hesse-Cassel, and the free city of Frankfort, as well as the Duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, were incorporated in the Prussian kingdom. Its population was thereby increased by over four and a half million new subjects, and thus was about twenty-four million. There was no thought of having the people of these states vote on the question of annexation, as had been done in Italy, and in Savoy and Nice. They were annexed forthwith by right of military conquest. Reigning houses ceased to rule on order from Berlin. Unwisely for themselves European nations allowed the swift consummation of these changes, which altered the balance of power and the map of Europe — a mistake which France in particular was to repent most bitterly.

The North German Confederation (1867–1871). The North German Confederation, which was now created, included all of Germany north of the river Main, twenty-two states in all. The constitution was the work of Bismarck. There was to be a president of the Confederation, namely the King of Prussia. There was to be a Federal Council (Bundesrat), composed of delegates sent by the sovereigns of the different states. Prussia was always to have seventeen votes out of the total forty-three. In order to have a majority she would have to gain only a few adherents from the other states, which she could easily do.

There was also to be a Reichstag, elected by the people. This was Bismarck's concession to the liberals. Of the two bodies the Reichstag was much the less important. The people were given a place in the new system, but a subordinate one.

The new constitution went into force July 1, 1867. This North German Confederation remained in existence only four years when it gave way to the German Empire, one of the results of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

QUESTIONS

I. Who was William I of Prussia? What was his attitude toward the Constitution and toward Parliament? What were Bismarck's opinions and aims? What is meant by the policy of "blood and iron"?

II. What was the Schleswig-Holstein question? What use did Bismarck make of that question? In the Austro-Prussian war what states were on the side of Prussia, what on the side of Austria? What were the results of the Austro-Prussian war?

III. Describe the North German Confederation.

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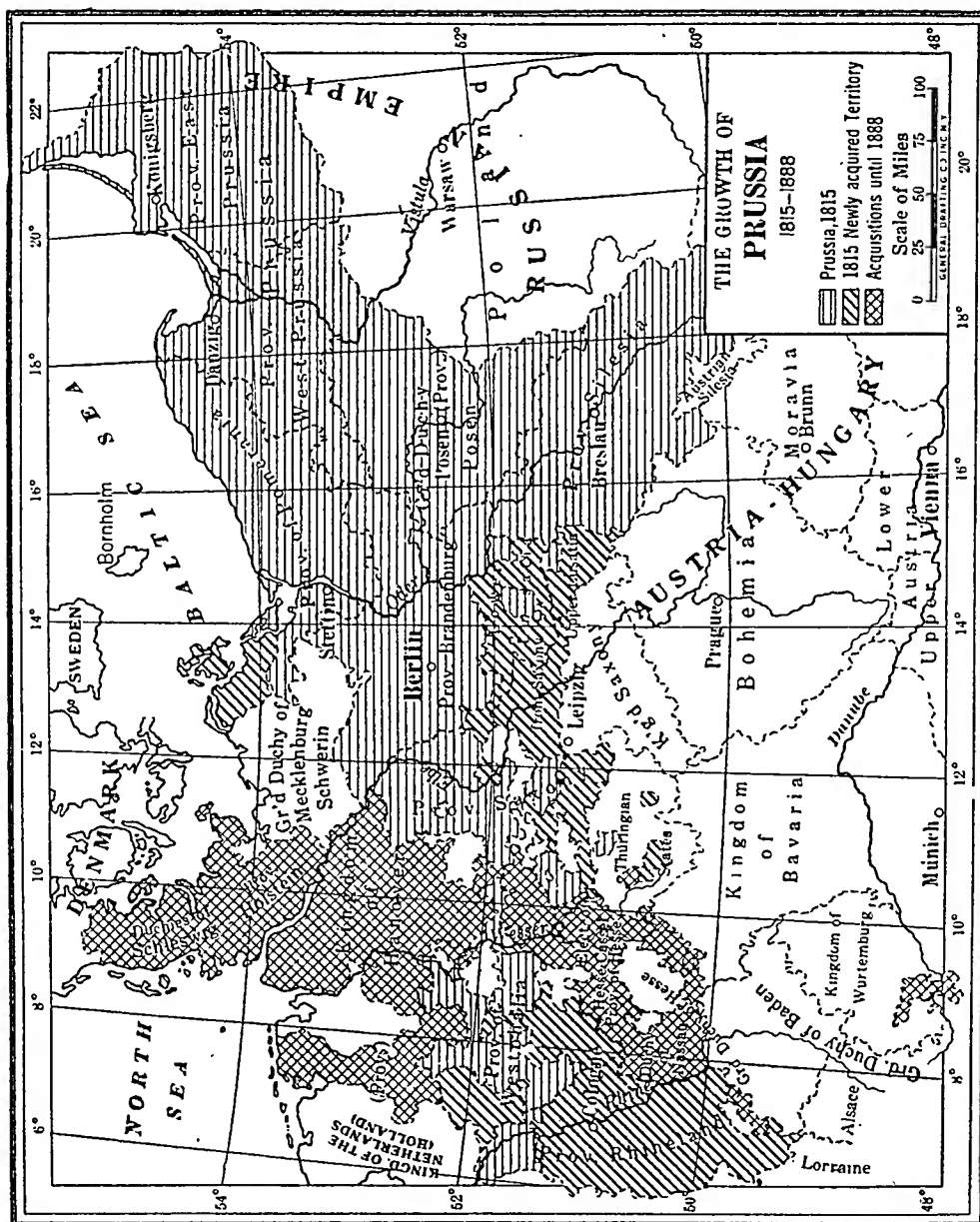
CHAPTER XXII

THE SECOND EMPIRE AND THE FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR

A Turning Point in History. The year 1866 is a turning point in the history of Prussia, of Austria, of France, of modern Europe. It profoundly altered the historic balance of power. By the decisiveness of the campaign, and by the momentous character of its consequences, Prussia, hitherto regarded as the least important of the great powers, had astounded Europe by the evidence of her strength. She possessed a remarkable army and a remarkable statesman. The reputation of Napoleon III was seriously compromised. He could have played a commanding part in determining the issue had he threatened to come to the aid of Austria, as Austria desired. Had he refused to recognize the annexations of Prussia unless compensated, he could have secured important additions to France. But his policy was weak and vacillating. Accomplishing nothing for France, he yet irritated Prussia by a half-measure of insisting that the new confederation should not extend south of the river Main.

Napoleon's Mexican Expedition. Another serious mistake of Napoleon was culminating at this very time, his Mexican policy, a most unnecessary, reckless, and disastrous enterprise. This ill-starred adventure began as an expedition of France, England, and Spain to compel the payment of certain obligations to their citizens, but it was shortly turned by Napoleon, England and Spain withdrawing in 1862, into an attempt to destroy the Mexican republic and to establish a monarchy under French auspices.

Mexico was a republic but there was a faction among the Mexicans which wished to overthrow it. This faction, under French inspiration and direction, held an assembly which decreed that Mexico should henceforth be an Empire and that the imperial crowns should be offered to Archduke Maximilian of Austria, brother of Francis Joseph,



the Emperor of Austria. This assembly represented, perhaps, 350,000 people out of about 7,000,000. It offered a fatal gift. This young prince of thirty-one was of attractive and popular manners, and of liberal ideas. Young, handsome, versatile, half poet, half scientist, he was living in a superb palace, Miramar, overlooking the Adriatic, amid his collections, his objects of art, and with the sea which was his passion always before him. From out of this enchanting retreat he now emerged to become the central figure of a short and frightful tragedy. Mexico lured him to his doom. Influenced by his own ambition and that of his spirited wife, Carlotta, daughter of Leopold I, King of Belgium, and receiving definite promises of French military support until 1867, he accepted the imperial crown and arrived in Mexico in May, 1864.

Disastrous Outcome of the Mexican Adventure. This entire project, born in the brain of Napoleon III. was to prove hopeless from the start, disastrous to all who participated in it, to the new Emperor and Empress, and to Napoleon. The difficulties confronting the new monarch were insuperable. A guerrilla warfare was carried on successfully by Juárez, using up the French soldiers and putting them on the defensive. A greater danger threatened the new empire when General Lee surrendered at Appomattox. The United States had looked from the first with disapprobation upon Napoleon's project. Now that the Civil War was over, she threatened intervention. Napoleon was unwilling to risk a conflict with this country, and consequently promised to withdraw his troops speedily from Mexico. Maximilian could not remain long an Emperor without Napoleon's support. His wife, Carlotta, returning to Europe to persuade Napoleon in frantic personal interviews not to desert them, received no promise of support from the man who had planned the whole adventure, and in the fearful agony of her contemplation of the impending doom of her husband became insane. Maximilian was taken by the Mexicans and shot June 19, 1867. The phantom Empire vanished.

A most expensive enterprise for the French Emperor. It had prevented his playing a part in decisive events occurring in central Europe in 1864-1866, in the Danish war, and the Austro-Prussian war, the outcome of which was to alter so seriously the importance of France in Europe by the exaltation of an ambitious, aggressive, and powerful military state, Prussia. It had damaged him morally

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before Europe by the desertion of his protégés to an appalling fate before the threats of the United States. It had lessened his prestige at home.

Concessions to the Liberals. Feeling that his popularity was waning, Napoleon decided to win over the Liberals, who had hitherto been his enemies, by granting in 1868 certain reforms which they had constantly demanded, larger power to the Legislative Chamber and greater freedom of the press. The Empire thus entered upon a frankly liberal path. The result was not to strengthen, but greatly to weaken it. Many new journals were founded, in which it was assailed with amazing bitterness. A remarkable freedom of speech characterized the last two years of Napoleon's reign. A movement to erect a monument to a republican deputy, Baudin, who had been shot on the barricades in 1851 at the time of the coup d'état, seemed to the Government to be too insulting. It prosecuted the men who were conducting the subscription. One of these was defended by a brilliant, impassioned young lawyer and orator from the south of France, thirty years of age, who was shortly to be a great figure in politics, a founder of the Third Republic. Léon Gambetta conducted himself not as a lawyer defending his client, but as an avenger of the wrongs of France for the past seventeen years, impeaching bitterly the entire reign of Napoleon III. Particularly did he dwell upon the date of December 2. The coup d'état, he said, was carried through by a crowd of unknown men "without talent, without honor, and hopelessly involved in debts and crimes." "These men pretend to have saved society. Do you save a country when you lay parricidal hands upon it?"

This address had a prodigious effect. Nothing so defiant, so contemptuous of the Government, had been heard in France since 1851. Though Gambetta's client lost his case, it was generally felt that the Empire emerged from that court-room soundly beaten. It was clear that there was a party in existence bent upon revenge, and willing to use all the privileges a now liberal Emperor might grant, not gratefully, but as a means of completely annihilating the very Empire, a Republican party, aggressive and growing, already master of Paris, and organizing in the departments.

The Menace of War. Thus clouds were gathering, thicker and ever darker, around the throne of the Third Napoleon. There were domestic troubles, but, in the main, it was the foreign relations that

inspired alarm. The astonishing success of Prussia, which Napoleon might have prevented, that was the sore point. A reorganization so sweeping in central Europe as the overthrow of Austria, her expulsion from Germany, and the consolidation and aggrandizement of Prussia, a powerful military state, upset the balance of power. A feeling of alarm spread through France. "Revenge for Sadowa," was a cry often heard henceforth. Its meaning was that if one state like Prussia should be increased in area and power, France also, for consenting to it, had a right to a proportionate increase, that the reciprocal relations might remain the same.

From 1866 to 1870 the idea that ultimately a war would come between Prussia and France became familiar to the people and governments of both countries. Many Frenchmen desired "revenge for Sadowa." Bismarck wanted war as a method of completing the unification of Germany, since Napoleon would never willingly consent to the extension of the Confederation to include the South German states.

The Hohenzollern Candidacy. With responsible statesmen in such a temper it was not difficult to bring about a conflict. And yet the Franco-Prussian war broke most unexpectedly, like a thunderstorm, over Europe. Undreamed of July 1, 1870, it began July 15. It came in a roundabout way. The Spanish throne was vacant, as a revolution had driven the monarch, Queen Isabella, out of that country. On July 2, news reached Paris that Leopold of Hohenzollern, a relative of the King of Prussia, had accepted the Spanish crown. Bismarck was behind this Hohenzollern candidacy, zealously furthering it, despite the fact that he knew Napoleon's feeling of hostility to it. Great was the indignation of the French papers and Parliament and a most dangerous crisis developed rapidly. Other powers intervened, laboring in the interests of peace. On July 12, it was announced that the Hohenzollern candidacy was withdrawn.

France Declares War against Prussia. The tension was immediately relieved by the withdrawal of the candidacy of Prince Leopold; the war scare was over. Two men, however, were not pleased at this outcome, Bismarck, whose intrigue was now foiled and whose humiliation was so great that he thought he must resign and retire into private life, and Gramont, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, a reckless, blustering politician who was not satisfied with the diplomatic victory he had won but wished to win another

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which would increase the discomfiture of Prussia. The French ministry now made an additional demand that the King of Prussia should promise that this Hohenzollern candidacy should never be renewed. The King declined to do so and authorized Bismarck to publish an account of the incident. Here was Bismarck's opportunity which he used ruthlessly and joyously to provoke the French to declare war. His account, as he himself says, was intended to be "a red flag for the Gallic bull." The effect of its publication was instantaneous. It aroused the indignation of both countries to fever heat. The Prussians thought that their King, the French that their ambassador had been insulted. As if this were not sufficient the newspapers of both countries teemed with false, abusive, and inflammatory accounts. The voice of the advocates of peace was drowned in the general clamor. War was declared by France on July 15.

The Beginning of the War. The war was destined to prove the most disastrous in the history of France. In every respect it was begun under singularly inauspicious circumstances. France declared war upon Prussia alone, but in a manner that threw the South German states, upon whose support she had counted, directly into the camp of Bismarck. They regarded the French demand, that the King of Prussia should pledge himself for all time to forbid the Prince of Hohenzollern's candidature, as unnecessary and insulting. At once Bavaria and Baden and Württemberg joined the campaign on the side of Prussia.

The French military authorities made the serious mistake of grossly underestimating the difficulty of the task before them. Incredible lack of preparation was revealed at once. The French army was poorly equipped, and was far inferior in numbers and in the ability of its commanders to the Prussian army. With the exception of a few ineffectual successes the war was a long series of reverses for the French. The Germans crossed the Rhine into Alsace and Lorraine, and succeeded, after several days of very heavy fighting, in shutting up Bazaine, with the principal French army, in Metz, a strong fortress which the Germans then besieged.

The Fall of the Empire. On September 1, another French army, with which was the Emperor, was defeated at Sedan and was obliged on the following day to surrender to the Germans. Napoleon himself became a prisoner of war. The French lost, on these two

THE SIEGE OF PARIS

days, in killed, wounded, or taken prisoners, nearly one hundred and twenty thousand men.

Disasters so appalling resounded throughout the world. France no longer had an army ; one had capitulated at Sedan ; the other was locked up in Metz. On September 3 this despatch was received from the Emperor : "The army has been defeated and is captive ; I myself am a prisoner." As a prisoner he was no longer head of the government of France ; there was, as Thiers said, a "vacancy of power." On Sunday, September 4, the Legislative Body was convened. But it had no time to deliberate. The mob invaded the hall, shouting, "Down with the Empire ! Long live the Republic !" Gambetta, Jules Favre, and Jules Ferry, followed by the crowd, proceeded to the Hôtel de Ville and there proclaimed the Republic. The Empress fled. A Government of National Defense was organized with General Trochu at its head, which was the actual government of France during the rest of the war.

The Franco-German war lasted about six months, from the first of August, 1870, when fighting began, to about the first of February, 1871. It falls naturally into two periods, the imperial and the republican. During the first, which was limited to the month of August, the regular armies were, as we have seen, destroyed or bottled up. Then the Empire collapsed and the Emperor was a prisoner in Germany. The second period lasted five months. France, under the Government of National Defense, made a remarkably courageous and spirited defense under the most discouraging conditions.

The Siege of Paris. The Germans, leaving a sufficient army to carry on the siege of Metz, advanced toward Paris. Then began the siege of that city on September 19. This siege, one of the most famous in history, lasted four months, and astonished Europe. Immense stores had been collected in the city, the citizens were armed, and the defense was energetic. The Parisians hoped to hold out long enough to enable new armies to be organized and diplomacy possibly to intervene. To accomplish the former a delegation from the Government of National Defense, headed by Gambetta, escaped from Paris by balloon and established a branch seat of government first at Tours, then at Bordeaux. Gambetta, by his immense energy, his eloquence, his patriotism, was able to raise new armies whose resistance astonished the Germans, but as they had not time to be thoroughly trained, they were unsuccessful. They could not break

the immense circle of iron that surrounded Paris. After the overthrow of the Empire the war was reduced to the siege of Paris, and the attempts of these improvised armies to break that siege. These attempts were rendered all the more hopeless by the fall of Metz (October 27, 1870). Six thousand officers and 173,000 men were forced by impending starvation to surrender, with hundreds of can-

non and immense war supplies, the greatest capitulation "recorded in the history of civilized nations." A month earlier, on September 27, Strasbourg had surrendered and 19,000 soldiers had become prisoners of war.

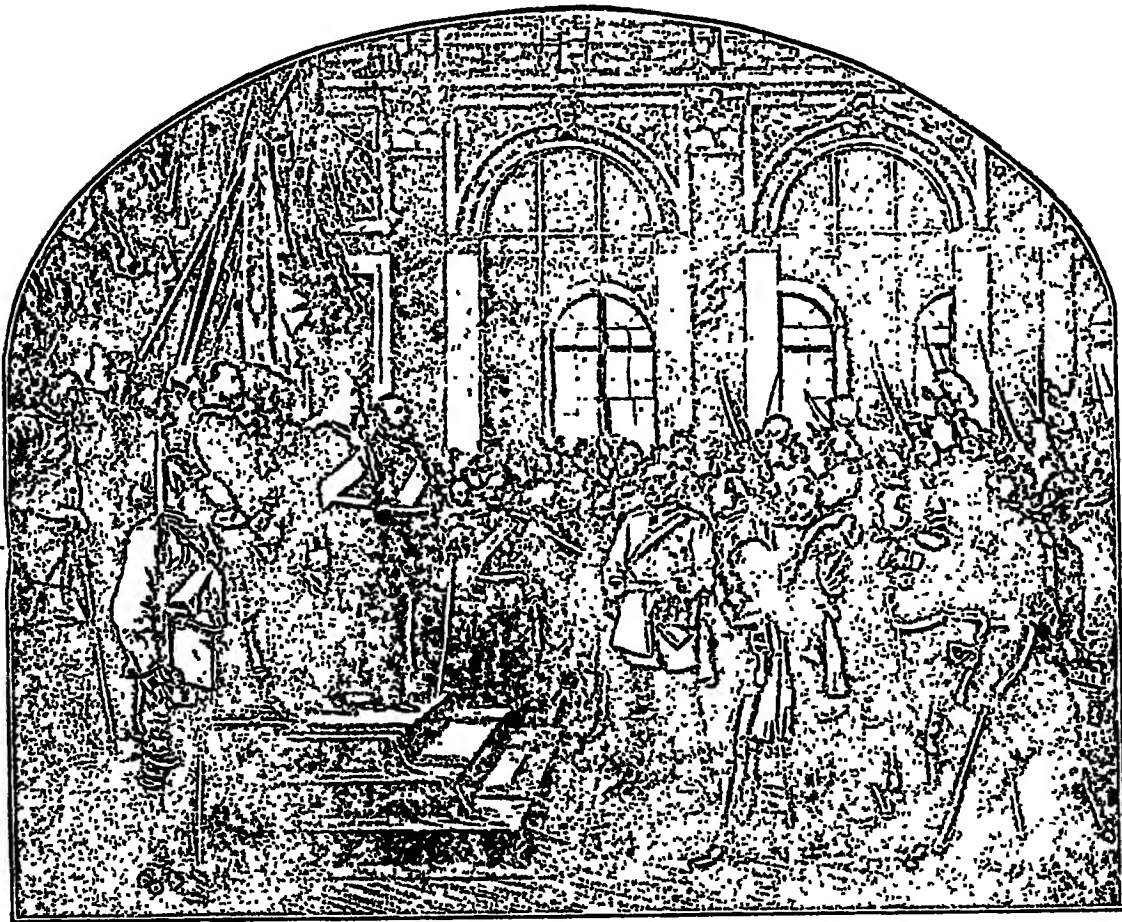
The capitulation of Metz was particularly disastrous because it made possible the sending of more German armies to reënforce the siege of Paris, and to attack the forces which Gambetta was, by prodigies of effort, creating in the rest of France. These armies could not get to the relief of Paris, nor could the troops within Paris break through to them. The siege became simply a question of endurance.



LÉON GAMBETTA
From a photograph.

The Capitulation of Paris. The Germans began the bombardment of the city early in January. Certain sections suffered terribly, and were ravaged by fires. Famine stared the Parisians in the face. After November 20 there was no more beef or lamb to be had ; after December 15 only thirty grams of horse-meat a day per person, which, moreover, cost about two dollars and a half a pound ; after January 15 the amount of bread, a wretched stuff, was reduced to three hundred grams. People ate anything they could get, dogs, cats, rats. The market price for rats was two francs apiece. By the 31st of January, there would be nothing left to eat. Additional

suffering arose from the fact that the winter was one of the coldest on record. Coal and firewood were exhausted. Trees in the Champs Élysées (shon'zā-lē-zā) and the Bois de Boulogne (buā de bö-lōn) were cut down, and fires built in the public squares for the poor. Wine froze in casks. On January 28, with famine almost upon her, Paris capitulated after an heroic resistance.



THE PROCLAMATION OF WILLIAM I AS GERMAN EMPEROR, VERSAILLES,
JANUARY 18, 1871

From the painting by Anton von Werner.

The Treaty of Frankfort. The terms of peace granted by Bismarck were extraordinarily severe. They were laid down in the Treaty of Frankfort, signed May 10, 1871. France was forced to cede Alsace and a large part of Lorraine, including the important fortress of Metz. She must pay an absolutely unprecedented war indemnity of five thousand million francs (a billion dollars) within

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three years. She was to support a German army of occupation, which should be gradually withdrawn as the installments of the indemnity were paid.

The Treaty of Frankfort remained the open sore of Europe after 1871. France could never forget or forgive the deep humiliation of it. The enormous fine could, with the lapse of time, have been overlooked, but never the seizure of the two provinces by mere force and against the unanimous and passionate protest of the people of Alsace and Lorraine. Moreover, the eastern frontier of France was thus seriously weakened.

Completion of Italian Unification. Meanwhile other events had occurred as a result of this war. Italy had completed her unification by seizing the city of Rome, thus terminating the temporal rule of the Pope. The Pope had been supported there by a French garrison. This was withdrawn as a result of the battle of Sedan, and the troops of Victor Emmanuel attacked the Pope's own troops, defeated them after a slight resistance, and entered Rome on September 20, 1870. The unity of Italy was now consummated and Rome became the capital of the kingdom.

Completion of German Unification. A more important consequence of the war was the completion of the unification of Germany, and the creation of the German Empire. Bismarck had desired a war with France as necessary to bring about the unity of Germany. Whether necessary or not, at least that end was now secured. During the war negotiations were carried on between Prussia and the South German states. Treaties were drawn up and the confederation was widened to include all the German states. On January 18, 1871, in the royal palace of Versailles, King William I was proclaimed German Emperor.

The war of 1866 had resulted in the expulsion of Austria from Germany and from Italy. The war of 1870 completed the unification of both countries. Berlin became the capital of a federal Empire, Rome of a unified Kingdom.

QUESTIONS

I. Why is the year 1866 so important in European history? Give an account of the Mexican expedition. What were the effects of that expedition upon the position of Napoleon III? What did the cry "Revenge for Sadowa" mean?

II. What were the causes of the Franco-German War of 1870? Describe the main events of that war. What were the terms of peace? What relation does that war have to the problem of the unification of Germany and of Italy?

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CHAPTER XXIII

THE GERMAN EMPIRE (1871-1918)

Constitution of the German Empire. The Franco-German war completed the unification of Germany. The Empire was proclaimed January 18, 1871, in Versailles, the old capital of the French monarchy. The constitution of the new state was adopted immediately after the close of the war and went into force April 16, 1871. In most respects it was simply the constitution of the North German Confederation of 1867. The name of Confederation gave way to that of Empire and the name of Emperor was substituted for that of President. But the Empire was a confederation, consisting of twenty-five states and one Imperial Territory, Alsace-Lorraine. The King of Prussia was *ipso facto* German Emperor.

The Bundesrat. Laws were to be made by the Bundesrat and the Reichstag. The Bundesrat was the most powerful body in the Empire. It was composed of delegates appointed by the rulers and representing them. Unlike the Senate of the United States, the states of Germany were not represented equally in the Bundesrat but most unequally. There were fifty-eight members. Of these Prussia had seventeen, Bavaria six, Saxony and Württemberg four each ; others three or two, and seventeen of the states had only one apiece. The members were not to vote individually but each state was to vote as a unit and as the ruler might instruct. Thus the seventeen votes of Prussia were to be cast always as a unit, on one side or the other, and as the King of Prussia should direct. The Bundesrat was in reality an assembly of the sovereigns of Germany.

The Reichstag. The Reichstag was the only popular element in the Empire. It consisted of 397 members, elected for a term of five years by the voters, that is, by men twenty-five years of age or older. The powers of the Reichstag were inferior to those of most of the other popular chambers of Europe. It neither made nor unmade ministries. In reality the Reichstag was little more than an advisory body, with the power of veto of new legislation.

The Chancellor. The chief representative of the Emperor was the Chancellor. The Chancellor was appointed by the Emperor, was removable by the Emperor, was responsible to the Emperor, and was not responsible to either Bundesrat or Reichstag. Either or both assemblies might vote down his proposals, might even vote lack of confidence. It would make no difference to him. He would not resign. The only support he needed was that of the Emperor.

Unlike England, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian states, the cabinet system of Government did not exist in Germany. The executive was not subject to the legislative power; ministers might not be turned out of office by adverse majorities. Germany was a constitutional state, in the sense that it had a written constitution. It was not a parliamentary state. Parliament did not have the controlling voice in the state. The monarchs, and particularly the monarch of Prussia, had that. This was Bismarck's great achievement. His victory over the Prussian Parliament had this effect, that it checked the growth of responsible government in Prussia and in Germany.

The Emperor. The Emperor gained his great power from the fact that he was King of Prussia. He was Emperor because he was King. As King he had very extensive functions. His functions as Emperor and King were so connected that it was not easy to distinguish them. As a matter of fact the King of Prussia was very nearly an absolute monarch. The Prussian Parliament was far less likely to oppose his will than was the Imperial Parliament which, itself, was to show only slight independence after 1871. Ministerial responsibility to parliament existed neither in Prussia nor in the Empire.

The Reign of William I. Since 1871, Germany has had three Emperors, William I (1871-1888), Frederick III (March 9-June 15, 1888), and William II, from 1888 to 1918.

The history since 1871 naturally falls into two periods, which are in many respects well defined, the reign of William I and the reign of William II. During the former the real ruler was Prince Bismarck, the Chancellor, whose position was one of immense prestige and authority. Having in nine years made the King, whom he found upon the point of abdicating, the most powerful ruler in Europe, and having given Germans unity; he remained the chief figure in the state twenty years longer until his resignation in 1890. During the

latter period, the reign of William II, the Emperor was the real head of the government.

The Kulturkampf. No sooner was the new Empire established than it was torn by a fierce religious conflict that lasted many years, the so-called Kulturkampf, or "war in defense of civilization," a contest between the State and the Roman Catholic Church. The wars with Austria and France engendered animosity in the field of religion as they were victories of a Protestant state over two strongly Catholic states. The loss of the Pope's temporal power in 1870 embittered many Catholics still further and a party was formed in Germany, the Center, to work for the restoration of the temporal power and for the general interests of the Church. In the first elections to the Reichstag this party won sixty-three votes. Bismarck did not like this appearance of a clerical party in the political arena. He was of the opinion that the Church should keep out of politics. Moreover, he decidedly objected to what he understood to be the claims of the Church that in certain matters, which he regarded as belonging exclusively to the State, the Church was superior to the secular authority and had the primary right to the allegiance of Catholics.

The immediate cause of the Kulturkampf was a quarrel among Catholics themselves. The proclamation by the Vatican Council in 1870 of the new dogma of papal infallibility had been opposed in the Council by the German bishops. But they and the priests of Germany were now required to subscribe to it. The large majority did, but some refused. The latter called themselves Old Catholics, proclaiming their adherence to the Church as hitherto defined, but rejecting this addition to their creed as false. The bishops who accepted it demanded that the Old Catholics should be removed from their positions in the universities and schools. The Government of Prussia refused to remove them. A religious war was shortly in progress which each year grew more bitter.

Laws were passed forbidding the religious orders to engage in teaching, expelling the Jesuits from Germany, making civil marriage compulsory, laws giving the state (Prussia) large powers over the education and appointment of the clergy.

Against these laws the Catholics indignantly protested. The Pope declared them null and void; the clergy refused to obey them, and the faithful rallied to the support of the clergy. For several years

the national life was much disturbed by this bitter struggle. In the elections of 1877 the Center succeeded in returning ninety-two members, and was the largest party in the Reichstag.

Bismarck's Retreat. Meanwhile other questions were becoming prominent, of an economic and social character, and Bismarck wished to be free to handle them. Particularly requiring attention, in his opinion and that of William I, was a new and most menacing party, the Socialist. Bismarck therefore prepared to retreat. The death of Pius IX in 1878, and the election of Leo XIII, a more conciliatory and diplomatic Pope, facilitated the change of policy. The anti-clerical legislation was gradually repealed, except that concerning civil marriage. In return for the measures surrendered Bismarck gained the support of the Center for laws which he now had more at heart. The only permanent result of this religious conflict was the strengthening of the Center or Catholic party, which has been, during most of the time since, the strongest party in this Protestant country.

The Growth of Socialism. It was in 1878 that Bismarck turned his attention to the Socialist party which had for some time been growing, and now seemed menacing. That party was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle, a Socialist of 1848, much influenced by the French school of that day. The party, originally appearing in 1848, was shortly broken up by persecution and did not reappear until 1863. In 1863 Lassalle founded a journal called the Social Democrat. In opposition to this party a somewhat different Socialist group was led by Karl Marx. These two were rivals until 1875, when a fusion was effected and the party platform was adopted at Gotha. This platform denounced the existing organization of the economic system, the ownership of the means of production solely by the capitalist class and in its interest; it demanded that the state should own them and should conduct industries in the interest of society, the largest part of which consists of laborers, and that the products of labor should be justly distributed; it aimed at a free state and a socialistic society. Needless to say Germany was neither at that time. That Germany might be a free state the Socialists demanded universal suffrage for all over twenty years of age, women as well as men, the secret ballot, the freedom of the press and of association, and indeed the greatest extension of political rights in a democratic direction, free and compulsory education, and certain immediate economic and

social reforms, such as a progressive income tax, a normal working day, and a free Sunday, prohibition of child labor and of all forms of labor by women which were dangerous to health or morality, laws for the protection of the life and health of workingmen and for the inspection of mines and factories. In 1871 the Socialists elected two members to the Reichstag; three years later their representation increased to nine, and in 1877 to twelve. Their popular votes were : in 1871, 124,655 ; in 1874, 351,952 ; and in 1877, 493,288.

Bismarck and the Socialists. (The steady growth of the Socialist party aroused the alarm of the ruling classes of Germany, which stood for monarchy, aristocracy, the existing economic system, while its aims were destructive of all these. Bismarck had long hated the Socialists. The Socialists expressed openly and freely their entire opposition to the existing order in Germany. It was only a question of time when they must clash violently with the man who had helped so powerfully to create that order, and whose life work henceforth was to consolidate it. Again, the Socialist party was radically democratic, and Bismarck hated democracy. A conflict between men representing the very opposite poles of opinion was inevitable. Bismarck determined to crush the Socialists once for all. He would use two methods ; one, stern repression of Socialist agitation, the other, improvement of the conditions of the working class, conditions which alone, he believed, caused them to listen to the false and deceptive doctrines of the Socialist leaders

Anti-Socialist Legislation. In October, 1878, a law of great severity, intended to stamp out completely all Socialist propaganda was passed by the Imperial Parliament. It forbade all associations, meetings, and publications having for their object "the subversion of the social order," or in which "socialistic tendencies" should appear. It gave the police large powers of interference, arrest, and expulsion from the country. Practically a mere decree of a police official would suffice to expel from Germany any one suspected or accused of being a Socialist. This law was enacted for a period of four years. It was later twice renewed and remained in force until 1890. It was vigorously applied. According to statistics furnished by the Socialists themselves, 1400 publications were suppressed, 1500 persons were imprisoned, 900 banished, during these twelve years.

Continued Growth of the Socialist Party. But Bismarck's policy did not succeed. For twelve years the Socialists carried on

their propaganda in secret. Persecution in their case, as in that of the Roman Catholics, only rendered the party more resolute and active. At first it seemed that the law would realize the aims of its sponsors, for in the elections of 1881, the first after its passage, the Socialist vote fell from about 493,000 to about 312,000. But in 1884 it rose to 549,000; in 1887 to 763,000; in 1890 to 1,427,000, resulting in the election of thirty-five members to the Reichstag. In that year the law was not renewed. The Socialists came out of their contest with Bismarck with a popular and parliamentary vote increased threefold.

Social Insurance. Bismarck had at no time intended to rest content with merely repressive measures. He had also intended to win the working classes away from the Socialist party by enacting certain laws favoring them, by trying to convince them that the state was their real benefactor and was deeply interested in their welfare. The method by which he proposed to do this was by an elaborate and comprehensive system of insurance against the misfortunes and vicissitudes of life, against sickness, accident, old age, and incapacity. It was his desire that any workingman incapacitated in any of these ways should not be exposed to the possibility of becoming a pauper, but should receive a pension from the state. His policy was called State Socialism. His proposals met with vehement opposition, both in the Reichstag and among influential classes outside. It was only slowly that he carried them through, the Sickness Insurance Law in 1883, the Accident Insurance Laws in 1884 and 1885, and the Old Age Insurance Law in 1889.

Such was Bismarck's contribution to the solution of the social question, which grew to such commanding importance as the nineteenth century wore on. In this legislation Bismarck was a pioneer. His ideas have been studied widely in other countries, and his example followed in some.

The Socialists did not coöperate with him in the passage of these laws, which they denounced as entirely inadequate to solve the social evils, as only a slight step in the right direction. Nor did Bismarck wish their support. They were Social Democrats. Democracy he hated. Socialism of the state, controlled by a powerful monarch, was one thing. Socialism carried through by the people believing in a democratic government, opposed to the existing order in government and society, a very different thing. At the very moment that

Bismarck secured the passage of the Accident Insurance Bill he also demanded the renewal of the law against the Socialists. His prophecy, that if these laws were passed the Socialists would sound their bird call in vain, was not fulfilled. The Socialists continued to grow almost uninterruptedly and by 1914 they were the largest political party in Germany.

Bismarck and the Policy of Protection. In 1879, Bismarck brought about a profound change in the financial and industrial policy of Germany by inducing Parliament to abandon the policy of a low tariff and comparative free trade, and to adopt a system of high tariff and pronounced protection. His purposes were twofold. He wished to increase the revenue of the Empire and to encourage native industries.

Bismarck won the day, though not without difficulty. Germany entered upon a period of protection, which, growing higher and applied to more and more industries, has continued ever since. Bismarck believed that Germany must become rich in order to be strong; that she could only become rich by manufactures; and that she could have manufactures only by giving them protection. The system was worked out gradually and piecemeal, as he could not carry his whole plan at once. By means of the tariff Bismarck wished to assure Germans the home market. Not only was this largely accomplished, but by its means the foreign market also was widened. By offering concessions to foreign nations for concessions from them, Germany gained for her manufactured products an entrance into many other countries which had been denied them before. The prodigious expansion of German industry after 1880 is generally regarded in Germany as a vindication of this policy.

The Acquisition of Colonies. One of the important features of the closing years of Bismarck's political career was the beginning of a German colonial empire. In his earlier years Bismarck did not believe in Germany's attempting the acquisition of colonies. He believed that Germany should consolidate and should not risk incurring the hostility of other nations by entering upon the path of colonial rivalry. The change in the policy of the Government from one of aloofness to one of energetic participation in the competition for colonies was largely a result of the adoption of the policy of protection and active governmental encouragement of manufactures and commerce. In the debate on the tariff bill of 1879 Bismarck

said that it was desirable to protect manufactures, that thus a greater demand for labor would arise, that more people could live in Germany, and that therefore the emigration which had for years drawn tens of thousands from the country, particularly to the United States, would be decreased. But to develop manufactures to the utmost, Germany must have new markets for her products as well as new sources of supply ; and here colonies would be useful. In 1884 Bismarck adopted a vigorous colonial policy, supporting and expanding the work of private merchants and travelers. In that year Germany seized a number of points in Africa, in the southwest, the west, and the east. A period of diplomatic activity began, leading in the next few years to treaties with England and other powers, resulting in the fixing of the boundaries of the various claimants to African territory. This is the partition of Africa described elsewhere.¹ Germany thus acquired a scattered African empire of great size, consisting of Kamerun, Togoland, German Southwest Africa, German East Africa ; also a part of New Guinea. Later some of the Samoan Islands came into her possession, and in 1899 she purchased the Caroline and the Ladrone Islands, excepting Guam, from Spain for about four million dollars.

The Triple Alliance. While domestic affairs formed the chief concern of Bismarck after the war with France, yet he followed the course of foreign affairs with the same closeness of attention that he had shown before, and manipulated them with the same display of subtlety and audacity that had characterized his previous diplomatic career. His great achievement in diplomacy in these years was the formation of the Triple Alliance, an achievement directed, like all the actions of his career, toward the consolidation and exaltation of his country. The origin of this alliance is really to be found in the Treaty of Frankfort, which sealed the humiliation of France. The wresting from France of Alsace and Lorraine inevitably rendered that country desirous of their recovery. This remained the open sore of Europe after 1871, occasioning numerous, incontestable, and widespread evils. Firmly resolved to keep what he had won, Bismarck's chief consideration was to isolate France so completely that she would not dare to move. This was accomplished, first by the friendly understanding brought about by Bismarck between the three rulers of eastern Europe, the Emperors of Germany, Russia, and Austria.

¹ See Chapter XXIX

But this understanding was shattered by events in the Balkan peninsula during the years from 1876 to 1878. In the Balkans, Russia and Austria were rivals, and their rivalry was thrown into high relief at the Congress of Berlin, over which Bismarck presided. Bismarck in this crisis acted as the friend of Austria. But by favoring one of his allies he alienated the other. In this fact lay the germ of the two great international combinations of the future, the Triple and Dual Alliances, factors of profound significance in the later history of Europe.

Austro-German Treaty of 1879. Of these combinations the first in order of creation and in importance was the Triple Alliance. Realizing that Russia was mortally offended at his conduct, and that the friendly understanding with her was over, Bismarck turned for compensation to a closer union with Austria, and concluded a treaty with her October 7, 1879. This treaty provided that if either Germany or Austria were attacked by Russia the two should be bound "to lend each other reciprocal aid with the whole of their military power, and, subsequently, to conclude no peace except conjointly and in agreement"; that if either Germany or Austria should be attacked by another power — as, for instance, France — the ally should remain neutral, but that if this enemy should be aided by Russia, then Germany and Austria should act together with their full military force, and should make peace in common. Thus this Austro-German Treaty of 1879 established a defensive alliance aimed particularly against Russia, to a lesser degree against France. The treaty was secret and was not published until 1887. Meanwhile, in 1882, Italy joined the alliance, irritated at France because of her seizure the year before of Tunis, a country which Italy herself had coveted as a seat for colonial expansion but which Bismarck had encouraged France to take, wishing to make one more enemy for France, and thus to force that enemy, Italy, into the alliance, highly unnatural in many ways, with Austria, her old-time enemy, and with Germany. Thus was formed the Triple Alliance. The alliance was made for a period of years, but was constantly renewed and remained in force until 1915. It was a defensive alliance, designed to assure its territory to each of the contracting parties.

Thus was created a combination of powers which dominated central Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and which rested on a military force of over two million men. At its head stood Ger-

many. Europe entered upon a period of German leadership in international affairs which was later to be challenged by the rise of a new alliance, that of Russia and France, which for various reasons, however, was slow in forming.

Reign of Frederick III. On the 9th of March, 1888, Emperor William I died at the age of ninety-one. He was succeeded by his son, Frederick III, in his fifty-seventh year. The new Emperor was a man of moderation, of liberalism in politics, an admirer of the English constitution. It is supposed that, had he lived, the autocracy of the ruler would have given way to a genuine parliamentary system like that of England, and that an era of greater liberty would have been inaugurated. But he was already a dying man, ill of cancer of the throat. His reign was one of physical agony patiently borne. Unable to use his voice, he could only indicate his wishes by writing or by signs. The reign was soon over, before the era of liberalism had time to dawn. Frederick was King and Emperor only from March 9 to June 15, 1888.

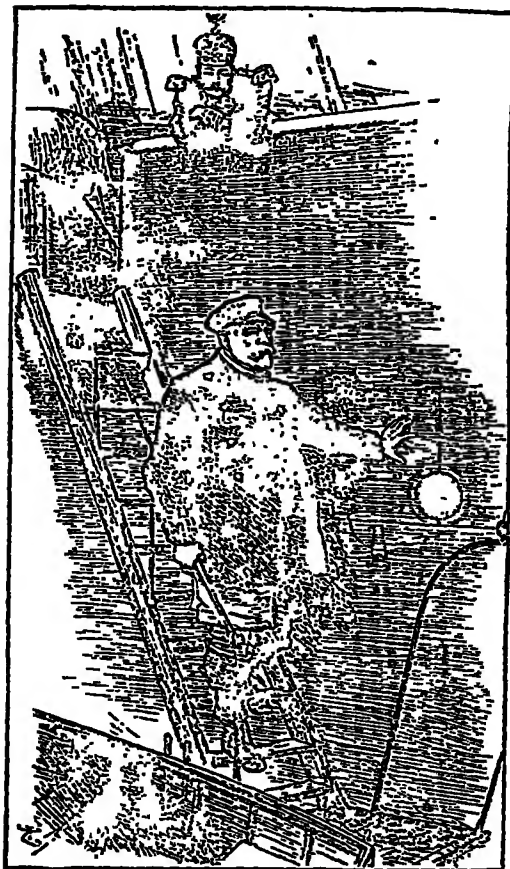
Accession of William II. Frederick was succeeded by his son, William II. The new ruler was twenty-nine years of age, a young man of very active mind, of fertile imagination, versatile, ambitious, self-confident, a man of unusual vigor. In his earliest utterances, the new sovereign showed his enthusiasm for the army and for religious orthodoxy. He held the doctrine of the divine origin of his power with medieval fervor, expressing it with frequency and in dramatic fashion. It was evident that a man of such a character would wish to govern, and not simply reign. He would not be willing long to efface himself behind the imposing figure of the great Chancellor. Bismarck had prophesied that the Emperor would be his own Chancellor, yet he did not have the wisdom to resign when the old Emperor died, and to depart with dignity. He clung to power. From the beginning friction developed between the two. They thought differently, felt differently. The fundamental question was, who should rule in Germany? The struggle was for supremacy, since there was no way in which two persons so self-willed and autocratic could divide power. As Bismarck stayed on when he saw that his presence was no longer desired, the Emperor, not willing to be overshadowed by so commanding and illustrious a minister, finally demanded his resignation in 1890. Thus in bitterness and humiliation ended the political career of a man who, ac-

according to Bismarck himself, had "cut a figure in the history of Germany and Prussia." He lived several years longer, dying in 1898 at the age of eighty-three, leaving as his epitaph, "A faithful servant of Emperor William I." Thus vanished from view a man who will

rank in history as a great statesman and diplomatist.

William's Chancellors. After 1890 the personality of William II. was the decisive factor in the state. His Chancellors were, in fact as well as in theory, his servants, carrying out the master's wish. Down to the outbreak of the Great War there were four: Caprivi, 1890-1894; Hohenlohe, 1894-1900; von Bülow, 1900-1909, and Bethmann-Hollweg, from July, 1909 to July, 1917. That war was to add three others to the list, whose terms were to prove exceedingly brief, Michaelis, Hertling, and Prince Maximilian of Baden.

William II and the Socialists. The extreme political tension was at first somewhat relieved by the removal of Bismarck from the scene, by this "dropping of the pilot," after years of continu-



DROPPING THE PILOT ✓

Cartoon by Sir John Tenniel in *Punch*,
March 29, 1890.

ous service. The early measures under the new reign showed a liberal tendency. The Anti-Socialist laws, expiring in 1890, were not renewed. This had been one of the causes of friction between the Emperor and the Chancellor. Bismarck wished them renewed, and their stringency increased. The Emperor wished to try milder methods, hoping to undermine the Socialists completely by further measures of social and economic amelioration, to kill them with

kindness. The repressive laws lapsing, the Socialists reorganized openly, and conducted a more aggressive campaign than ever. The Emperor, soon recognizing the futility of anodynes, became their bitter enemy, and began to denounce them vehemently, but no new legislation was passed against them, although this was several times attempted.

Commercial and Naval Expansion. The reign of William II was notable for the remarkable expansion of industry and commerce which rendered Germany the redoubtable rival of England and the United States. In colonial and foreign affairs an aggressive policy was followed. German colonies proved of little importance, entailed great expense, and yielded only small returns. But the desire for a great colonial empire became a settled policy of the Government, and seized the popular imagination.

Connected with the growing interest of Germany in commercial and colonial affairs went an increasing interest in the navy. Strong on land for fifty years, William II desired that Germany should be strong on the sea, that she might act with decision in any part of the world, that her diplomacy, which was permeated with the idea that nothing great should be done in world politics anywhere, in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, without her consent, might be supported by a formidable navy. To make that fleet powerful was a constant and a growing preoccupation of the Emperor.

The Growth of the Social Democratic Party. In the political world the growth of the Social Democratic party was the most important phenomenon. It represented not merely a desire for a revolution in the economic sphere, it also represented a protest against the autocratic government of the ruler, a demand for democratic institutions. While Germany had a Constitution and a Parliament, the monarch was invested with vast power. Parliament did not control the Government, as the ministers were not responsible to it. There was freedom of speech in Parliament, but practically during most of this reign it did not exist outside. Hundreds of men were during this reign imprisoned for such criticisms of the Government as in other countries were the current coin of discussion. This is the crime of *lèse-majesté*, which, as long as it exists, prevents a free political life. The growth of the Social Democratic party to some extent represented mere liberalism, not adherence to the economic theory of the Socialists. It was the great reform and opposition party

of Germany. It had, in 1907, the largest popular vote of any party, 3,260,000.¹ Yet the Conservatives with less than 1,500,000 votes elected in 1907 eighty-three members to the Reichstag to the forty three of the Socialists. The reason was that the electoral district had not been altered since they were originally laid out in 1869-1871 though population had vastly shifted from country to city. German cities had grown rapidly since then, and it is in industrial centers that the Socialists are strongest. Berlin with a population in 1871 of 600,000 had six members in the Reichstag. It still had only that number in 1907, although its population was over 2,000,000, and although it would have been entitled to twenty members had equal electoral districts existed. These the Socialists demanded, but for this very reason the Government refused the demand. The extreme opponents of the Social Democrats even urged that universal suffrage, guaranteed by the Constitution, be abolished, as the only way to crush the party. To this extreme the Government did not dare to go.

Democratic Demands. In the closing years of the reign of William II several questions were much discussed; the question of electoral reform in Prussia; of the redistribution of seats, both in the Prussian Landtag and the Imperial Reichstag; and of ministerial responsibility.

Prussia was the state that in practice ruled the German Empire. This was what was intended by Bismarck when he drew up the Constitution of the Empire, it was precisely the object of his entire policy. The Constitution was based on the two chief articles of Bismarck's creed, the power of the monarch and the ascendancy of Prussia. Neither the Empire nor the Kingdom of Prussia was governed by democratic institutions. In neither did the elected chamber control the government. In the economic sphere Germany was enterprising, progressive, successful, highly modern; in the intellectual sphere she was active and productive; but in the political sphere she was in a state of arrested development. Prussia was the strongest obstacle the democratic movement of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries encountered. Germany in 1914 was less liberal than in 1848. The most serious blow that the principle of representative government received during that century was the one she received at the hand of Bismarck.

¹ In 1912 the Socialists cast 4,250,000 votes and elected 110 members to the Reichstag thus displacing the Center as the largest party in that body.

QUESTIONS

I. Describe the constitution of the German Empire. How long did the Empire exist? How many reigns did it include? Characterize the various Emperors.

II. What was the *Kulturkampf*? What changes did the Socialists of Germany demand? What was Bismarck's policy concerning the Socialists? What were its results?

III. What was Bismarck's tariff policy? What was his colonial policy? What was the Triple Alliance?

IV. Compare William I and William II. What were the reasons of the resignation of Bismarck? What was the attitude of William II toward Socialism? For what was the reign of William II significant?

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CHAPTER XXIV

FRANCE UNDER THE THIRD REPUBLIC

The National Assembly, 1871. The Third Republic was proclaimed, as we have seen, by the Parisians on September 4, 1870, after the news of the disaster of Sedan had reached the capital. A Provisional Government of National Defense was immediately installed. This government gave way in February, 1871, to a National Assembly of 750 members elected by universal suffrage for the purpose of making a treaty with Germany. A large majority of the members of this Assembly, which met first at Bordeaux, were, curiously enough, Monarchists. The reason was that the monarchical candidates were in favor of peace, whereas many republican leaders, with Gambetta at their head, wished to continue the war. The mass of the peasants desiring peace therefore voted for the peace candidates. There is nothing to show that thereby they expressed a wish for monarchy. The Assembly of Bordeaux ratified the treaty, ceding Alsace and Lorraine, and assuming the enormous war indemnity. But peace did not return to France as a result of the Treaty of Frankfort. The "Terrible Year," as the French call it, of 1870-1871, had more horrors in store. Civil war followed the war with the Germans, shorter but exceeding it in ferocity, a war between those in control of the city of Paris and the Government of France as represented by the Assembly of Bordeaux. That Assembly had chosen Thiers as "Chief of the Executive Power," pending "the nation's decision as to the definitive form of government." Thus the fundamental question was postponed. Thiers was chosen for no definite term ; he was the servant of the Assembly to carry out its wishes, and might be dismissed by it at any moment.

The Commune and the National Assembly. Between the government of France and the people of Paris serious disagreements immediately arose, which led quickly to the war of the Commune. Paris had proclaimed the Republic. But the Republic was not yet

sanctioned by France, and existed only *de facto*. On the other hand, the National Assembly was controlled by Monarchists, and it had postponed the determination of the permanent institutions of the country. Did not this simply mean that it would abolish the Republic and proclaim the Monarchy, when it should judge the moment propitious? This fear, only too well justified, that the Assembly was hostile to the Republic, was the fundamental cause of the Commune. Paris lived in daily dread of this event. Paris was ardently Republican. For ten years under the Empire it had been returning Republicans to the Chamber of Deputies. These men did not propose to let a *coup d'état* like that of Louis Napoleon in 1851 occur again. Various acts of the Assembly were well adapted to deepen and intensify the feeling of dread uncertainty. The Assembly showed its distrust of Paris by voting in March, 1871, that it would henceforth sit in Versailles. In other words, a small and sleepy town, and one associated with the history of monarchy; was to be the capital of France instead of the great city which had sustained the tremendous siege and by her self-sacrifice and suffering had done her best to hold high the honor of the land.

The Insurrection of the Commune. There was in Paris a considerable population having diverse revolutionary tendencies, anarchists, Jacobins, Socialists — whose leaders worked with marked success among the restless, poverty-stricken masses of the great city. Out of this unrest and suspicion it was easy for an insurrection to grow, an insurrection which developed rapidly into a war between Paris and the Versailles Government. Attempts at solving the difficulties by conciliation having failed, the Government undertook to subdue the city. This necessitated a regular siege of Paris, the second of that unhappy city within a year. This time, however; the siege was conducted by Frenchmen, the Germans looking on. It lasted nearly two months, from April 2 to May 21, when the Versailles troops forced their entrance into Paris. Then followed seven days' ferocious fighting in the streets, the Communists more and more desperate and frenzied, the Versailles army more and more revengeful and sanguinary. This was the "Bloody Week," during which Paris suffered much more than she had from the bombardment of the Germans — a week of fearful destruction of life and property. The horrors of incendiarism were added to those of slaughter. Finally the awful agony was brought to a close. The revenge taken by the

government was heavy. It punished right and left summarily. Many were shot on the spot without any form of trial. Arrests and trials went on for years. Thousands were sent to tropical penal colonies. Other thousands were sentenced to hard labor. The rage of this monarchical assembly was slow in subsiding.

The Government of Thiers (1871-1873). Having put down the insurrection of Paris and signed the hard treaty with Germany, France was at peace. The Republicans thought that the Assembly ought now to dissolve, arguing that it had been elected to make peace, and nothing else. The Assembly decided, however, that it had full powers of legislation on all subjects, including the right to make the constitution. The Assembly remained in power for nearly five years, refusing to dissolve.

But before taking up the difficult work of making a constitution it coöperated for two years with Thiers (tyār) in the necessary work of reorganization. The most imperative task was that of getting the Germans out of the country. Under the skillful leadership of Thiers, the payment of the enormous war indemnity, five billion francs, was undertaken with energy and carried out with celerity. In September, 1873, the last installment was paid and the last German soldiers went home. The soil of France was freed nearly six months earlier than was provided by the treaty. For his great services in this initial work of reconstruction the National Assembly voted that Thiers had "deserved well of the country" and the people spontaneously acclaimed him as "The Liberator of the Territory."

The reconstruction of the army was also urgent and was undertaken in the same spirit of patriotism, entailing heavy personal sacrifices. A law was passed in 1872 instituting compulsory military service. Five years of service in the active army were henceforth to be required in most cases. The law really established in France the Prussian military system, so successful in crushing all opponents. We now see the beginning of that oppressive militarism which became the most characteristic feature of contemporary Europe. Other nations considered that they were forced to imitate Prussia in order to assure their own safety in the future. In the case of France the necessity was obvious.

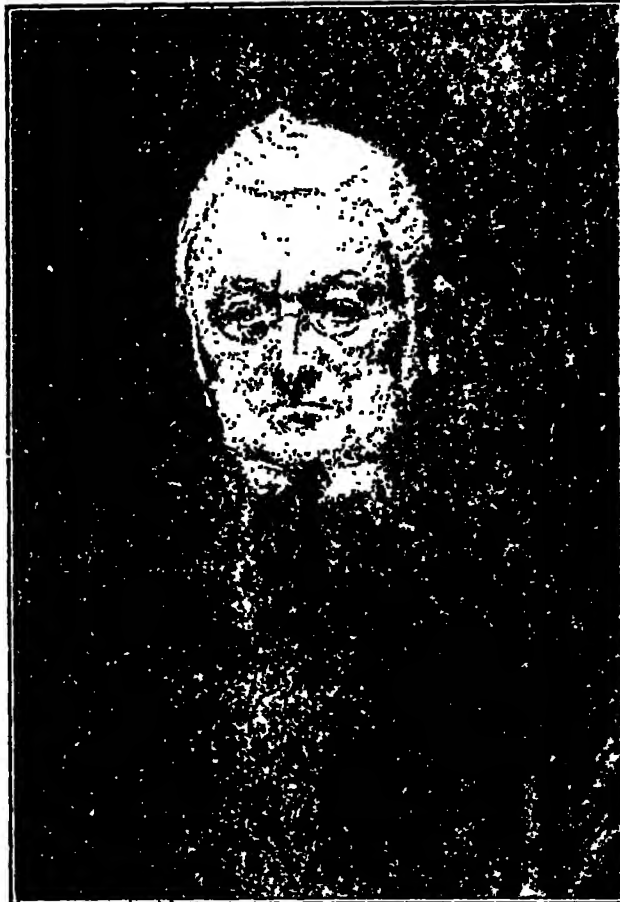
Thiers and the Republic. In the task of national reconstruction the Assembly and Thiers were able to work together on the whole harmoniously. Now that this was accomplished the Monarchists

of the Assembly resolved to abolish the Republic and restore the Monarchy. They soon found that they had in Thiers a man who would not abet them in their project. Thiers was originally a believer in constitutional monarchy, but he was not afraid of a republican government, and during the years after 1870 he came to believe that a Republic was, for

France, at the close of a turbulent century, the only possible form of government. "There is," he said, "only one throne, and there are three claimants for a seat on it." He discovered a happy formula in favor of the Republic, "It is the form of government which divides us least." And again, "Those parties who want a monarchy, do not want the same monarchy." By which phrases he accurately described a curious situation. The Monarchists, while they constituted a majority of the Assembly, were divided into three parties, no one of which was in the majority.

There were Legitimists,

Orleanists, and Bonapartists. The Legitimists upheld the right of the grandson of Charles X, the Count of Chambord; the Orleanists, the right of the grandson of Louis Philippe, the Count of Paris; the Bonapartists, of Napoleon III, or his son. The Monarchist parties could unite to prevent a definite legal establishment of the Republic; they could not unite to establish the monarchy, as each wing wished a different monarch. Out of this division arose the only chance the Third Republic had to live. As the months went



THIERS

After the portrait by L. Bonnat, 1876.

by the Monarchists felt that Thiers was becoming constantly more of a republican, which was true. If a monarchical restoration was to be attempted, therefore, Thiers must be gotten out of the way. Consequently, in May, 1873, the Assembly forced him to resign and immediately elected Marshal MacMahon (mäk-mä-ôn') president to prepare the way for the coming monarch.

Failure of the Monarchists to Reestablish Royalty. Earnest attempts were made forthwith to bring about a restoration of the monarchy. This could be done by a fusion of the Legitimists and the Orleanists. Circumstances were particularly favorable for the accomplishment of such a union. The Count of Chambord (shôn-bor') had no direct descendants. The inheritance would, therefore, upon his death, pass to the House of Orleans, represented by the Count of Paris. The elder branch would in the course of nature be succeeded by the younger. This fusion seemed accomplished when the Count of Paris visited the Count of Chambord, recognizing him as head of the family. A committee of nine members of the Assembly, representing the Monarchist parties, the Imperialists holding aloof, negotiated during the summer of 1873 with the "King" concerning the terms of restoration. The negotiations were successful on most points, and it seemed as if by the close of the year the existence of the Republic would be terminated and "Henry V" would be reigning in France. The Republic was saved by the devotion of the Count of Chambord to a symbol. He stated that he would never renounce the ancient Bourbon banner. "Henry V could never abandon the white flag of Henry IV." The tricolor represented the Revolution. If he was to be King of France it must be with his principles and his flag; King of the Revolution he would never consent to be. The Orleanists, on the other hand, adhered to the tricolor, knowing its popularity with the people, knowing that no régime that repudiated the glorious symbol could long endure. Against this barrier the attempted fusion of the two branches of the Bourbon family was shattered. The immediate danger to the Republic was over.

The Septennate. The Monarchists did not renounce their hope of restoring the monarchy. The Count of Chambord might, perhaps, change his mind; if not, as he had no son, the Count of Paris would succeed him after his death as the lawful claimant to the throne; and the Count of Paris, defender of the tricolor, could then be pro-

claimed. The Monarchists, therefore, planned merely to gain time. Marshal MacMahon had been chosen executive, as had Thiers, for no definite term. He was to serve during the pleasure of the Assembly itself. Believing that MacMahon would resign as soon as the King really appeared, they voted that his term should be for seven years, expecting that a period of that length would see a clearing up of the situation, either the change of mind or the death of the Count of Chambord. Thus was established the Septennate, or seven-year term, of the President, which still exists. The presidency was thus given a fixed term by the Monarchists, as they supposed, in their own interests. If they could not restore the monarchy in 1873 they could at least control the presidency for a considerable period, and thus prepare an easy transition to the old system at the opportune moment.

The Constitution of 1875. France showed unmistakably that she desired the establishment of a definitive system. Yet month after month, and year after year, went by and the constitution was not made, nor even seriously discussed. If the Assembly could not, or would not, make a constitution, it should relinquish its power and let the people elect a body that would. But this it steadily refused to do.

This inability of the Monarchists to act owing to their own internal divisions was of advantage to only one party, the Republican. More and more people who had hitherto been Monarchists, now finally convinced that a restoration of the monarchy was impracticable, joined the Republican party, and thus it came about finally in 1875 that the Assembly decided to make the constitution. It did not, as previous assemblies had done, draw up a single document, defining the organization, and narrating the rights of the citizens. It passed three separate laws which taken together were to serve as a constitution. By these laws a legislature was established consisting of two houses, a Senate, consisting of 300 members, at least forty



MARSHAL MACMAHON

From a photograph.

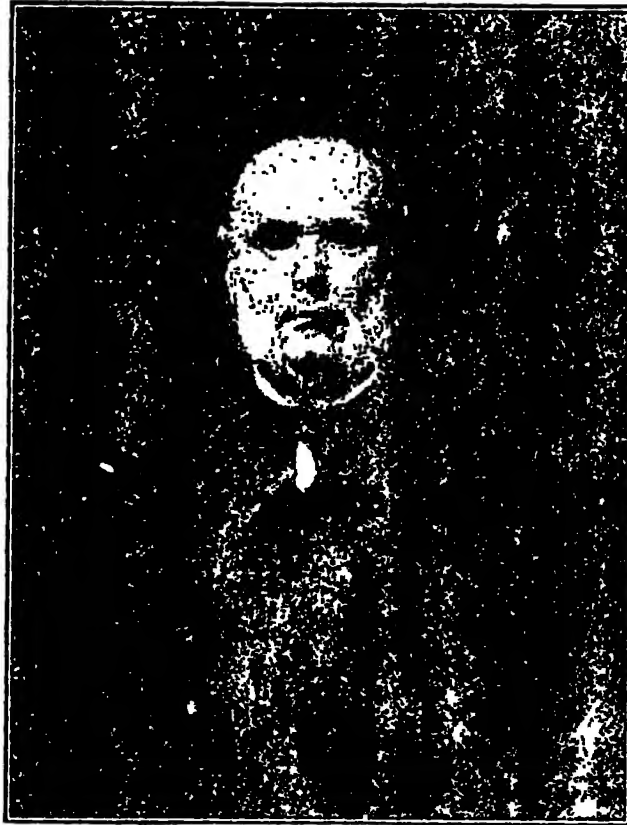
years of age and chosen for nine years, and a Chamber of Deputies, to be elected by universal suffrage for a term of four years. These two houses meeting together as a National Assembly elect the President of the Republic. There is no vice-president, no succession provided by law. In case of a vacancy in the presidency the National Assembly meets immediately, generally within forty-eight hours, and elects a new President.

France a Parliamentary Republic. The fundamental feature of the Third Republic, differentiating it greatly from two preceding republics of France and from the republic of the United States, is its adoption of the parliamentary system as worked out in England. The President's position resembles that of a constitutional monarch. All his acts must be countersigned by his ministers who become thereby responsible for them. The ministers in turn are responsible to the chambers, particularly to the Chamber of Deputies. The Chamber thus controls the executive, makes and unmakes ministries as it chooses. The legislature controls the executive. The legislative and executive branches are thus fused as in England, not sharply separated as in the United States. The essential feature, therefore, of this republic is that it has adopted the governmental machinery first elaborated in a monarchy. The Constitution of 1875 was a compromise between opposing forces, neither of which could win an unalloyed victory. The monarchical assembly that established the parliamentary republic in 1875 thought that it had introduced sufficient monarchical elements into it to curb the aggressiveness of democracy and to facilitate a restoration of the monarchy at some convenient season.

It was some years before the Republicans secured unmistakable control of the Republic in all its branches. In the first elections under the new constitution, which were held at the beginning of 1876, the Monarchists secured a slight majority in the Senate, the Republicans a large majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

The Republic and the Church. The Monarchists continued to carry on a vigorous campaign against the Republicans. They were powerfully supported by the clerical party, which, ever since 1871, had been extremely active. The Republicans resented this intrusion of the Catholic party, and their opinion of it had been vividly expressed some time before by Gambetta in the phrase — "Clericalism, that is our enemy," meaning that the Roman Catholic

Church was the most dangerous opponent of the Republic. The struggle was embittered. The clergy took an active part in the campaign, supporting the monarchical candidates and preaching against the Republicans, conduct which in the end was to cost them dear. The Republicans were, however, in the end victorious. In 1878 they gained control of the Senate, and in 1879 they brought about the resignation of MacMahon. The National Assembly immediately met and elected Jules Grévy president, a man whose devotion to Republican principles had been known to France for thirty years. For the first time since 1871 the Republicans controlled the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the Presidency. Since that time the Republic has been entirely in the hands of the Republicans.



JULES GRÉVY

From an engraving by Lalauze, after the painting by L. Bonnat.

Republican Legislation. The Republicans, now completely victorious, sought by constructive legislation to consolidate the Republic. Two personalities stood out with particular promi-

nence: Gambetta, as president of the Chamber of Deputies, and Jules Ferry as member of several ministries and as twice prime minister. The legislation enacted during this period aimed to clinch the victory over the Monarchists and Clericals by making the institutions of France thoroughly republican and secular. The seat of government was transferred from Versailles, where it had been since 1871, to Paris (1880), and July 14, the day of the storming of the Bastille, symbol of the triumph of the people over the monarchy, was declared the

national holiday, and was celebrated for the first time in 1880 amid great enthusiasm. The right of citizens freely to hold public meetings as they might wish, and without any preliminary permission of the Government, was secured, as was also a practically unlimited freedom of the press (1881). Workingmen were permitted, for the first time, freely to form trades unions (1884).

A National System of Education. The Republicans were particularly solicitous about education. As universal suffrage was the basis of the state, it was considered fundamental that the voters should be intelligent. Education was regarded as the strongest bulwark of the Republic. Several laws were passed, concerning all grades of education, but the most important were those concerning primary schools. A law of 1881 made primary education gratuitous ; one of 1882 made it compulsory between the ages of six and thirteen, and later laws made it entirely secular. No religious instruction is given in these schools. All teachers are appointed from the laity. This system of popular education is one of the great creative achievements of the Republic, and one of the most fruitful.

The Colonial Policy of France. Under the masterful influence of Jules Ferry, prime minister in 1881, and again from 1883 to 1885, the Republic embarked upon an aggressive colonial policy. She established a protectorate over Tunis ; sent expeditions to Tonkin, to Madagascar ; founded the French Congo. This policy aroused bitter criticism from the beginning, and entailed large expenditures, but Ferry, regardless of growing opposition, forced it through, in the end to his own undoing. His motives in throwing France into these ventures were various. One reason was economic. France was feeling the rivalry of Germany and Italy, and Ferry believed that she must win new markets as compensation for those she was gradually losing. Again, France would gain in prestige abroad, and in her own feeling of contentment, if she turned her attention to empire-building and ceased to think morbidly of her losses in the German war. Her outlook would be broader. Moreover, she could not afford to be passive when other nations about her were reaching out for Africa and Asia. The era of imperialism had begun. France must participate in the movement or be left hopelessly behind in the rivalry of nations. Under Ferry's resolute leadership the policy of expansion was carried out, and the colonial possessions of France were greatly increased, but owing to one or two slight reverses;

grossly magnified by his enemies, Ferry himself became unpopular and his notable ministry was overthrown (1885).

A Period of Uncertainty. During the next few years the political situation was troubled and uncertain. There was no commanding personality in politics to give elevation and sweep to men's ideas. Gambetta had died in 1882 at the age of forty-four and Ferry, the empire-builder, was most unjustly the victim of unpopularity from which he never recovered. Ministries succeeded each other rapidly. Politics seemed a game of office seeking, pettily personal, not an arena in which men of large ideas could live and act. The educational and anti-clerical and colonial policies all aroused enmities. President Grévy even was forced to resign because of a scandal which did not compromise him personally, but did smirch his son-in-law. Carnot (kär-nō'), a moderate Republican, was chosen to succeed him (December 3, 1887).



JULES FERRY

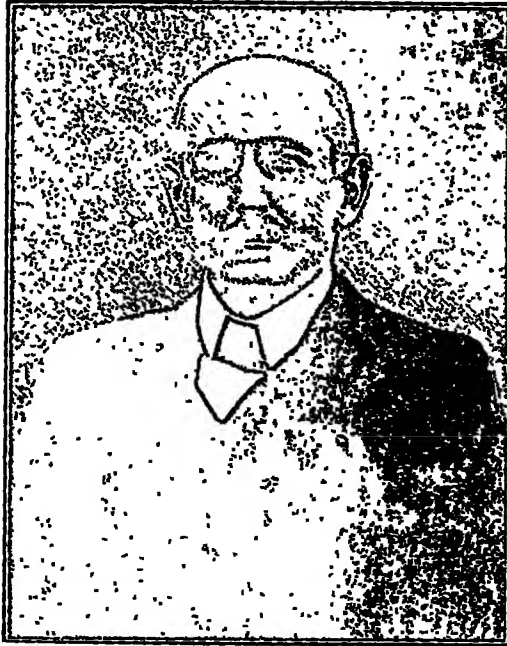
The Dual Alliance. In 1892 a very important diplomatic achievement still further strengthened the Republic. An alliance was made with Russia which ended the long period of isolation in which France had been made to feel her powerlessness during the twenty years since the Franco-Prussian war. This Dual Alliance henceforth served as a counterweight to the Triple Alliance of Germany, Austria, and Italy, and satisfied the French people, as well as increased their sense of safety and their confidence in the future.

In 1894 President Carnot was assassinated. Casimir-Périer was chosen to succeed him, but resigned after six months. Félix Faure was elected in his place, who, however, died in office in 1899, having seen the strengthening of the alliance with Russia and the beginning of the Dreyfus case, a scandal which created a new crisis

for the Republic. Faure was succeeded in the presidency by Émile Loubet (lō-bā').

The Dreyfus Case. In October, 1894, Dreyfus (drā-fūs'), a Jewish officer in the army, was arrested amid circumstances of unusual secrecy, was brought before a court-martial and was condemned as guilty of treason, of transmitting important documents to a foreign power, presumably Ger-

many. The trial was secret and the condemnation rested on merely circumstantial evidence, involving the identity of handwriting, which was declared to be his. He was condemned to expulsion from the army and to imprisonment for life. In January, 1895, he was publicly degraded in a most dramatic manner in the courtyard of the Military School, before a large detachment of the army. His stripes were torn from his uniform, his sword was broken. Throughout this agonizing scene he was defiant, asserted his innocence, and



ALFRED DREYFUS

shouted "Vive la France!" He was then deported to a small, barren, and unhealthy island off French Guiana, in South America, appropriately called Devil's Island, and was there kept in solitary confinement. A life imprisonment under such conditions would probably not be long, though it would certainly be horrible.

The friends of Dreyfus protested that a monstrous wrong had been done, but their protests passed unheeded. In the end, however, they succeeded in getting the case reopened. Dreyfus, prematurely old as a result of fearful physical and mental suffering, was brought from Devil's Island and given a new trial before a court-martial at Rennes in August, 1899. He was again found guilty but, a few years later, the case was submitted, no longer to a military tribunal, but to the highest civil court in the land, which declared that

the charges brought against him had no foundation, that the Rennes courtmartial had been guilty of gross injustice. Whatever amends could be made to those involved in the famous case were made.

Significance of the Dreyfus Affair. The Dreyfus case, originally simply involving the fate of an alleged traitor, had soon acquired a far greater significance. Party and personal ambitions and interests sought to use it for purposes of their own and thus the question of legal right and wrong was woefully distorted and obscured. Those who hated the Jews used it to inflame people against that race, as Dreyfus was a Jew. The Clericals joined them. Monarchists seized the occasion to declare that the Republic was an egregious failure, breeding treason, and ought to be abolished. On the other hand, there rallied to the defense of Dreyfus those who believed in his innocence, those who denounced the hatred of a race as a relic of barbarism, those who believed that the military should be subordinate to the civil authority and should not regard itself as above the law as these army officers were doing, those who believed that the whole episode was merely a hidden and dangerous attack upon the Republic, and all who believed that the clergy should keep out of politics.

The chief result of this memorable struggle in the domain of politics was to unite more closely Republicans of every shade in a common program, to make them resolve to reduce the political importance of the army and of the Church. The former was easily done by removals of monarchist officers. The attempt to solve the latter much more subtle and elusive problem led to the next great struggle in the recent history of France, the struggle with the Church.

The Separation of Church and State. This new controversy assumed prominence under the premiership of Waldeck-Rousseau, a leader of the Parisian bar, a former follower of Gambetta. In October, 1900, Waldeck-Rousseau made a speech at Toulouse which resounded throughout France. The real peril confronting the country, he said, arose from the growing power of religious orders — orders of monks and nuns — and from the character of the teaching given by them in the religious schools they were conducting. He pointed out that here was a power within the State which was a rival of the State and fundamentally hostile to the State. These orders, more-

over, although not authorized under the laws of France, were growing rapidly in wealth and numbers. Between 1877 and 1900 the number of nuns had increased from 14,000 to 75,000, in orders not authorized. The monks numbered about 190,000. The property of these orders, held in mortmain, estimated at about 50,000,000 francs in the middle of the century, had risen to 700,000,000 in 1880, and was more than a billion francs in 1900. Here was a vast amount of wealth, withdrawn from ordinary processes of business, an economic danger of the first importance. But the most serious feature was the activity of these orders in teaching and preaching, for that teaching was declared to be hostile to the Republic and to the principles of liberty and equality on which the Republicans of France have insisted ever since the French Revolution. In other words, these church schools were doing their best to make their pupils hostile to the Republic and to republican ideals. Here was a danger to the State which Parliament must face. To preserve the Republic defensive measures must be taken. Holding this opinion, the Waldeck-Rousseau ministry secured the passage, July 1, 1901, of the Law of Associations, which provided, among other things, that no religious orders should exist in France without definite authorization in each case from Parliament. It was the belief of the authors of this bill that the Roman Catholic Church was the enemy of the Republic, that it was using its every agency against the Republic, that it had latterly supported the anti-Dreyfus party in its attempt to discredit the institutions of France, as it had done formerly under MacMahon. Gambetta had, at that time, declared that *the* enemy was the clerical party. "Clericalism," said Combes, who succeeded Waldeck-Rousseau in 1902, "is, in fact, to be found at the bottom of every agitation and every intrigue from which Republican France has suffered during the last thirty-five years."

The Enforcement of the Law of Associations, 1902-1903. Many orders refused to ask for authorization from Parliament; many which asked were refused. Tens of thousands of monks and nuns were forced to leave their institutions, which were closed. By a law of 1904 it was provided that all teaching by religious orders, even by those authorized, should cease within ten years. The State was to have a monopoly of the education of the young, in the interest of the ideals of liberalism it represented. Combes, upon whom fell the execution of this law, suppressed about five hundred teaching,

preaching, and commercial orders. This policy was vehemently denounced by Catholics as persecution, as an infringement upon liberty, the liberty to teach, the liberty of parents to have their children educated in denominational schools if they preferred.

The effect of this legislation, apparent in a few years, was what was expected and desired by its advocates. In 1909-1910 there were over 5,000,000 children in public and secular schools, while there were less than 100,000 in those conducted by religious associations.

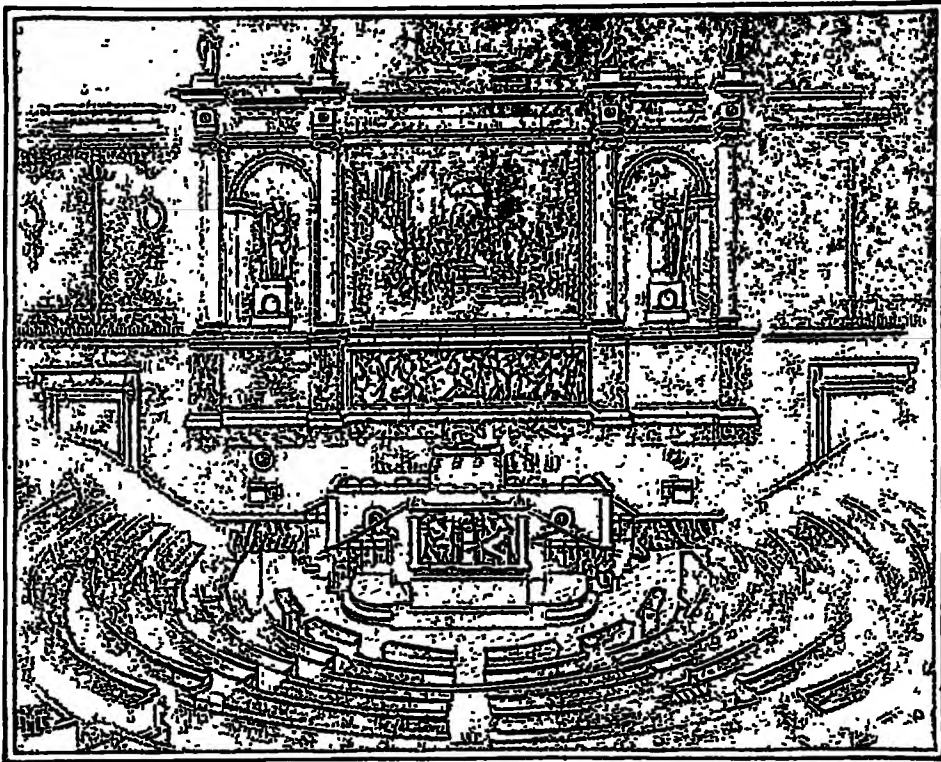
This contest for the control of education, as events were to prove, was only preliminary to a far greater religious struggle, which ended in the complete separation of Church and State.

The Concordat of 1801. The relations of the Roman Catholic Church and the State down to 1905 were determined by the Concordat, concluded between Napoleon I and Pius VII in 1801 and put into force in the following year. The system then established remained undisturbed throughout the nineteenth century, under the various régimes, but after the advent of the Third Republic there was ceaseless and increasing friction between the Church and the State. The opposition of the Republicans was augmented by the activity of the clergy in the Dreyfus affair. Consequently a law was finally passed, December 9, 1905, which abrogated the Concordat. The State was henceforth not to pay the salaries of the clergy, as it had hitherto done ; on the other hand, it relinquished all rights over their appointment. It undertook to pay pensions to clergymen who had served many years, and were already well advanced in age ; also to pay certain amounts to those who had been in the priesthood for a few years only. In regard to the property, which since 1789 had been declared to be owned by the nation, the cathedrals, churches, chapels, it was provided that these should still be at the free disposal of the Roman Catholic Church, but that they should be held and managed by so-called "Associations of Worship," which were to vary in size according to the population of the community.

The Opposition of the Pope. The law abrogating the Concordat was condemned unreservedly by the Pope, Pius X, who declared that the fundamental principle of separation of Church and State is "an absolutely false thesis, a very pernicious error," and who denounced the Associations of Worship as giving the administrative control, not "to the divinely instituted hierarchy, but to an association of laymen." The Pope's decision was final and conclusive for all Catho-

lics, as it was based on fundamentals and flatly rejected the law of 1905.

Parliament, therefore, passed a new law, early in 1907, supplementary to the law of 1905. By it most of the privileges guaranteed the Roman Catholic Church by the law of 1905 were abrogated. The critical point in the new law was the method of keeping the churches open for religious exercises and so avoiding all the appear-



INTERIOR OF THE CHAMBER OF DEPUTIES

ance of persecution and all the scandal and uproar that would certainly result if the churches of France were closed: It was provided that their use should be gratuitous and should be regulated by contracts between the priests and the prefects or mayors. These contracts would safeguard the civil ownership of the buildings, but worship would go on in them as before. This system is at present in force.

Separation of Church and State Finally Accomplished. The result of this series of events and measures is that Church and State are now definitely separated in France. Bishops and priests no

longer receive salaries from the State. On the other hand, they have liberties which they did not enjoy under the Concordat, such as rights of assembly and freedom from government participation in appointments. The faithful must henceforth support their priests and bear the expenses of the Church by private contributions. The church buildings, however, have been left to their use by the irrational but practical device just described.

The separation of Church and State applies also to the Protestants and the Jews, who must now support their clergy, and their various services, as must the Catholics, unaided by subsidies from the State.

Acquisition of Colonies in the Nineteenth Century. France, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, had possessed an extensive colonial empire. This she had lost to England as a result of the wars of the reign of Louis XV, the Revolution, and the Napoleonic period, and in 1815 her possessions had shrunk to a few small points, Guadeloupe and Martinique in the West Indies, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, five towns on the coast of India, of which Pondicherry was the best known; Bourbon, now called Réunion, an island in the Indian Ocean; Guiana in South America, which had few inhabitants, and Senegal in Africa. These were simply melancholy souvenirs of her once proud past, rags and tatters of a once imposing empire.

In the nineteenth century she was destined to begin again, and to create an empire of vast geographical extent, second only in importance to that of Great Britain, though vastly inferior to that. The interest in conquests revived but slowly after 1815. France had conquered so much in Europe from 1792 to 1812 only to lose it as she had lost her colonies, that conquest in any form seemed but a futile and costly display of misdirected enterprise. Nevertheless, in time the process began anew, and each of the various governments which have succeeded one another since 1815 has contributed to the building of the new empire.

The Conquest of Algeria. The process of renewed expansion was begun in Algeria, on the northern coast of Africa, directly opposite France, and reached now in less than twenty-four hours from Marseilles. Down to the opening of the nineteenth century, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli, nominally parts of the Turkish Empire, were in reality independent and constituted the Barbary States, whose main business was piracy. But Europe was no longer disposed to

see her wealth seized and her citizens enslaved until she paid their ransom. In 1816 an English fleet bombarded Algiers, released no less than 3000 Christian captives, and destroyed piracy.

The French conquest of Algeria grew out of a gross insult administered by the Dey to a French consul in 1830. France replied by sending a fleet to seize the capital, Algiers. She did not at that time intend the conquest of the whole country, but merely the punishment of an insolent Dey, but attacks being made upon her from time to time which she felt she must crush, she was led on, step by step, until she had everywhere established her power. All through the reign of Louis Philippe this process was going on. Its chief feature was an intermittent struggle of fourteen years with a native leader, Abd-el-Kader, who proclaimed and fought a Holy War against the intruder. In the end (1847) he was forced to surrender, and France had secured an important territory.

Expansion under Napoleon III. Under Napoleon III, the beginning of conquest in another part of Africa was made. France had possessed, since the time of Louis XIII and Richelieu (rēsh'-lō), one or two miserable ports on the western coast, St. Louis the most important. Under Napoleon III, the annexation of the Senegal valley was largely carried through by the efforts of the governor, Faidherbe, who later distinguished himself in the Franco-German War. Under Napoleon III also, a beginning was made in another part of the world, in Asia. The persecution of Christian natives, and the murder of certain French missionaries, gave Napoleon the pretext to attack the King of Annam, whose kingdom was in the peninsula that juts out from southeastern Asia. After eight years of intermittent fighting France acquired from the king the whole of Cochin-China (1858-1867), and also established a protectorate over the Kingdom of Cambodia, directly north.

Expansion under the Third Republic. By 1870, France had staked out an empire of about 700,000 square kilometers, containing a population of about six million.

Under the present Republic the work of expansion and consolidation has been carried much farther than under all of the preceding régimes. There have been extensive annexations in northern Africa, western Africa, the Indian Ocean, and in Indo-China.

Tunis. In northern Africa, Tunis has passed under the control of France. This was one of the Barbary States, and was nominally a

part of the Turkish Empire, with a Bey as sovereign. After establishing herself in Algeria, France desired to extend her influence eastward, over this neighboring state. But Italy, now united, began about 1870 to entertain a similar ambition. France, therefore, under the ministry of Jules Ferry, an ardent believer in colonial expansion, sent troops into Tunis in 1881, which forced the Bey to accept a French protectorate over his state. The French have not annexed Tunis formally, but they control it absolutely through a Resident at the court of the Bey, whose advice the latter is practically obliged to follow.

Senegal and the Congo. In western Africa, France has made extensive annexations in the Senegal, Guinea, Dahomey, the Ivory Coast, and the region of the Niger, and north of the Congo. By occupying the oases in the Sahara she has established her claims to that vast but hitherto unproductive area. This process has covered many years of the present Republic. The result is the existence of French authority over most of northwest Africa, from Algeria on the Mediterranean, to the Congo River. The region south of Algeria is called the French Soudan, and comprises an area seven or eight times as large as France, with a population of some fourteen millions, mainly blacks. There is some discussion of a Trans-Saharan railroad to bind these African possessions more closely together.

Madagascar. In Asia, the Republic has imposed her protectorate over the Kingdom of Annam (1883) and has annexed Tonkin, taken from China after considerable fighting (1885). In the Indian Ocean, she has conquered Madagascar, an island larger than France herself, with a population of two and a half million.

Thus at the opening of the twentieth century, the colonial empire of France was eleven times larger than France itself, had an area of six million square kilometers, a population of about fifty millions, and a rapidly growing commerce. Most of this empire is located in the tropics and is ill adapted to the settlement of Europeans. Algeria and Tunis, however, offer conditions favorable for such settlements. They constitute the most valuable French possessions. Algeria is not considered a colony, but an integral part of France. It is divided into three departments, each one of which sends one senator and two deputies to the French Parliament.

Morocco. On March 30, 1912, France established a protectorate over Morocco. For several years the status of that country had been

one of the contentious problems of international politics. France had desired to gain control of it in order to round out her empire in northwestern Africa. In 1904 she had made an agreement with England whereby a far-reaching diplomatic revolution in Europe was inaugurated. This was largely the work of Théophile Delcassé, Minister of Foreign Affairs for seven years, from 1898 to 1905,



THÉOPHILE DELCASSÉ

one of the ablest statesmen the Third Republic has produced. Delcassé believed that France would be able to follow a more independent and self-respecting foreign policy, one freer from German domination and intimidation, if her relations with Italy and England, severely strained for many years, largely owing to colonial rivalries and jealousies, could be made cordial and friendly. This he was able to accomplish by arranging a treaty of commerce favorable to Italy and by promising Italy a free hand in Tripoli and receiving from her the assurance that she would do nothing to hamper French policy in Morocco, a country of special significance to France because of her possession of Algeria.

The Establishment of the Entente Cordiale (1904). The relations of France and England had long been difficult and, at times, full of danger. Indeed, in 1898 they had stood upon the very brink of war when a French expedition under Marchand (mār-shān') had crossed Africa and had seized Fashoda (fā-sho'-dā) on the Upper Nile in the sphere of influence which Great Britain considered emphatically hers. The Fashoda incident ended in the withdrawal of the French before the resolute attitude of England. The lesson of this incident was not lost upon either power, and six years later,

GERMANY CHALLENGES THE ENTENTE CORDIALE 389

on April 8, 1904, they signed an agreement which not only removed the sources of friction between them once for all, but which established what came to be known as the Entente Cordiale, destined to great significance in the future. By this agreement France recognized England's special interests in Egypt and abandoned her long-standing demand that England should set a date for the cessation of her "occupation" of that country. On the other hand, England recognized the special interests of France in Morocco and promised not to impede their development.

Germany Challenges the Entente Cordiale. One power emphatically objected to the determination of the fate of Morocco by France and England alone. Germany challenged their agreement and asserted that she must herself be consulted in such matters; that her rivals had no right by themselves to preëempt those regions of the world which might still be considered fields for European colonization or control. German interests must be considered quite as much as French or English.

Conference of Algeciras, 1906. Germany's attitude precipitated an international crisis and led to the international Conference of Algeciras in 1906, which was, however, on the whole, a victory for France, acknowledging the primacy of her interests in Morocco. As France proceeded to strengthen her position there in the succeeding years, Germany issued another challenge in 1911 by sending a gunboat to Agadir, thus creating another crisis, which for a time threatened a European war. In the end, however, Germany recognized the position of France, but only after the latter had ceded to her; as compensation, extensive territories in Kamerun and the French Congo. For several years, therefore, Morocco was a danger spot in international politics, exerting a disturbing influence upon the relations of European powers to each other, particularly those of France and Germany. Finally, however, the independence of Morocco disappeared and, save for a portion reserved to Spain, the country was practically incorporated in the colonial empire of France.

QUESTIONS

I. How did it come about that the National Assembly elected in 1871 was monarchical in sentiment? What were the causes of friction between the Commune of Paris and the National Assembly? Give an account of the Communist insurrection.

II. Who was the first president of the Third French Republic? Why was Thiers called the "Liberator of the Territory"? What was Thiers' attitude toward the Monarchists? What did Thiers mean by saying: "Those parties who want a monarchy do not want the same monarchy"? Why did not the monarchical Assembly restore monarchy in France?

III. Describe the Constitution of 1875. What is meant by the Septennate? What is meant by the statement that the Third Republic is a parliamentary republic? What achievements are connected with the name of Jules Ferry?

IV. Give an account of the Dreyfus case. What was its significance? How do you explain the hostility of Church and State in France? Show how the separation of Church and State was brought about.

V. What colonies has France acquired since the fall of Napoleon I? What was the Fashoda incident and what were its results? What was Delcassé's foreign policy? Show how France came into possession of Morocco.

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CHAPTER XXV

THE KINGDOM OF ITALY AFTER 1870

The Completion of the Unification of Italy. The Kingdom of Italy, as we have seen, was established in 1859 and 1860. Venetia was acquired in 1866, and Rome in 1870. In these cases, as in the preceding, the people were allowed to express their wishes by a vote, which, in both instances, was practically unanimous in favor of the annexation.

The Constitution of the new kingdom was the old Constitution of Piedmont, slightly altered. It provided for a parliament of two chambers, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The full parliamentary system was introduced, ministers representing the will of the Lower Chamber. The first capital was Turin, then Florence in 1865, and finally Rome since 1871.

The Kingdom and the Papacy. The most perplexing question confronting the new kingdom concerned its relations to the Papacy. The Italian Kingdom had seized, by force, the city of Rome, over which the Popes had ruled in uncontested right for a thousand years, except during brief periods under Napoleon and in 1848. Rome had this peculiarity over all other cities, that it was the capital of Catholics the world over. Any attempt to expel the Pope from the city or to subject him to the House of Savoy would everywhere arouse the faithful, and might cause an intervention in behalf of the restoration of the temporal power. There were henceforth to be two sovereigns, one temporal, one spiritual, within the same city. The situation was unique and extremely delicate. It was considered necessary to determine their relations before the government was transferred to Rome. It was impossible to reach any agreement with the Pope, as he refused to recognize the Kingdom of Italy, but spoke of Victor Emmanuel simply as the King of Sardinia, and would make no concessions in regard to his own rights in Rome. Parliament, therefore, assumed to settle the matter alone and passed, May 13, 1871, the

Law of Papal Guarantees, a remarkable act defining the relations of Church and State in Italy.

The Law of Papal Guarantees. The object of this law was to carry out Cavour's principle of a "free Church in a free State," to reassure Catholics that the new kingdom had no intention of controlling in any way the spiritual activities of the Pope, though taking from him his temporal powers. Any attacks upon him are, by this law, to be punished exactly as are similar attacks upon the King. He has his own diplomatic corps, and receives diplomatic representatives from other countries. Certain places are set apart as entirely under his sovereignty: the Vatican, the Lateran, Castel Gandolfo, and their gardens. Here no Italian official may enter, in his official capacity, for Italian law and administration stop outside these limits. In return for the income lost with the temporal power, the Pope is granted 3,225,000 francs a year by the Italian Kingdom. This law has been faithfully observed by the Italian government, but it has never been accepted by the Pope, nor has the Kingdom of Italy been recognized by him. He considers himself the "prisoner of the Vatican," and since 1870 has not left it to go into the streets of Rome, as he would thereby be tacitly recognizing the existence of another ruler there, the "usurper."

Death of Victor Emmanuel. In 1878 Victor Emmanuel II died and was buried in the Pantheon, one of the few ancient buildings of Rome. Over his tomb is the inscription, "To the Father of His Country." He was succeeded by his son, Humbert I, then thirty-four years of age. A month later Pius IX died, and was succeeded by Leo XIII, at the time of his election sixty-eight years of age. But nothing was changed by this change of personalities. Each maintained the system of his predecessor. Leo XIII, Pope from 1878 to 1903, following the precedent set by Pius IX, never recognized the Kingdom of Italy, nor did he ever leave the Vatican. He, too, considered himself a prisoner of the "robber king."

Widespread Illiteracy. An urgent problem confronting the new kingdom was that of the education of its citizens. This was most imperative if the masses of the people were to be fitted for the freer and more responsible life opened by the political revolution. The preceding governments had grossly neglected this duty. In 1861 over seventy-five per cent of the population of the kingdom were illiterate. In Naples and Sicily, the most backward in development

of all the sections of Italy, the number of illiterates exceeded ninety per cent of the population ; and in Piedmont and Lombardy, the most advanced sections, one-third of the men and more than half of the women could neither read nor write. In 1877 a compulsory education law was finally passed, but it has not, owing to the expense, been practically enforced. Though Italy has done much during the last forty years, much remains to be done. Illiteracy, though diminishing, is still widely prevalent. Recent statistics show that forty per cent of the recruits in the army are illiterate.

The Suffrage. In 1882 the suffrage was greatly extended. Hitherto limited to those who were twenty-five years of age or over and paid about eight dollars a year in direct taxes, it was now thrown open to all over twenty-one years of age, and the tax qualification was reduced by half ; also all men of twenty-one who had had a primary education were given the vote, whether they could meet the tax qualification or not. The result was that the number of voters was tripled at once, rising from about 600,000 to more than 2,000,000.

In 1912 Italy took a long step toward democracy by making the suffrage almost universal for men, only denying the franchise to those younger than thirty who have neither performed their military service nor learned to read and write. Thus all men over twenty-one, even if illiterate, have the vote if they have served in the army. The number of voters was thus increased from somewhat over three million to more than eight and a half million.

The Triple Alliance. In foreign affairs Italy made an important decision which influenced her course down to 1914. In 1882 she entered into alliance with Germany and with Austria, her former enemy and in many respects still her rival. This made the famous Triple Alliance, which lasted down to the outbreak of the World War. The reasons why Italy entered this combination, highly unnatural for her, considering her ancient hatred of Austria, were various : pique at France for the seizure of Tunis, which Italy herself coveted, dread of French intervention in behalf of the Pope, and a desire to appear as one of the great powers of Europe. The result was that she was forced to spend larger sums upon her army, remodeled along Prussian lines, and upon her navy, thus very seriously disturbing her finances.

Acquisition of Colonies. Italy now embarked upon another expensive and hazardous enterprise, the acquisition of colonies, in-

fluenced in this direction by the prevalent fashion, and by a desire to rank among the world powers. Shut out of Tunis, her natural field, by France, she, in 1885, seized positions on the Red Sea, particularly the port of Massawa. This was the beginning of the colony of Eritrea. At the same time an Italian protectorate was established over a region in eastern Africa called Somaliland. But all this involved long and expensive campaigns against the natives. Italy was trying to play the rôle of a great power when her resources did not warrant it.

The consequence of this aggressive and ambitious military, naval, and colonial policy was the creation anew of a deficit in the state's finances which increased alarmingly and which, in the last decade of the century, occasioned heavy new taxes and widespread discontent, a discontent which in the south and center took the form of "bread riots," but in the north was distinctly revolutionary. "Down with the dynasty," was a cry heard there. All these movements were suppressed by the Government, but only after much bloodshed. They indicated widespread distress and dissatisfaction with existing conditions.

In July, 1900, King Humbert was assassinated by an Italian anarchist, who went to Italy for that purpose from Paterson, New Jersey. Humbert was succeeded by his son Victor Emmanuel III. then in his thirty-first year.

Accession of Victor Emmanuel III. The new King had been carefully educated and soon showed that he was a man of intelligence, of energy, and of firmness of will. He won the favor of his subjects by the simplicity of his mode of life, by his evident sense of duty, and by his sincere interest in the welfare of the people, shown in many spontaneous and unconventional ways. He became forthwith a more decisive factor in the government than his father had been. He was a democratic monarch, indifferent to display, laborious, vigorous. The opening decade of the twentieth century was characterized by a new spirit which, in a way, reflected the buoyancy, and hopefulness, and courage of the young King. But the causes for the new optimism were deeper than the mere change of rulers and lay in the growing prosperity of the nation, a prosperity which, despite appearances, had been for some years preparing and which was now witnessed on all sides. The worst was evidently over.

Industry and Emigration. Italy was becoming an industrial nation. Silk and cotton and chemical and iron manufactures were

advancing rapidly. The merchant marine was being greatly increased. This transformation into a great industrial state was not only possible but was necessary, owing to her rapidly increasing population, which grew from 1870 to 1914 from about 25,000,000 to over 35,000,000. The birth rate was higher than that of any other country of Europe. But during the same period the emigration from Italy was large and was steadily increasing. Official statistics show that, between 1876 and 1905, over eight million persons emigrated, of whom over four million went to various South American countries, especially Argentina, and to the United States. Perhaps half of the total number have returned to their native land, for much of the emigration was of a temporary character.

Italy Acquires Tripoli. This growing population and this constant loss by emigration served to concentrate Italian thought more and more upon the necessity of new and more advantageous colonies, that her surplus population might not be drained away to other countries. The desire for expansion increased and with it the determination to use whatever opportunities were offered by the politics of Europe for that purpose. The result was the acquisition in 1912 of the extensive territory of Tripoli and of a dozen Ægean islands, spoils of a war with Turkey declared in 1911. With this desire for expansion went also a tendency to scrutinize more carefully the nature of her relations with her allies, Germany and Austria. The advantages of the Triple Alliance became, in the minds of many, more and more doubtful. One obvious and positive disadvantage in an alliance with Austria was the necessary abandonment of a policy of annexation of those territories north and northeast of Italy which were inhabited by Italians but which were not included within the boundaries of the kingdom at the time of its creation. These were the so-called Trentino, the region around the town of Trent, Trieste, and Istria. These territories were subject to Austria, and as long as Italy was allied with Austria she was kept from any attempt to gain this *Italia Irredenta* or Unredeemed Italy, and thus so round out her boundaries as to include within them people who were Italian in race and in language.

Italy Breaks with Austria-Hungary. On May 4, 1915, Italy denounced her treaty of alliance with Austria. The famous Triple Alliance, which had been the dominant factor in European diplomacy since 1882, thus came to an end. On May 23, Italy declared war

against Austria-Hungary and entered the European conflict on the side of the Entente Allies in the hope of realizing her "national aspirations."

QUESTIONS

I. When and how was the unification of Italy completed? What have been the relations of the Pope with the Kingdom of Italy since 1871? What have been Italy's colonial acquisitions?

II. What have been Italy's relations to the Triple Alliance? What was "Unredeemed Italy"? Why is the problem of emigration so serious in Italy? How many kings has Italy had since 1870?

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CHAPTER XXVI

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY AFTER 1848

Austria to the Compromise of 1867. . Austria, perilously near dissolution in 1848, torn by revolutions in Bohemia, Hungary, the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, had emerged triumphant from the storm, thanks to her army, and by 1850 was in a position to impose her will once more upon her motley group of states. She learned no lesson from the fearful crisis through which she had passed but at once entered upon a course of reaction of the old familiar kind. Absolutism was everywhere restored. Hungary, in particular, felt the full weight of Austrian displeasure. Hungary, indeed, was considered to have forfeited by her rebellion the old historic rights she had possessed for centuries. Her Diet was abolished, the kingdom was cut up into five sections, and each was ruled largely by Austrian Germans. The Hungarians bent beneath the autocrat but did not abate their claims.

For a decade and more years this arbitrary and despotic system continued. Then came the disaster in Italy in 1859, the defeats of Magenta and Solferino, and the loss of Lombardy. Seven years later came further Austrian defeats, this time at the hands of Prussia, the battle of Königgrätz, the expulsion from the German Confederation, the loss of Venetia.

Austria's adversity was Hungary's opportunity. It became necessary for Francis Joseph to make concessions to his Hungarian subjects, in order that the monarchy might increase its strength at home, now that its influence was so reduced elsewhere.

The Dual Monarchy. In order to satisfy the Hungarians there was concluded in 1867 between Austria and Hungary a Compromise, or Ausgleich, as the Germans call it, which was the basis of the Empire down to the collapse of 1918. This created a curious kind of state, defying classification, and absolutely unique. The Empire was henceforth to be called Austria-Hungary, and was to be a dual monarchy. Austria-Hungary consisted of two distinct, independent

states, which stood in law upon a plane of complete equality. Each had its own capital, the one Vienna, the other Budapest. Each had the same ruler, who in Austria bore the title of Emperor, in Hungary that of King. Each had its own Parliament, its own ministry, its own administration. Each governed itself in all internal affairs absolutely without interference from the other.

But the two were united not simply in the person of the monarch. They were united for certain affairs regarded as common to both. There was a joint ministry composed of three departments: Foreign Affairs, War, and Finance. Each state had its own Parliament, but there was no parliament in common. In order then to have a body that should supervise the work of the three joint ministries there was established the system of "delegations." Each Parliament chose a delegation of sixty of its members. These delegations met alternately in Vienna and Budapest. They were really committees of the two Parliaments. They sat and debated separately, each using its own language, and they communicated with each other in writing. If after three communications no decision had been reached a joint session was held in which the question was settled without debate by a mere majority vote.

Other affairs, which in most countries are considered common to all parts, such as tariff and currency systems, did not fall within the competence of the joint ministry or the delegations. They were to be regulated by agreements concluded between the two Parliaments for periods of ten years, exactly as between any two independent states, an awkward arrangement creating an intense strain every decade, for the securing of these agreements was to be most difficult.

Each state had its own constitution, each had its own Parliament, consisting of two chambers. In neither was there in 1867 universal suffrage. A demand for this was repeatedly made in both countries, with results that will appear later.

The Dominant Races. Neither of the two states, thus recognized as forming the Dual Monarchy, had a homogeneous population. In each there was a dominant race, the Germans in Austria, the Magyars in Hungary. The Compromise of 1867 was satisfactory to these alone. In each country there were subordinate and rival races, jealous of the supremacy of these two, anxious for recognition and for power, and rendered more insistent by the sight of the remarkable success of the Magyars in asserting their individuality.

The struggles of these races were destined to form the most important feature of Austrian history during the next fifty years. It should be noted that the principle of nationality, so effective in bringing about the unification of Italy and Germany, has tended in Austria in precisely the opposite direction, the splitting up of a single state into many. Dualism was established in 1867, but these subordinate races refused to acquiesce in it as a final form, as dualism favored only two races, the Germans and the Magyars. They wished to change the dual into a federal state, which should give free play to the several nationalities. This they never succeeded in doing. The Compromise of 1867 remained unchanged for fifty years, until the Dual Monarchy collapsed in 1918 as a result of an exhausting war and a too long continued repression of the racial aspirations of its several parts. These racial and nationalistic struggles have been most confusing. In the interest of clearness, only a few of the more important can be treated here.

The Empire of Austria after 1867. No sooner had Austria made the Compromise with Hungary than she was confronted with the demand that she proceed further in the path thus entered upon. Various nationalities, or would-be nationalities, demanded that they should now receive as liberal treatment as Hungary had received in the Compromise of 1867. The leaders in this movement were the Czechs of Bohemia, who, in 1868, definitely stated their position; which was precisely that of the Hungarians before 1867. They claimed that Bohemia was an historic and independent nation, united with the other states under the House of Hapsburg only in the person of the monarch. They demanded that the Kingdom of Bohemia should be restored, that Francis Joseph should be crowned in Prague with the crown of Wenceslaus. The agitation grew to such an extent that the Emperor decided to yield to the Bohemians. On September 14, 1871, he formally recognized the historic rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and agreed to be crowned king in Prague, as he had been crowned king in Budapest. But, to the intense indignation of the Czechs, these promises were never carried out, because of the opposition of the Austrian Germans and the Magyars, determined not to share with them their privileged position.

The racial problem, however, could not be conjured away so easily. In both Austria and Hungary it was the one constant, dominant factor in political and social life down to the Great War. But in

Austria, as distinct from Hungary, the subject races had a certain chance for development. The Czechs of Bohemia and the Poles of Galicia, two branches of the Slavic race, profited in various ways from the divisions among the Austrian Germans to demand and secure certain rights in the use of their languages, and in educational and local political institutions. Therefore, though federalism was refused, nevertheless the spirit of nationality went on developing, with results that were apparent in the World War. Even Austria's southern Slavs, the Slovenes, received certain limited favors. Thus in Austria the evolution of the Slavic nationalities progressed at the expense of the German element.

This was the most striking difference between the development of Austria and the development of Hungary. In Austria the German domination of the Slavs largely broke down and was not rigorously persisted in, although racial hatreds continued, particularly between the Czechs and Germans of Bohemia. In Hungary, on the other hand, racial tyranny, the settled policy of the dominant race, steadily increased until it quite reached the snapping point.

Universal Suffrage in Austria. Austria also had, as the years went by, its movement toward democracy. The agitation for universal suffrage was finally successful. By the law of January 26, 1907, all men in Austria over twenty-four years of age were given the right to vote. The most noteworthy result of the first elections on this popular basis (May, 1907) was the return of 87 Socialists, who polled over a million votes, nearly a third of those cast. This party had previously had only about a dozen representatives. It was noticed at the same elections that the racial parties lost heavily. Whether this meant that the period of extreme racial rivalry was over and the struggle of social classes was to succeed it, remained to be seen.

The Kingdom of Hungary after 1867. The contemporary history of Hungary has been much more simple than that of Austria. That country, larger than Austria, larger than Great Britain, found her historic individuality definitely recognized and guaranteed by the Compromise of 1867. Race and language questions were fundamental, but they were decided in a summary manner. The ruling race in 1867 was the Magyar, and it remained the ruling race. Though numerically in the minority in 1867, comprising only about six millions out of fifteen millions, it was a strong race, ac-

customed to rule and determined to rule. This minority was steadily, after 1867, attempting the impossible — the assimilation of the majority. There were four leading races in Hungary — the Magyar, the Slav, the Roumanian, the German. The Roumanians were the oldest, calling themselves Latins and claiming descent from Roman colonists of ancient times. They lived particularly in the eastern part of the kingdom, which is called Transylvania. They did not constitute a solid block of peoples, for there were among them many German or Saxon settlements, and between them and the independent Kingdom of Roumania, inhabited by people of the same race, were many Magyars. The Slavs of Hungary fell into separate groups. In the northern part of Hungary were the Slovaks, of the same race and language as the Czechs of Bohemia. In the southern and particularly the southwestern part, were Serbs and Croats, related to the Serbs of the Kingdom of Serbia. Of these the Croats were the only ones who had a separate and distinct personality. They had never been entirely absorbed in Hungary, they had had their own history, and their own institutions. In 1868 the Magyars made a compromise with Croatia, similar to the compromise they had themselves concluded with Austria in the year preceding. In regard to all the other races, however, the Magyars resolved to Magyarize them early and thoroughly. This policy they steadily persisted in. They insisted upon the use of the Magyar language in public offices, courts, schools, and in the railway service — wherever, in fact, it was possible. It is stated that there was not a single inscription in any post-office or railway station in all Hungary except in the Magyar language. The Magyars, in fact, refused to make any concessions to the various peoples who lived with them within the boundaries of Hungary. They, indeed, tried in every way to stamp out all peculiarities. For nearly fifty years this policy was carried out, and it did not succeed. Hungary was not Magyarized because the power of resistance of Slovaks, Croats, Slavonians, Roumanians proved too strong. But in the attempt, which grew sharper and shriller than ever in the last decade before the Great War, the Magyar minority stopped at nothing. It committed innumerable tricks, acts of arbitrary power, breaches of the law, in order to crush out all opposition. Political institutions were distorted into engines of ruthless oppression, political life steadily deteriorated in character and purpose, under the influence of this overmastering purpose which

recognized no bounds. Hungary, which boasted itself a land of freedom, insured freedom only to the dominant race, the Magyars. But for the other races Hungary was a land of unbridled despotism.

That many Roumanians in Transylvania desired separation from Hungary and incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania, that many of the Serbs or Slavs of southern Hungary desired annexation to the Kingdom of Serbia, need occasion no surprise. Had the subject races of Hungary received justice, which they never did receive, they might not have become an element of danger to the state.

Demand for Hungarian Independence Toward the close of the nineteenth century there grew up among the Magyars themselves a new party, which still further complicated an already complex situation. It was called the Independence Party and was under the leadership of Francis Kossuth, son of Louis Kossuth of 1848. This party was opposed to the Compromise of 1867, and wished to have Hungary more independent than she was. It demanded that Hungary should have her own diplomatic corps, control her relations with foreign countries independently of Austria, and possess the right to have her own tariff. Particularly did it demand the use of Magyar in the Hungarian part of the army of the Dual Monarchy — a demand pressed passionately, but always resisted with unshaken firmness by Francis Joseph, who considered that the safety of the state was dependent upon having one language in use in the army, that there might not be confusion and disaster on the battlefield. Scenes of great violence arose over this question, both in Parliament and outside of it, but the Emperor would not yield. Government was brought to a deadlock. Francis Joseph finally threatened, if forced to concede the recognition of the Hungarian language, to couple with it the introduction of universal suffrage into Hungary, for which there was a growing popular demand. This the Magyars did not wish, fearing that it would rob them of their dominant position by giving a powerful weapon to the politically inferior but more numerous races, and that they would, therefore, ultimately be submerged by the Slavs about them. In 1914 less than twenty-five per cent of the adult male population of Hungary possessed the vote. The normal operation of political institutions had for some time been seriously interrupted by the violent character of the discussions arising out of these extreme demands for racial monopoly and national independence. Parliamentary freedom had practically

disappeared, and at the outbreak of the war Hungary was being ruled quite despotically.

Territorial Gains and Losses during the Nineteenth Century. The House of Hapsburg lost during the nineteenth century the rich Lombardo-Venetian kingdom (1859-1866). It gained, however, Bosnia and Herzegovina. As a result of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877 these Turkish provinces were handed over by the Congress of Berlin of 1878 to Austria-Hungary to "occupy" and "administer." The acquisition of these Balkan countries rendered Austria-Hungary a more important and aggressive factor in all Balkan politics, and in the discussions of the so-called Eastern Question, the future of European Turkey. In October, 1908, Austria-Hungary declared these provinces formally annexed. The great significance of this act will be discussed later in connection with the very recent history of southeastern Europe and the causes of the European War.

In the middle of that war, on November 21, 1916, Francis Joseph died after a reign of nearly sixty-eight years. He was succeeded by his grand-nephew, who assumed the title of Charles I.

QUESTIONS

I. What reasons led the House of Hapsburg finally to alter its reactionary system of government in 1867? Describe the form of government established by the Compromise of 1867.

II. What were the racial problems of Austria and how were they treated? What were the racial problems of Hungary and how were they treated? What was the Hungarian Independence movement?

III. What were the territorial losses and gains of the House of Hapsburg in the nineteenth century?

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CHAPTER XXVII

ENGLAND AFTER 1868

The Elections of 1868. We have already traced the history of England down to the Reform Bill of 1867,¹ that is, during the first half of the famous Victorian era. We have seen that it was a period of numerous and important changes in the national life. Parliament had been made more representative of the people, the suffrage had been greatly extended, and much economic legislation had been passed, designed to improve the condition of the laboring classes.

There is little doubt that the Conservatives expected to be rewarded for passing the Reform Bill of 1867, as the Whigs had been for passing that of 1832, thought, that is, that the newly enfranchised would, out of gratitude, continue them in office. If so, they were destined to a great disappointment, for the elections of 1868 resulted in giving the Liberals a majority of a hundred and twenty in the House of Commons. Gladstone became the head of what was to prove a very notable ministry.

Gladstone's First Ministry (1868-1874). Gladstone possessed a more commanding majority than any prime minister had had since 1832. As the enlargement of the franchise in 1832 had been succeeded by a period of bold and sweeping change, so was that of 1867 to be. Gladstone was a perfect representative of the prevailing national mood. The recent campaign had shown that the people were ready for a period of reform of important constructive legislation. Supported by such a majority, and by a public opinion so vigorous and enthusiastic, Gladstone stood forth master of the situation. No statesman could hope to have more favorable conditions attend his entrance into power. He was the head of a strong, united, and resolute party and several men of great ability were members of his cabinet.

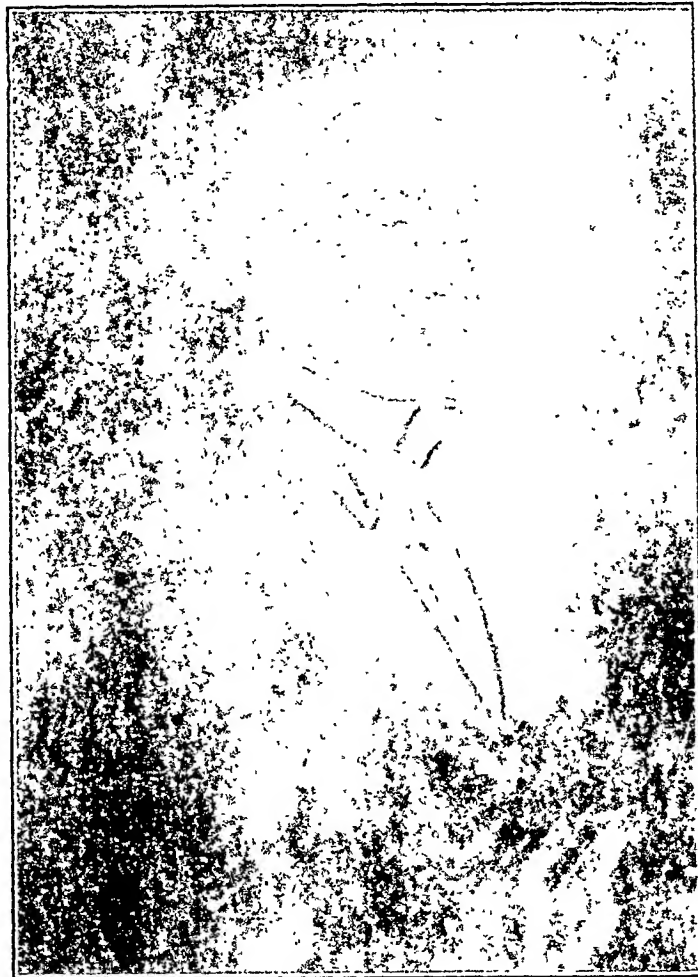
William Ewart Gladstone, 1809-1898. The man who thus became prime minister at the age of fifty-nine was one of the notable

¹ See Chapter XVI.

figures of modern English history. His parents were Scotch. His father had hewed out his own career, and from small beginnings had, by energy and talent, made himself one of the wealthiest and most influential men in Liverpool, and had been elected a member of Parliament. Young

William Ewart Gladstone received "the best education then going" at Eton College and Oxford University, in both of which institutions he stood out among his fellows. At Eton his most intimate friend was Arthur Hallam, the man whose splendid eulogy is Tennyson's *In Memoriam*. His career at Oxford was crowned by brilliant scholarly successes, and here he also distinguished himself as a speaker in the Union, the university debating club. Before leaving the university his thought and inclination were to take orders in the church, but his father was opposed to this

and the son yielded. In 1833 he took his seat in the House of Commons as representative for one of the rotten boroughs which the Reform Bill of the previous year had not abolished. He was to be a member of that body for over sixty years, and for more than half that time its leading member. Before attaining the premiership, therefore, in 1866, he had had a long political career and a varied training, had



WILLIAM E. GLADSTONE

From engraving by T. O. Barlow, after the painting by J. E. Millais.

ENGLAND AFTER 1868

held many offices, culminating in the Chancellorship of the Exchequer and the leadership of the House of Commons. Beginning as a Conservative (Macaulay called him in 1838 the "rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories"), he had, after a long period of transition, landed in the opposite camp, and was now the leader of the Liberal Party. By reason of his business ability, shown in the management of the nation's finances, his knowledge of parliamentary history and procedure, his moral fervor, his elevation of tone, his intrepidity and courage, his reforming spirit, and his remarkable eloquence, he was eminently qualified for leadership. When almost sixty he became prime minister, a position he was destined to fill four times, displaying marvelous intellectual and physical energy. His administration, lasting from 1868 to 1874, is called the Great Ministry. The key to his policy is found in his remark to a friend when the summons came from the Queen for him to form a ministry: "My mission is to pacify Ireland." The Irish question, in fact, was to be the most absorbing interest of Mr. Gladstone's later political career, dominating all four of his ministries. It has been a very lively and at times a decisive factor in English politics for the last fifty years.

The Irish Question. To understand this question, a brief survey of Irish history in the nineteenth century is necessary. Ireland was all through the century the most discontented and wretched part of the British Empire. While England constantly grew in numbers and wealth, Ireland decreased in population, and her misery increased. Ireland was inhabited by two peoples, the native Irish, who were Catholics, and settlers from England and Scotland, who were for the most part Anglicans or Presbyterians. The latter were a small but powerful minority.

The fundamental cause of the Irish question lay in the fact that Ireland was a conquered country, that the Irish were a subject race. As early as the twelfth century the English began to invade the island. Attempts made by the Irish at various times during six hundred years to repel and drive out the invaders only resulted in rendering their subjection more complete and more galling. Irish insurrections have been pitilessly punished, and race hatred has been the consuming emotion in Ireland for centuries. The contest has been unequal, owing to the far greater resources of England during all this time. The result of this turbulent history was that the Irish were a subject people in their own land, as they had been for centuries,

and that there were several evidences of this so conspicuous and so burdensome that most Irishmen could not pass a day without feeling the bitterness of their situation. It was a hate-laden atmosphere which they breathed.

The Agrarian Question. The marks of Irish subjection were various. The Irish did not own the land of Ireland, which had once belonged to their ancestors. The various conquests by English rulers had been followed by extensive confiscations of the land. Particularly extensive was that of Cromwell. These lands were given in large estates to Englishmen. The Irish were mere tenants, and most of them tenants-at-will, on lands that now belonged to others. The Irish have always regarded themselves as the rightful owners of the soil of Ireland, have regarded the English landlords as usurpers, and have desired to recover possession for themselves. Hence there has arisen the agrarian question, a part of the general Irish problem.

The Religious Question. The Irish had long been the victims of religious intolerance. At the time of the Reformation they remained Catholic, while the English separated from Rome. Attempts to force the Anglican Church upon them only stiffened their opposition. Nevertheless, at the opening of the nineteenth century they were paying tithes to the Anglican Church in Ireland, though they were themselves ardent Catholics, never entered a Protestant church, and were supporting their own churches by voluntary gifts. Thus they contributed to two churches, one alien, which they hated, and one to which they were devoted. Thus a part of the Irish problem was the religious question.

The Political Question. Again, the Irish did not make the laws which governed them. In 1800 their separate Parliament in Dublin was abolished, and from 1801 there was only one Parliament in Great Britain, that in London. While Ireland henceforth had its quota of representatives in the House of Commons, it was always a hopeless minority. Moreover, the Irish members did not really represent the large majority of the Irish, as no Catholic could sit in the House of Commons. There was this strange anomaly that, while the majority of the Irish could vote for members of Parliament, they must vote for Protestants — a bitter mockery. The Irish demanded the right to govern themselves. Thus another aspect of the problem was purely political.

The abuse just mentioned was removed in 1829, when Catholic Emancipation was carried, which henceforth permitted Catholics to sit in the House of Commons. The English statesmen granted this concession only when forced to do so by the imminent danger of civil war. The Irish consequently felt no gratitude.

The Irish Famine. As if Ireland did not suffer enough from political and social evils, an appalling catastrophe of nature was added. The Irish famine of 1845-1847, to which reference has already been made, was a tragic calamity, far-reaching in its effects. The repeal of the Corn Laws did not check it. The distress continued for several years, though gradually growing less. The potato crop of 1846 was inferior to that of 1845, and the harvests of 1848 and 1849 were far from normal. Charity sought to aid, but was insufficient. The government gave money, and later gave rations. In March, 1847, over 700,000 people were receiving government support. In March and April of that year the deaths in the workhouses alone were more than ten thousand a month. Peasants ate roots and lichens, or flocked to the cities in the agony of despair, hoping for relief. Multitudes fled to England or crowded the emigrant ships to America, dying by the thousand of fever or exhaustion. It was a long-drawn-out horror, and when it was over it was found that the population had decreased from about 8,300,000 in 1845 to less than 6,600,000 in 1851. After that the decrease occasioned by emigration continued. By 1881 the population had fallen to 5,100,000, by 1891 to 4,700,000, by 1901 to about 4,450,000. Since 1851 perhaps 4,000,000 Irish have emigrated. Ireland, indeed, is probably the only country whose population decreased in the nineteenth century. Year after year the emigration to the United States continued.

When Gladstone came into power in 1868 he was resolved to pacify the Irish by removing some of their more pronounced grievances.

Disestablishment of the Irish Church. The question of the Irish Church, that is, of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the church of not more than one-eighth of the population, yet to which all Irishmen, Catholic or Protestant, paid tithes, was the first grievance attacked. In 1869 Gladstone procured the passage of a law disestablishing and partly disendowing this church. The Church henceforth ceased to be connected with the State. Its bishops lost their seats in the House of Lords. It became a voluntary organization and was permitted to retain a large part of its property as an endowment.

It was to have all the church buildings which it had formerly possessed.

The System of Land Tenure. Gladstone now approached a far more serious and perplexing problem, the system of land tenure. Ireland was almost exclusively an agricultural country, yet the land was chiefly owned, not by those who lived on it and tilled it, but by a comparatively small number of landlords who held large estates. Many of these were Englishmen, absentees, who rarely or never came to Ireland, and who regarded their estates simply as so many sources of revenue. The business relations with their tenants were carried on by agents or bailiffs, whose treatment of the tenants was frequently harsh and exasperating. If the peasant failed to pay his rent he could be evicted forthwith. As he was obliged to have land on which to raise his potatoes, almost his sole sustenance, he frequently agreed to pay a larger rent than the value of the land justified. Then in time he would be evicted and faced starvation. Moreover, when a landlord evicted his tenant he was not obliged to pay for any buildings or improvements erected or carried out by the tenant. He simply appropriated so much property created by the tenant. Naturally there was no inducement to the peasant to develop his farm, for to do so meant a higher rent, or eviction and confiscation of his improvements. It would be hard to conceive a more unwise or unjust system. It encouraged indolence and slothfulness. Chronic and shocking misery was the lot of the Irish peasantry.

The Land Act of 1870. In the Land Act now passed to remedy the evils of this system it was provided that, if evicted for any other reason than the non-payment of rent, the tenant could claim compensation. He was also to receive compensation for any permanent improvements he had made on the land whenever he should give up his holding for any reason whatever. This Land Act of 1870 did not achieve what was hoped from it, did not bring peace to Ireland. Landlords found ways of evading it and evictions became more numerous than ever. But the bill was important because of the principles it involved, and was to exercise a profound influence upon later legislation. For the time being nothing further was done for Ireland.

Educational Reform. The Gladstone ministry carried, in 1870, a bill designed to provide England for the first time in her history

with a really national system of elementary education. The system then established remained without essential change until 1902. It marked a great progress in the educational facilities of England. The bill did not establish an entirely new educational machinery, to be paid for by the state and managed by the state. It adopted the church schools, which had been giving whatever education the children of England had received, on condition that they submit to state inspection to see if they were maintaining a certain standard. In that case they would receive financial aid from the state. But where there were not enough such schools, additional ones were to be established. Under this system, which provided an adequate number of schools of respectable quality, popular education made great advances. In twenty years the number of schools more than doubled, and were capable of accommodating all those of school age. The law of 1870 did not establish either free or compulsory or secular education, but, in 1880, attendance was made compulsory and in 1891 education was made free.

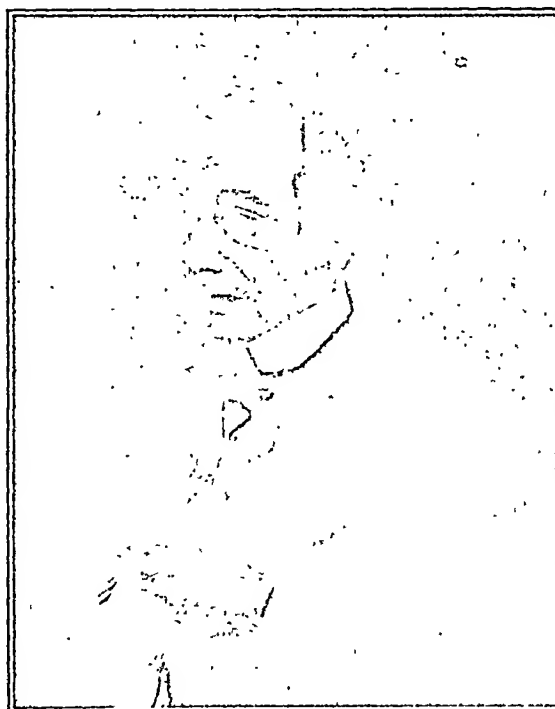
Democratic Reforms. A number of other far-reaching reforms, democratic in their tendency, were carried through by this ministry. The army was reformed somewhat along Prussian lines, though the principle of compulsory military service was not adopted. Officers' positions, which had previously been acquired by purchase and which were therefore monopolized by the rich, by the aristocracy, were now thrown open to merit. The Civil Service was put on the basis of standing in open competitive examinations. The universities of Oxford and Cambridge were rendered thoroughly national by the abolition of the religious tests which had previously made them a monopoly of the Church of England. Henceforth men of any religious faith or no religious faith could enter them, could graduate from them. The universities henceforth belonged to all Englishmen.

It was at this time also that the Australian ballot was introduced, thus giving to each voter his independence. Previously intimidation or bribery had been very easy, as voting had been oral and public; now the voting was secret.

The Disraeli Ministry (1874-1880). Gladstone fell from power in 1874 and the Conservatives came in, with Disraeli as prime minister. Disraeli's administration lasted from 1874 to 1880. It differed as strikingly from Gladstone's as Disraeli's character differed

from that of his predecessor. As Gladstone had busied himself with Irish and domestic problems, Disraeli displayed his greatest interest in colonial and foreign affairs. He found the situation favorable and the moment opportune for impressing upon England the political ideal, long germinating in his mind, succinctly called imperialism, that is, the transcendent importance of breadth of view and vigor of assertion of England's position as a world power, as an empire, not as an insular state. This principle Disraeli emphasized in act and speech during his six years of power. It gave a new note to English politics. This is Disraeli's historic significance in the annals of British politics. He greatly stimulated interest in the British colonies. He invoked "the sublime instinct of an ancient people."

The Suez Canal. Disraeli's first conspicuous achievement in foreign affairs was the purchase of the Suez Canal shares. The Suez Canal had been built by the French against ill-concealed English opposition, and had been opened to traffic in 1869. Disraeli had himself declared that the undertaking would inevitably be a failure. Now



BENJAMIN DISRAELI, LORD BEACONSFIELD

From a photograph.

that the canal was built its success was speedily apparent. It radically changed the conditions of commerce with the East. It shortened greatly the distance to the Orient by water. Hitherto a considerable part of the commerce with India, China, and Australia had been carried on by the long voyage around the Cape of Good Hope. Some went by the Red Sea route, but that involved transshipment at Alexandria. Now it could all pass through the canal. About three-fourths of the tonnage passing through the canal was English. It was the direct road to India. There were some 400,000 shares in the Canal Company. The Khedive of Egypt held a large

block of these, and the Khedive was nearly bankrupt. Disraeli bought, in 1875, his 177,000 shares by telegraph for four million pounds, and the fact was announced to a people who had never dreamed of it, but who applauded what seemed a brilliant stroke, somehow checkmating the French. It was said that the highroad to India was now secure. The political significance of this act was that it determined at least in principle the future of the relations of England to Egypt, and that it seemed to strike the note of imperial self-assertion which was Disraeli's chief ambition and which was the most notable characteristic of his administration.

The Queen Proclaimed Empress of India. At the same time Disraeli resolved to emphasize the importance of India, England's leading colony, in another way. He proposed a new and sounding title for the British sovereign. She was to be Empress of India. The Opposition denounced this as "cheap" and "tawdry," a vulgar piece of pretension. Was not the title of King or Queen borne by the sovereigns of England for a thousand years glorious enough? But Disraeli urged it as showing "the unanimous determination of the people of the country to retain our connection with the Indian Empire. And it will be an answer to those mere economists and those diplomatists who announce that India is to us only a burden or a danger. By passing this bill then, the House will show, in a manner that is unmistakable, that they look upon India as one of the most precious possessions of the Crown, and their pride that it is a part of her empire and governed by her imperial throne."

The reasoning was weak, but the proposal gave great satisfaction to the Queen, and it was enacted into law. On January 1, 1877, the Queen's assumption of the new title was officially announced in India before an assembly of the ruling princes.

Disraeli, who in 1876 became Lord Beaconsfield, continued in power until 1880. The emphasis he put upon imperial and colonial problems was to exert a considerable influence upon the rising generation, and upon the later history of England. Imperial and colonial vied henceforth with Irish questions in dominating the political discussion of England.

Gladstone's Second Ministry (1880-1885). In 1880 the Liberals were restored to power and Gladstone became prime minister for the second time. Two pieces of domestic legislation of great

importance were enacted by this ministry, the Irish Land Act of 1881, and the Reform Bills of 1884-1885.

The Land Act of 1881. The legislation of Gladstone's preceding ministry had not pacified Ireland. Indeed, the Land Act of 1870 had proved no final settlement, but a great disappointment. It had established the principle that the tenant was to be compensated if deprived of his farm except for non-payment of rent, and was to be compensated, in any case, for all the permanent improvements which he had made upon the land. But this was not sufficient to give the tenant any security in his holding. It did not prevent the landlord from raising the rent. Then if the peasant would not pay this increased rent he must give up his holding. He therefore had no stable tenure. In the new Land Act of 1881 Gladstone sought to give the peasant, in addition to the compensation for improvement previously secured, a fair rent, a fixed rent, one that was not constantly subject to change at the will of the landlord, and freedom of sale, that is, the liberty of the peasant to sell his holding to some other peasant. These were the "three F's," which had once represented the demands of advanced Irishmen, though they no longer did. Henceforth, the rent was to be determined by a court, established for the purpose. Rents, once judicially determined, were to be unchangeable for fifteen years, during which time the tenant might not be evicted except for breaches of agreement, such as non-payment of rent. There was also attached to the bill a provision similar to the one in the preceding measure of 1870, looking toward the creation of a peasant proprietorship. The Government was to loan money to the peasants under certain conditions, and on easy terms, to enable them to buy out the landlords, thus becoming complete owners themselves.

Extension of the Suffrage. Gladstone carried through at this time the third of those great reform acts of the nineteenth century by which England was transformed from an oligarchy into a democracy. The Reform Bill of 1832 had given the suffrage to the wealthier members of the middle class. The Reform Bill of 1867 had taken a long step in the direction of democracy by practically giving the vote to the lower middle class and the bulk of the laboring class in the boroughs, but it did not greatly benefit those living in the country

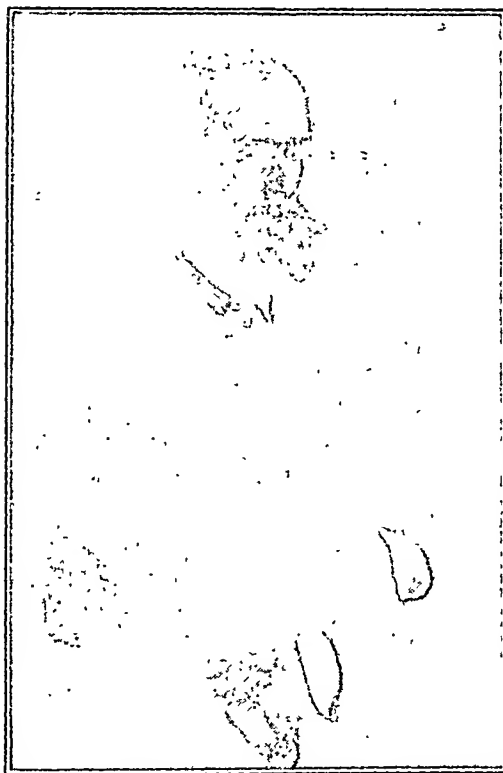
maintaining this difference. Gladstone's bill of 1884 aimed at the abolition of this inequality between the two classes of constituencies, by extending the borough franchise to the counties so that the mass of workingmen would have the right to vote whether they lived in town or country. The county franchise, previously higher, was to be exactly assimilated to the borough franchise. The bill as passed

doubled the number of county voters, and increased the total number of the electorate from over three to over five millions.

From 1884 to 1918 there was no further extension of the suffrage.

Gladstone's second ministry fell in 1885. There followed a few months of Conservative control under Lord Salisbury. But in 1886 new elections were held and Gladstone came back into power again, prime minister for the third time.

The Home Rule Movement. Gladstone was confronted by the Irish problem in a more acute form than ever before. For the Irish were now demanding a far-reaching change in government. They were demanding Home Rule ; that is, an



CHARLES STEWART PARNELL

After the painting by Sydney P. Hall.

Irish Parliament for the management of the internal affairs of Ireland. The feeling for nationality, one of the dominant forces of the nineteenth century everywhere, acted upon them with unusual force. They disliked, for historical and sentimental reasons, the rule of an English Parliament, and the sense as well as reality of subjection to an alien people. They did not wish the separation of Ireland from England but they did wish a separate parliament for Irish affairs on the ground that the Parliament at Westminster had neither the time nor

the understanding necessary for the proper consideration of measures affecting the Irish. The Home Rule party had been slowly growing for several years when, in 1879, it came under the leadership of Charles Stewart Parnell, who, unlike the other great leaders of Irish history, such as Grattan and O'Connell, was no orator and was of a cold, haughty, distant nature, but of an inflexible will. Under his able leadership the party increased in numbers, in cohesion, in grim determination. Parnell's object was to make it so large that it could hold the balance of power in the House of Commons. In the Parliament which met in 1886 the Home Rulers were in this position. If they united with the Conservatives the two combined would have exactly the same number of votes as the Liberals. As the Conservatives would not help them they sided with the Liberals.

Gladstone's Third Ministry. Gladstone entered upon his third administration February 1, 1886. It was his shortest ministry, lasting less than six months. It was wholly devoted to the question of Ireland. The Irish had plainly indicated their wishes in the recent elections in returning a solid body of 85 Home Rulers out of the 103 members to which Ireland was entitled. Gladstone, therefore, resolved to endeavor to give to Ireland the Home Rule she plainly desired. On the 8th of April, 1886, he introduced the Irish Government Bill, announcing that it would be followed by a Land Bill, the two parts of a single scheme which could not be separated.

The Home Rule Bill. The bill, thus introduced, provided for an Irish Parliament to sit in Dublin, controlling a ministry of its own, and legislating on Irish, as distinguished from imperial affairs. A difficulty arose right here. If the Irish were to have a legislature of their own for their own affairs, ought they still to sit in the Parliament in London, with power there to mix in English and Scotch affairs? On the other hand, if they ceased to have members in London, they would have no share in legislating for the Empire as a whole. The bill provided that they should be excluded from the Parliament at Westminster.

Land Purchase Bill. Gladstone did not believe that the Irish difficulty would be solved simply by new political machinery. There was a serious social question not reached by this, the land question, not yet solved to the satisfaction of the Irish. He introduced immediately a Land Bill, which was to effect a vast transfer of land to the peasants by purchase from the landlords, and which might

perhaps involve an expenditure to the state of about 120,000,000 pounds.

Opposition to Home Rule. The introduction of these two measures, whose passage would mean a radical transformation of Ireland, precipitated one of the fiercest struggles in English parliamentary annals. The strongest opposition arose out of the belief that these bills imperiled the very existence of the Union. The exclusion of the Irish members from Parliament seemed to many to be the snapping of the cords that held the countries together. Did not this bill really dismember the British Empire? Gladstone thought that his bill meant the reconciliation of two peoples estranged for centuries, and that reconciliation meant the strengthening rather than the weakening of the Empire. But, said his opponents, to give the Irish a parliament of their own, and to exclude them from the Parliament in London, to give them control of their own legislature, their own executive, their own judiciary, their own police, must lead inevitably to separation.

Disruption of the Liberal Party. The introduction of the Home Rule Bill aroused an amount of bitterness unknown in recent English history. The Conservative party opposed it to a man, and it badly disrupted the Liberal party. Nearly a hundred Liberals withdrew and joined the Conservatives. These men called themselves Liberal-Unionists, Liberals, but not men who were prepared to jeopardize the Union as they held that this measure would do. The result was that the bill was beaten by 343 votes to 313.

Gladstone dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people. The question was vehemently discussed before the voters. The result was disastrous to the Gladstonian Home Rulers. A majority of over a hundred was rolled up against Gladstone's policy.

The Salisbury Ministry (1886-1892). On the fall of Gladstone, Lord Salisbury came into power, head of a Conservative or Unionist Government. The Irish question confronted it as it had confronted Gladstone's ministry. As it would not for a moment consider any measure granting self-government to the Irish, it was compelled to govern them in the old way, by coercion, by force, by relentless suppression of liberties freely enjoyed in England. But the policy of this ministry was not simply negative. Holding that the only serious Irish grievance was the land problem and that, if this were once completely solved, then this new-fangled demand for a political reform

would drop away, the Conservatives adopted boldly the policy of purchase that had been timidly applied in Gladstone's Land Acts of 1870 and 1881. The idea was that if only the Irish could get full ownership of their land, could get the absentee and oppressive landlords out of the way, then they would be happy and prosperous and would no longer care for such political nostrums as Home Rule.

Land Purchase Act. The land purchase clauses of Gladstone's acts had had no great effect, as the state had offered to advance only two-thirds of the purchase price. The Conservatives now provided that the state should advance the whole of it, the peasants repaying the state by installments covering a long number of years. The Government buys the land, sells it to the peasant, who that instant becomes its legal owner, and who pays for it gradually. He actually pays less in this way each year than he formerly paid for rent, and in the end he has his holding unencumbered. This bill was passed in 1891, and in five years some 35,000 tenants were thus enabled to purchase their holdings under its provisions. The system was extended much further in later years, particularly by the Land Act of 1903, which set aside a practically unlimited amount of money for the purpose. From 1903 to 1908 there were about 160,000 purchasers. Under this act, which increased the inducements to the landlords to sell, Ireland was becoming a country of small freeholders.

Increase of the Navy. In respect to another item of internal policy, the Salisbury ministry took a stand of a most decisive character. In 1889 it secured an immense increase of the navy. Seventy ships were to be added at an expense of £21,500,000 during the next seven years. Lord Salisbury laid it down as a principle that the British navy ought to be equal to any other two navies of the world combined.

In foreign affairs the most important work of this ministry lay in its share in the partition of Africa, which will be described elsewhere.¹

The Fourth Gladstone Ministry (1892-1894). The elections of 1892 resulted in the return to power of the Liberals, supported by the Irish Home Rulers, and Gladstone, at the age of eighty-two, became for the fourth time prime minister, a record unparalleled in English history. As he himself said, the one single tie that still bound him to public life was his interest in securing Home Rule for Ireland before his end. It followed necessarily from the nature of

¹ Chapter XXIX.

the case that public attention was immediately concentrated anew on that question. Early in 1893 Gladstone introduced his Second Home Rule Bill. The opposition to it was exceedingly bitter and prolonged. Very few new arguments were brought forward on either side. Party spirit ran riot. Gladstone expressed with all his eloquence his faith in the Irish people, his belief that the only alternative to his policy was coercion, and that coercion would be forever unsuccessful, his conviction that it was the duty of the Irish to atone for six centuries of misrule.

Defeat of Second Home Rule Bill. After eighty-one days of discussion, marked by scenes of great disorder, members of the House of Commons coming to blows to the great damage of decorative traditions, the bill was carried by a majority of 267. A week later it was defeated in the House of Lords by 41, or a majority of more than ten to one. The bill was

Gladstone's fourth ministry was balked successfully at every turn by the House of Lords, which, under the able leadership of Lord Salisbury, recovered an actual power it had not possessed since 1832. In 1894 Gladstone resigned his office, thus bringing to a close one of the most remarkable political careers known to English history. His last speech in Parliament was a vigorous attack upon the House of Lords. In his opinion, that House had become the great obstacle to progress. "The issue which is raised between a deliberative assembly, elected by the votes of more than 6,000,000 people," and an hereditary body, "is a controversy which, when once raised, must go forward to an issue." This speech was his last in an assembly where his first had been delivered sixty-one years before. Gladstone died four years later, and was buried in Westminster Abbey (1898).

The Third Salisbury Ministry. In the elections of 1895 the Unionists secured a majority of a hundred and fifty. They were to remain uninterruptedly in power until December, 1905.

Lord Salisbury became prime minister for the third time. For many years the Home Rule question dropped into the background, the party now in power being resolutely opposed to the idea of an independent parliament in Ireland.

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee. The sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession occurring in 1897 was the occasion of a remarkable demonstration of the loyalty of the colonies to the

Empire, as well as of the universal respect and affection in which the sovereign was held. This diamond jubilee was an imposing demonstration of the strength of the sentiment of union that bound the various sections of the Empire together, of the advantages accruing to each from the connection with the others, of the pride of power.

Advantage was direct proof of the opinion of the prime more distinct of the various. These in London by their discussion methodically drawing the blithely parts of the forward more closely together. All these circumstances gave expression to that "imperialism" which was becoming an increasing factor in British politics.

The Death of Queen Victoria. A period of great activity in foreign and colonial affairs began almost immediately after the inauguration of the new Unionist ministry. It was shown in the recovery of the Soudan

by Lord Kitchener, but the most important chapter in this activity concerned the conditions in South Africa which led, in 1899, to the Boer War, and which had important consequences. This will better be described elsewhere.¹ This war, lasting from 1899 to 1902, much longer than had been anticipated, absorbed the attention of England until its successful termination. Internal legis-



QUEEN VICTORIA, AT THE AGE OF SEVENTY-EIGHT
From the painting by Baron von Angeli, at Windsor Castle.

¹ See pp. 440-446.

lation was of slight importance. During the war Queen Victoria died, January 22, 1901, after a reign of over sixty-three years, the longest in British history, and then exceeded elsewhere only by the seventy-one years' reign of Louis XIV of France. She had proved during her entire reign, which began in 1837, a model constitutional monarch, subordinating her will to that of the people, as expressed by the ministry and Parliament. "She passed away," said Balfour in the House of Commons, "without an enemy in the world." The those who loved not England loved her." The reign of many to VII (1901-1910), then in his sixty-second year, began. Did

Return of the Liberals to Power. When the South adstone war was over Parliament turned its attention to domestic affairs. The legislation which it enacted was so unpopular that it led to a crushing defeat of the Conservative party in the next elections, upon of 1906, and to the inauguration of a very different policy under Liberals.

From December, 1905, for nearly seventeen years the Liberal party was in power, first under the premiership of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and then, after his death early in 1908, under that of Herbert Asquith, who gave way, in December, 1916, to Lloyd George, a Liberal like the others, but whose ministry was a coalition ministry, composed, because of the exceptional requirements of the World War, of members of both parties. The Liberals won in the General Elections of 1906 the largest majority ever obtained since 1832.

The Liberals and the House of Lords. The new Liberal party was more radical than the old Liberal party of the time of the first Home Rule Bill, as the more conservative Liberals had left it then and had gone over to the opposition. Moreover there now appeared in Parliament a party more radical still, the Labor party, with some fifty members. Radical social and labor legislation was now attempted. An Old-Age Pensions Act was passed in 1908, granting pensions, under certain conditions, to all persons of a certain age and a certain minimum income. But when the Liberals attempted to carry out other features of their program they immediately confronted a most formidable obstacle. That obstacle was the House of Lords, which rejected these bills and stood right athwart the path of the Liberal party, firmly resolved not to let any ultra-democratic measures pass, firmly resolved also to maintain all the ground the Conservatives had won in the previous administrations. A serious

political and constitutional problem thus arose which had to be settled before the Liberals could use their immense popular majority, as shown in the House of Commons, for the enactment of Liberal policies. The House of Lords, which was always ruled by the Conservatives, and which was not, being an hereditary body, subject to direct popular control, now asserted its power frequently and, in the opinion of the Liberals, flagrantly, by rejecting peremptorily the more distinctive Liberal measures. The Lords, encouraged by their easy successes in blocking the Commons, blithely took another step forward, a step which, as events were to prove, was to precede a resounding fall. The Lords in 1909 rejected the budget, a far more serious act of defiance of the popular chamber than any of these others had been, and a most conspicuous revelation of the spirit of confidence which they had in their power, now being so variously and systematically asserted.

The Budget of 1909. In 1909 Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, introduced the budget. He announced correctly that two new lines of heavy expenditure, the payment of old-age pensions and the rapid enlargement of the navy, necessitated new and additional taxation. The new taxes which he proposed would bear mainly on the wealthy classes. The income tax was to be increased. In addition there was to be a special or super-tax on incomes of over £5000. A distinction was to be made between earned and unearned incomes — the former being the result of the labor of the individual, the latter being the income from investments, representing no direct personal activity on the part of the individual receiving them. Unearned incomes were to be taxed higher than earned. Inheritance



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE

taxes were to be graded more sharply and to vary decidedly according to the amount involved. New taxes on land of various kinds were also to be levied.

The Lords Reject the Budget. This budget aroused the most vehement opposition of the class of landowners, capitalists, bankers, persons of large property interests, persons who lived on the money they had inherited, on their investments. They denounced the bill as socialistic, as revolutionary, as, in short, odious class legislation directed against the rich, as confiscatory, as destructive of all just property rights.

The budget passed the House of Commons by a large majority. It then went to the House of Lords. For a long time it had not been supposed that the Lords had any right to reject money bills, as they were an hereditary and not a representative body. They, however, now asserted that they had that right, although they had not exercised it within the memory of men. After a few days of debate they rejected the budget by a vote of 350 to 75 (November 30, 1909).

The Contest between the Commons and the Lords. The rejection of the budget by the House of Lords precipitated an exciting and momentous political and constitutional struggle. The Liberals, blocked again by the hereditary chamber, consisting solely of the aristocracy of the land, and blocked this time in a field which had long been considered very particularly to be reserved for the House of Commons, indignantly picked up the gauntlet which the Lords had thrown down. The House of Commons voted overwhelmingly, 349 to 134, that the action of the Lords was "a breach of the Constitution and a usurpation of the rights of the House of Commons." Asquith declared in a crowded House that "the House would be unworthy of its past and of those traditions of which it is the custodian and the trustee," if it allowed any time to pass without showing that it would not brook this usurpation. He declared that the "power of the purse" belonged to the Commons alone. The very principle of representative government was at stake. For if the Lords possessed the right they had assumed the situation was exactly this : that when the voters elected a majority of Conservatives to the Commons then the Conservatives would control the legislation ; that, when they elected a majority of Liberals, the Conservatives would still control by being able to block all legislation they disliked by the veto of the House of Lords, always and permanently a body adhering to the Con-

servative party. An hereditary body, not subject to the people, could veto the people's wishes as expressed by the body that was representative, the House of Commons. In other words, the aristocratic element in the state was really more powerful than the democratic, the house representing a class more powerful than the house representing the people.

Appeal to the Country. The question of the budget and the question of the proper position and the future of the Upper Chamber were thus linked together.

As these questions were of exceptional gravity the ministry resolved to seek the opinion of the voters. Parliament was dissolved and a new election was ordered. The campaign was one of extreme bitterness, expressing itself in numerous acts of violence. The election, held in January, 1910, resulted in giving the Unionists a hundred more votes than they had had in the previous Parliament. Yet despite this gain the Liberals would have a majority of over a hundred in the new House of Commons if the Labor party and the Irish Home Rulers supported them, which they did.

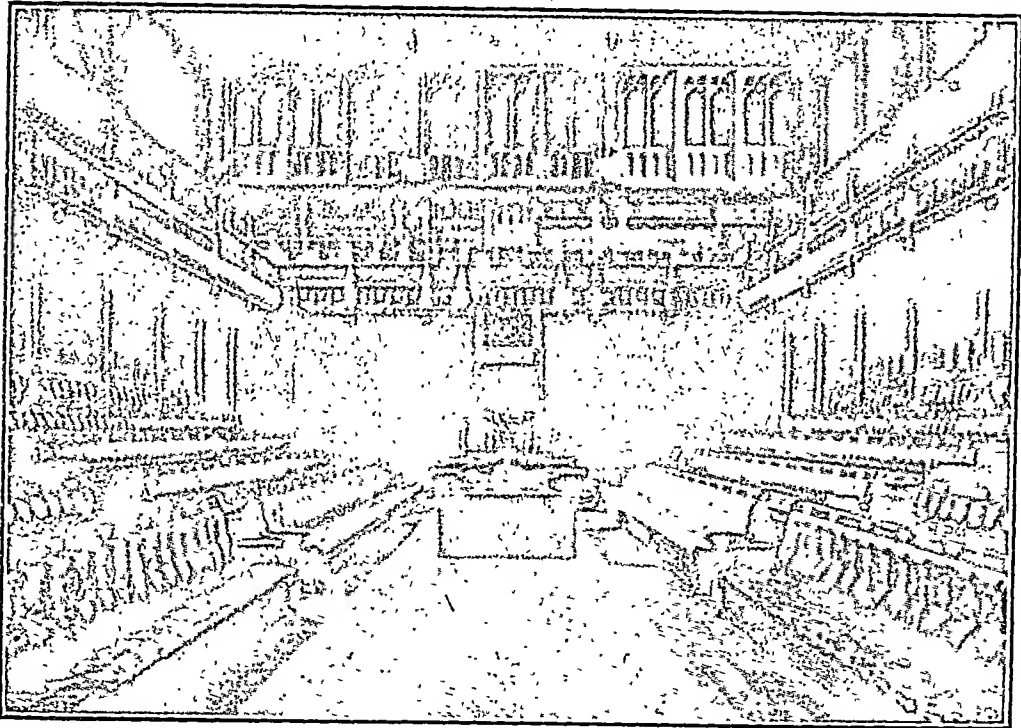
In the new Parliament the budget which had been thrown out the previous year was introduced again, without serious change. Again it passed the House of Commons and went to the Lords. That House yielded this time and passed the budget with all its so-called revolutionary and socialistic provisions.

The "Lords' Veto." — The Liberals now turned their attention to this question of the "Lords' Veto," or of the position proper for an hereditary, aristocratic chamber in a nation that pretended to



HERBERT ASQUITH

be democratic, as did England. The issue stated nearly twenty years before by Gladstone in his last speech in Parliament had now arrived at the crucial stage. What should be the relations between a deliberative assembly elected by the votes of more than six million voters and an hereditary body? The question was vehemently discussed inside Parliament and outside. Various suggestions for reform of the House of Lords were made by the members of that House itself, justly apprehensive for their future. The death of the popular



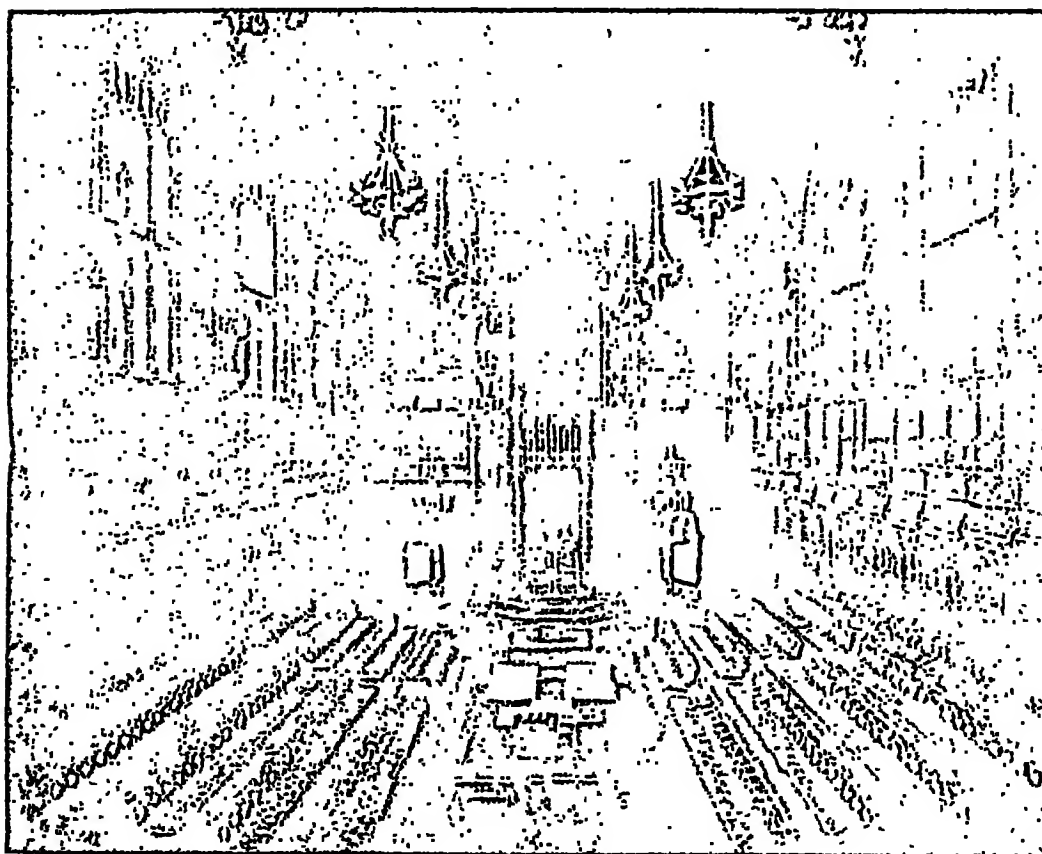
INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

King Edward VII (May 6, 1910), and the accession of George V, occurring in the midst of this passionate campaign, somewhat sobered the combatants, though only temporarily. Attempts were made to see whether some compromise regarding the future of the House of Lords might not be worked out by the two parties. But the attempts were futile, the issue being too deep and too far-reaching.

A New Appeal to the People. The ministry, wishing the opinion of the people on this new question, dissolved the House of Commons again and ordered new elections, the second within a single year

(December, 1910). The result was that the parties came back each with practically the same number of members as before. The Government's majority was undiminished.

The Lords' Veto Abolished. The Asquith ministry now passed through the House of Commons a Parliament Bill restricting the power of the House of Lords in several important particulars and providing that the House of Commons should in last resort have its



INTERIOR OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS

way in any controversy with the other chamber. This bill passed the House of Commons by a large majority. How could it be got through the House of Lords? Would the Lords be likely to vote in favor of the recognition of their inferiority to the other House, would they consent to this withdrawal from them of powers they had hitherto exercised, would they acquiesce in this altered and reduced situation at the hands of a chamber whose measures they had been freely blocking for several years? Of course they would not if they could help it. But there is one way in which the opposition of the House

of Lords can be overcome, no matter how overwhelming. The King can create new peers — as many as he likes — enough to overcome the majority against the measure in question. This supreme weapon the King, which of course in fact meant the Asquith ministry, was now prepared to use. Asquith announced that he had the consent of George V to create enough peers to secure the passage of the bill in case it were necessary. The threat was sufficient. The Lords on August 18, 1911, passed the Parliament Act which so profoundly altered their own status, power, and prestige. This measure establishes new processes of law-making. If the Lords withhold their assent from a money bill, that is, any bill raising taxes or making appropriations, for more than one month after it has passed the House of Commons, the bill may be presented for the King's signature and on receiving it becomes law without the consent of the Lords. If a bill other than a money bill is passed by the Commons in three successive sessions, whether of the same Parliament or not, and is rejected by the Lords, it may on a third rejection by them be presented for the King's assent and on receiving that assent will become a law, notwithstanding the fact that the House of Lords has not consented to the bill — provided that two years have elapsed between the second reading of the bill in the first of those sessions and the date on which the bill passes the Commons for the third time.

This Parliament or Veto Bill contained another important provision, substituting five years for seven as the maximum duration of a Parliament; that is, members of the Commons are henceforth chosen for five, not seven years.

Thus the veto power of the House of Lords is gone entirely for all financial legislation, and for all other legislation its veto is merely suspensive. The Commons can have their way in the end. They may be delayed two years.

The Third Home Rule Bill. The way was now cleared for the enactment of certain legislation desired by the Liberal party which could not secure the approval of the House of Lords. It was possible finally to pass a Home Rule Bill, to the principle of which the Liberal party had been committed for a quarter of a century. On April 11, 1912, Asquith introduced the Third Home Rule Bill, granting Ireland a Parliament of her own, consisting of a Senate of 40 members and a House of Commons of 164. If the two houses should disagree, then they were to sit and vote together. On certain subjects the Irish



THE CABINET ROOM
At No. 10 Downing Street.

Parliament should not have the right to legislate : on peace or war, naval or military affairs, treaties, currency, foreign commerce. It could not establish or endow any religion or impose any religious disabilities. The Irish were to be represented in the Parliament in London by 42 members instead of 103, the previous number.

This measure was passionately opposed by the Conservative party and particularly by the Ulster party, Ulster being that province of Ireland in which the Protestants are strong. They went so far in their opposition as to threaten civil war, in case Ulster were not exempted from the operation of this law. During the next two years the battle raged around this point, in conferences between political leaders, in discussions in Parliament and the press. Attempts at compromise failed, as the Home Rule party would not consent to the exemption of a quarter of Ireland from the jurisdiction of the proposed Irish Parliament.

The bill was, however, passed and was immediately vetoed by the House of Lords. At the next session it was passed again and again vetoed by the Lords. Finally on May 25, 1914, it was passed a third time by the House of Commons by a vote of 351 to 274, a majority of 77. The bill was later rejected by the Lords. It might now become a law without their consent, in conformity with the Parliament Act of 1911. Only the formal assent of the King was necessary.

But the ministry was so impressed with the vehemence and the determination of the "Ulster party," which went so far as to organize an army and establish a sort of provisional government, that it decided to continue discussions in order to see whether some compromise might not be arranged. These discussions were interrupted by the outbreak of the World War.

Finally the King signed the Home Rule Bill, approval being given on September 18, 1914, but Parliament passed on that same day a bill suspending the law from operation until the close of the war.

England now had far more serious things to consider and she swept the deck clean of contentious domestic matters until a more convenient season. Whether the Home Rule Act when finally put into force would be accompanied with amendments which would pacify the Protestants of Ulster, remained, of course, to be seen, or whether, indeed, it would ever be put into force.

QUESTIONS

I. When was Gladstone's First Ministry? Give an account of Gladstone's previous career. What were the various aspects of the "Irish Question"? What were the effects of the Irish famine? What legislation affecting Ireland did Gladstone carry through during his first ministry? What reforms did he carry through affecting England?

II. With what measures is the name of Benjamin Disraeli connected? Describe Gladstone's Land Act of 1881. What was the Home Rule movement? What were the main features of Gladstone's first Home Rule Bill? Why was that bill defeated?

III. What was Salisbury's policy concerning Ireland? When was the Second Home Rule Bill introduced? What was its fate?

IV. Describe Lloyd George's budget of 1909. What was the history of that budget? Give an account of the conflict between the House of Lords and the House of Commons. What was the outcome of that conflict? Do bills now have to pass the House of Lords before they can become laws? Has a Home Rule Bill ever become a law?

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CHAPTER XXVIII

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

The Expansion of Europe. We have thus far concerned ourselves with the history of the European continent. But one of the most remarkable features of the nineteenth century was the reaching out of Europe for the conquest of the world. It was not only a century of nation-building but also of empire-building on a colossal scale, a century of European emigration and colonization, a century during which the white race seized whatever regions of the earth remained still unappropriated or were too weak to preserve themselves inviolate. Thus magnificent imperial claims were staked out by various powers either for immediate or for ultimate use.

Many were the causes of this new Wandering of the Peoples. One was the extraordinary increase during the century of the population of Europe — perhaps a hundred and seventy-five millions in 1815, more than four hundred and fifty millions a century later. This is unquestionably one of the most important facts in modern history, the fundamental cause of the colossal emigration. Another cause was the transformation of the economic system, the marvelous increase in the power of production, which impelled the producers to ransack the world for new markets and new sources of raw material. And another and potent cause was the spectacle of the British Empire which touched the imagination or aroused the envy of other peoples, who therefore fell to imitating, within the range of the possible. An examination of the history and characteristics of that Empire is essential to an understanding of modern Europe.

The British Empire at the Close of the Eighteenth Century. At the close of the eighteenth century England possessed in the New World, the region of the St. Lawrence, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, and a large, vague region known as the Hudson Bay territory; Jamaica, and other West Indian islands; in Australia, a strip of the eastern coast; in India,

the Bengal or lower Ganges region, Bombay, and strips along the eastern and western coasts. The most important feature of her colonial policy had been her elimination of France as a rival, from whom she had taken in the Seven Years' War almost all of her North American and East Indian possessions. This Empire she increased during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars, largely at the expense of France, and Holland, the ally of France. Thus she acquired the Cape of Good Hope, Guiana in South America, Tobago, Trinidad, and St. Lucia, Mauritius in the Indian Ocean, and the large island of Ceylon. In the Mediterranean she acquired Malta. She also obtained Helgoland, and the protectorate of the Ionian Islands.

Since 1815 her Empire has been vastly augmented by a long series of wars, and by the natural advance of her colonists over unoccupied countries contiguous to the early settlements, as in Canada and Australia. Her Empire lies in every quarter of the globe.

India. The acquisition of India, a world in itself, for the British Crown was the work of a private commercial organization, the East India Company, which was founded in the sixteenth century and given a monopoly of the trade with India. This company established trading stations in various parts of that peninsula. Coming into conflict with the French, and mixing in the quarrels of the native princes, it succeeded in winning direct control of large sections, and indirect control of others by assuming protectorates over certain of the princes, who allied themselves with the English and were left on their thrones. This commercial company became invested with the government of these acquisitions, under the provisions of laws passed by the English Parliament at various times. In the nineteenth century the area of British control steadily widened, until it became complete. Its progress was immensely furthered by the overthrow, after a long and intermittent war, of the Mahratta confederacy, a loose union of Indian princes dominating central and western India. This confederacy was finally conquered in a war which lasted from 1816 to 1818, when a large part of its territories were added directly to the English possessions, and other parts were left under their native rulers, who, however, were brought effectively under English control by being obliged to conform to English policy, to accept English Residents at their courts, whose advice they were practically compelled to follow, and by putting their native armies under British direction. Such is the condition of many of them at the present day.

Annexation of the Punjab. The English also advanced to the north and northwest, from Bengal. One of their most important annexations was that of the Punjab, an immense territory on the Indus, taken as a result of two difficult wars (1845 to 1849), and the Oudh province, one of the richest sections of India, lying between the Punjab and Bengal, annexed in 1856.

The Sepoy Mutiny (1857). The steady march of English conquest aroused a bitter feeling of hostility to the English, which came to a head in the famous Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, which for a time threatened the complete overthrow of the British in northern India. This mutiny was, however, speedily suppressed. Since then no such attempts have been made to overthrow English control.

The Empire of India. One important consequence of the mutiny of 1857 was that in 1858 the government of India was transferred to the Crown from the private company which had conducted it for a century. It passed under the direct authority of England. In 1876, as we have seen, India was declared an empire, and Queen Victoria assumed the title Empress of India, January 1, 1877. This act was officially announced in India by Lord Lytton, the Viceroy, to an imposing assembly of the ruling princes.

An Empire it surely is, with its three hundred and twenty million inhabitants. A Viceroy stands at the head of the government. There is a Secretary for India in the British Ministry. The government is largely carried on by the highly organized Civil Service of India, and is in the hands of about eleven hundred Englishmen. About two hundred and forty-four millions of people are under the direct control of Great Britain ; about seventy millions live in native states under native rulers, the "Protected Princes of India," of whom there were, a few years ago, nearly seven hundred. For all practical purposes, however, these princes must follow the advice of English officials, or Residents, stationed in their capitals.

Not only did England complete her control of India in the nineteenth century, but she added countries round about India, Burma toward the east, and, toward the west, Baluchistan, a part of which was annexed outright, and the remainder brought under a protectorate. She also imposed a kind of protectorate upon Afghanistan as a result of two Afghan wars (1839-1842 and 1878-1880).

British North America. In 1815, as already stated, Great Britain possessed, in North America, six colonies : Upper Canada,

Lower Canada, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland; and the Hudson Bay Company's territories stretched to the north and northwest with undefined boundaries. The total population of these colonies was about 460,000. The colonies were entirely separate from each other. Each had its own government, and its relations were not with the others, but with England. The oldest and most populous was Lower Canada, which included Montreal and Quebec and the St. Lawrence valley. This was the French colony conquered by England in 1763. Its population was French-speaking, and Roman Catholic in religion.

The two most important of these colonies were Lower Canada, largely French, and Upper Canada, entirely English. Each had received a constitution in 1791, but in neither colony did the constitution work well, and the fundamental reason was that neither the people nor their legislatures had any control over the executive. The Governor, who could practically veto all legislation, considered himself responsible primarily to the English Government, not to the people of the province. England had not yet learned the secret of successful management of colonies despite the fact that the lesson of the American Revolution and the loss of the thirteen colonies half a century earlier was sufficiently plain. It took a second revolt to point the moral and adorn the tale. In 1837 disaffection had reached such a stage that revolutionary movements broke out in both Upper and Lower Canada. These were easily suppressed by the Canadian authorities without help from England, but the grievances of the colonists still remained.

The Durham Mission. The English Government, thoroughly alarmed at the danger of the loss of another empire, adopted the part of discretion and sent out to Canada a commissioner to study the grievances of the colonists. The man chosen was Lord Durham, whose part in the reform of 1832 had been brilliant. Durham was in Canada five months. The report (1840) in which he analyzed the causes of the rebellion and suggested changes in policy entitles him to the rank of the greatest colonial statesman in British history. In a word he adopted the dictum of Fox, who had said "the only method of retaining distant colonies with advantage, is to enable them to govern themselves." He proposed the introduction of the cabinet system of government as worked out in England. This gives the popular house of the legislature control over the executive.

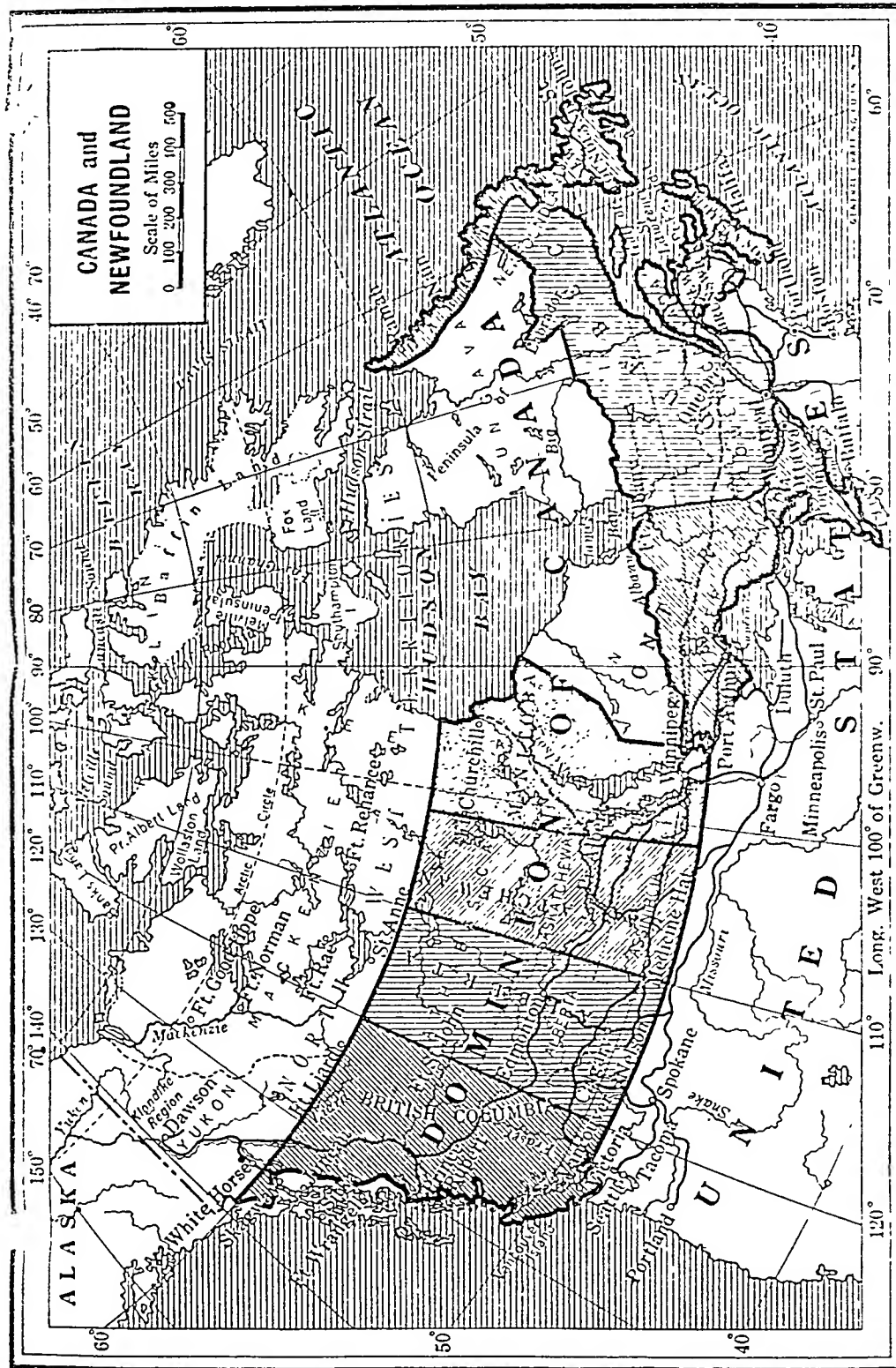
Ministerial Responsibility Introduced into Canada. Durham's recommendations were not immediately followed, as to many Englishmen they seemed to render the colonies independent. Some years later, however, this principle of ministerial responsibility was adopted by Lord Elgin (1847), the Governor of Canada and the son-in-law of Durham. His example was followed by his successors and gradually became established usage. The custom spread rapidly to the other colonies of Great Britain which were of English stock and were therefore considered capable of self-government. This is the cement that holds the British Empire together. For self-government has brought with it contentment.

The Dominion of Canada (1867). Lord Durham had also suggested a federation of all the North American colonies. This was brought about in 1867 when the British North America Act, which had been drawn up in Canada and which expressed Canadian sentiment, was passed without change by the English Parliament. By this act Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick were joined into a confederation called the Dominion of Canada. There was to be a central or federal parliament sitting in Ottawa. There were also to be local or provincial legislatures in each province to legislate for local affairs. Questions affecting the whole Dominion were reserved for the Dominion Parliament.

The central or Dominion Parliament was to consist of a Senate and a House of Commons. The Senate was to be composed of seventy members nominated for life by the Governor-General, himself appointed by the monarch, and representing the Crown. The House of Commons was to be elected by the people. In some respects the example of the English Government was followed in the constitution, in others that of the United States.

Growth of the Dominion. Though the Dominion began with only four provinces provision was made for the possible admission of others. Manitoba was admitted in 1870, British Columbia in 1871, Prince Edward Island in 1873.

In 1846, by the settlement of the Oregon dispute, the line dividing the English possessions from the United States was extended to the Pacific Ocean, and in 1869 the Dominion acquired by purchase (£300,000) the vast territories belonging to the Hudson Bay Company, out of which the great provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan have been carved and admitted into the union (1905). The Domin-



ion now includes all of British North America except the island of Newfoundland, which has steadily refused to join. It thus extends from ocean to ocean. Canada manages her own affairs, and even imposes tariffs which are disadvantageous to the mother country. That she has imperial as well as local patriotism, however, was shown strikingly in her support of England in the South African war. She sent Canadian regiments thither at her own expense to coöperate in an enterprise not closely connected with her own fortunes. The same spirit, the same willingness to make costly sacrifices, were to be shown, on a larger scale, in the war that began in 1914.

The founding of the Canadian union in 1867 rendered possible the construction of a great transcontinental railway, the Canadian Pacific, built between 1881 and 1885. This has in turn reacted upon the Dominion, binding the different provinces together and contributing to the remarkable development of the west. Another transcontinental railway has recently been built farther to the north. Canada is connected by steamship lines with Europe and with Japan and Australia. Her population has increased from less than five hundred thousand in 1815 to more than nine million. Her prosperity has grown immensely, and her economic life is becoming more varied. Largely an agricultural and timber producing country, her manufactures are now developing under the stimulus of protective tariffs, and her vast mineral resources are in process of rapid development.

Australia. In the Southern Hemisphere, too, a new empire was created by Great Britain during the nineteenth century, an empire nearly as extensive territorially as the United States or Canada, about three-fourths as large as Europe, and inhabited almost entirely by a population of English descent.

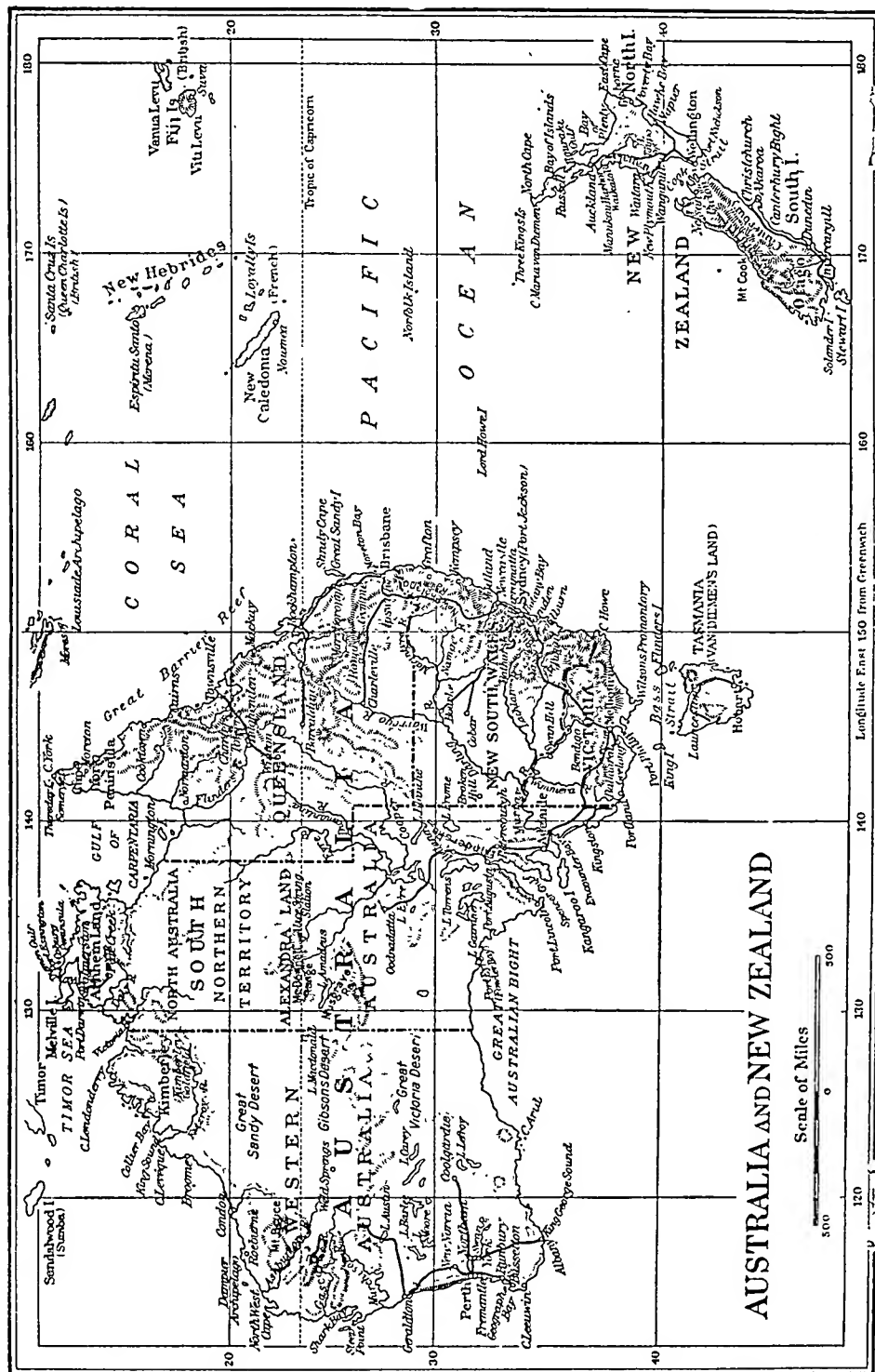
Early Explorations. No systematic exploration of this southern continent, *Terra Australis*, was undertaken until toward the close of the eighteenth century, but certain parts had been sighted or traced much earlier by Spanish, Portuguese, and particularly by Dutch navigators. Among the last, Tasman is to be mentioned, who in 1642 explored the southeastern portion, though he did not discover that the land which was later to bear his name was an island, a fact not known, indeed, for a century and a half. He discovered the islands to the east of Australia, and gave to them a Dutch name, New Zealand. The Dutch called the *Terra Australis* New Holland, claiming it by right of discovery. But they made no attempt to occupy it.

The attention of the English was first directed thither by the famous Captain Cook, who made three voyages to this region between 1768 and 1779. Cook sailed around New Zealand, and then along the eastern coast of this New Holland. He put into a certain harbor, which was forthwith named Botany Bay, so varied was the vegetation on the shores. Sailing up the eastern coast, he claimed it all for George III, and called it New South Wales because it reminded him of the Welsh coast. Seventeen years, however, went by before any settlement was made.

Early Settlements. At first Australia was considered by English statesmen a good place to which to send criminals, and it was as a convict colony that the new empire began. The first expedition for the colonization of the country sailed from England in May, 1787, with 750 convicts on board, and reached Botany Bay in January, 1788. Here the first settlement was made, and to it was given the name of the colonial secretary of the day, Sydney. For many years fresh cargoes of convicts were sent out, who, on the expiration of their sentences, received lands. Free settlers came too, led to emigrate by various periods of economic depression at home, by promises of land and food, and by an increasing knowledge of the adaptability of the new continent to agriculture, and particularly to sheep raising. By 1820 the population was not far from 40,000. During the first thirty years the government was military in character.

The free settlers were strongly opposed to having Australia regarded as a prison for English convicts, and after 1840 the system was gradually abolished. Australia was at first mainly a pastoral country, producing wool and hides. But, in 1851 and 1852, rich deposits of gold were found, rivaled only by those discovered a little earlier in California. A tremendous immigration ensued. The population of the colony of Victoria (cut off from New South Wales) increased from 70,000 to more than 300,000 in five years. Australia has ever since remained one of the great gold-producing countries of the world.

Thus there gradually grew up six colonies, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, South Australia, Western Australia, and the neighboring island of Tasmania. These were gradually invested with self-government, parliaments, and responsible ministries in the fashion worked out in Canada. The population increased steadily, and by the end of the century numbered about four millions.



The Formation of the Australian Commonwealth. The great political event in the history of these colonies was their union into a confederation at the close of the century. Up to that time the colonies had been unconnected with each other, and their only form of union was the loose one under the British Crown. For a long time there was discussion as to the advisability of binding them more closely together. Various reasons contributed to convince the Australians of the advantages of federation; the desirability of uniform legislation concerning commercial and industrial matters, railway regulation, navigation, irrigation, and tariffs. Moreover, the desire for nationality, which accomplished such remarkable changes in Europe in the nineteenth century, was also active here. An Australian patriotism had grown up. Australians desired to make their country the dominant authority in the Southern Hemisphere. They longed for a larger outlook than that given by the life of the separate colonies, and thus both reason and sentiment combined toward the same end, a close union, the creation of another "colonial nation."

Union was finally achieved after ten years of earnest discussion (1890-1900). The various experiments in federation were carefully studied, particularly the constitutions of the United States and Canada. The draft of the constitution was worked over by several conventions, by the ministers and the governments of the various colonies, and was finally submitted to the people for ratification. Ratification being secured, the constitution was then passed through the British Parliament under the title of "The Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act" (1900). The constitution was the work of the Australians. The part taken by England was simply one of acceptance. Though Parliament made certain suggestions of detail, it did not insist upon them in the case of Australian opposition.

The Federal Parliament. The constitution established a federation consisting of the six colonies which were henceforth to be called states, not provinces as in the case of Canada. It created a federal Parliament of two houses, a Senate consisting of six senators from each state, and a House of Representatives apportioned among the several states according to population. The powers given to the Federal Government were carefully defined. The new system was inaugurated January 1, 1901.

New Zealand. Not included in the new commonwealth is an important group of islands of Australasia, called New Zealand, sit-

uated 1,200 miles east of Australia. England began to have some connection with these islands shortly after 1815, but it was not until 1839 that they were formally annexed to the British Empire. In 1854 New Zealand was given responsible government, and in 1865 was entirely separated from New South Wales and made a separate colony. Emigration was methodically encouraged. New Zealand was never a convict colony. Population increased and it gradually became the most democratic colony of the Empire. In 1907 the designation of the colony was changed to the Dominion of New Zealand.

New Zealand consists of two main islands with many smaller ones. It is about a fourth larger than Great Britain and has a population of over 1,200,000, of whom about 50,000 are aborigines, the Maoris. Its capital is Wellington, with a population of about 100,000. Auckland is another important city. New Zealand is an agricultural and grazing country, and also possesses rich mineral deposits, including gold.

New Zealand is of great interest to the world of to-day because of its experiments in advanced social reform, legislation concerning labor and capital, landowning and commerce.

The government owns and operates the railways, the telegraphs and telephones and conducts postal savings banks. Life insurance is largely in its hands. It has a fire and accident insurance department. In 1903 it began the operation of some state coal mines. Its land legislation has been remarkable, its main purpose being to prevent the land from being monopolized by a few, and to enable the people to become landholders. In 1892 progressive taxation on the large estates was adopted, and in 1896 the sale of such estates to the government was made compulsory, and thus extensive areas have come under government ownership. There is an Old-Age Pension Law, enacted in 1898 and amended in 1905 and 1913, providing pensions of about a hundred and twenty-five dollars a year for all men and women after the age of sixty-five whose income is less than five dollars a week.

All this governmental activity rests on a democratic basis. There are no property qualifications for voting, and women have the suffrage as well as men. The referendum has been adopted.

The Australian colony of Victoria has enacted much legislation resembling that described in the case of New Zealand.

British South Africa. As an incident in the wars against Napoleonic France and her ally and dependent, Holland, England

seized the Dutch possession in South Africa, Cape Colony. This colony she retained in 1814, together with certain Dutch possessions in South America, paying six million pounds as compensation. This was the beginning of English expansion into Africa, which was to attain remarkable proportions before the close of the century. The population at the time England took possession consisted of about 27,000 people of European descent, mostly Dutch, and of about 30,000 African and Malay slaves owned by the Dutch, and about 17,000 Hottentots. Immigration of Englishmen began forthwith.

Friction between the Dutch (called Boers, *i.e.* peasants) and the English was not slow in developing. The forms of local government to which the Boers were accustomed were abolished and new ones established. English was made the sole language used in the courts. The Boers, irritated by these measures, were rendered indignant by the abolition of slavery in 1834. They did not consider slavery wrong. Moreover, they felt defrauded of their property as the compensation given was inadequate — about three million pounds — little more than a third of what they considered their slaves were worth.

The Great Trek. The Boers resolved to leave the colony and to settle in the interior where they could live unmolested by the intruders. This migration or Great Trek began in 1836, and continued for several years. About 10,000 Boers thus withdrew from Cape Colony. Rude carts drawn by several pairs of oxen transported their families and their possessions into the wilderness. The result was the founding of two independent Boer republics to the north of Cape Colony, namely the Orange Free State and the Transvaal or South African Republic. Theirs was to be a most checkered career. The Orange Free State was declared annexed to the British Empire in 1848, but it rebelled and its independence was recognized by Great Britain in 1854. From that time until 1899 it pursued a peaceful course, its independence not infringed.

Relations of Great Britain and the Transvaal. The independence of the Transvaal was also recognized, in 1852. But twenty-five years later, in 1877, under the strongly imperialistic ministry of Lord Beaconsfield, it was abruptly declared annexed to the British Empire, on the ground that its independence was a menace to the peace of England's other South African possessions. The Boers'

hatred of the English naturally expressed itself and they took up arms in the defense of their independence.

In 1880 Lord Beaconsfield was overthrown and Gladstone came into power. Gladstone had denounced the annexation, and was convinced that a mistake had been made which must be rectified. He was negotiating with the Boer leaders, hoping to reach, by peaceful means, a solution that would be satisfactory to both sides, when his problem was made immensely more difficult by the Boers themselves, who, in December, 1880, rose in revolt and defeated a small detachment of British troops at Majuba Hill, February 27, 1881. In a military sense this so-called battle of Majuba Hill was an insignificant affair, but its effects upon Englishmen and Boers were tremendous and far-reaching. Gladstone, who had already been negotiating with a view to restoring the independence of the Transvaal, which he considered had been unjustly overthrown, did not think it right to reverse his policy because of a mere skirmish, however humiliating. His ministry therefore went its way, not believing that it should be deflected from an act of justice and conciliation merely because of a military misfortune of no importance in itself. The independence of the Transvaal was formally recognized with the restriction that it could not make treaties with foreign countries without the approval of Great Britain and with the proviso, which was destined to gain especial importance later, that "white men were to have full liberty to reside in any part of the republic, to trade in it, and to be liable to the same taxes only as those exacted from citizens of the republic."

Importance of Majuba Hill. Gladstone's action was severely criticized by Englishmen who did not believe in retiring, leaving a defeat unavenged. They denounced the policy of the ministry as hostile to the welfare of the South African colonies and damaging to the prestige of the Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, considered that they had won their independence by arms, by the humiliation of the traditional enemy, and were accordingly elated. In holding this opinion they were injuring themselves by self-deception and by the idea that what they had done once they could do again, and they were angering the British by keeping alive the memory of Majuba Hill. The phrase just quoted, concerning immigration contained the germ of future trouble, which in the end was to result in the violent overthrow of the republic, for a momentous change in the character of the population was impending.

The Discovery of Gold in the Transvaal. The South African Republic was entirely inhabited by Boers, a people exclusively interested in agriculture and grazing, solid, sturdy, religious, freedom-loving, but, in the modern sense, unprogressive, ill-educated, suspicious of foreigners, and particularly of Englishmen. The peace and contentment of this rural people were disturbed by the discovery, in 1884, that gold in immense quantities lay hidden in their mountains, the Rand. Immediately a great influx of miners and speculators began. These were chiefly Englishmen. In the heart of the mining district the city of Johannesburg grew rapidly, numbering in a few years over 100,000 inhabitants, a city of foreigners. Troubles quickly arose between the native Boers and the aggressive, energetic Uitlanders or foreigners.

The Jameson Raid. The Uitlanders gave wide publicity to their grievances. Great obstacles were put in the way of their naturalization ; they were given no share in the government, not even the right to vote. Yet in parts of the Transvaal they were more numerous than the natives, and bore the larger share of taxation. In addition they were forced to render military service, which, in their opinion, implied citizenship. They looked to the British Government to push their demand for reforms. The Boer Government was undoubtedly an oligarchy, but the Boers felt that it was only by refusing the suffrage to the unwelcome intruders that they could keep control of their own state, which at the cost of much hardship they had created in the wilderness. In 1895 occurred an event which deeply embittered them, the Jameson Raid—an invasion of the Transvaal by a few hundred troopers under Dr. Jameson, the administrator of Rhodesia, with the apparent purpose of overthrowing the Boer Government. The raiders were easily captured by the Boers, who, with great magnanimity, handed them over to England. This indefensible attack and the fact that the guilty were only lightly punished in England, and that the man whom all Boers held responsible as the arch-conspirator, Cecil Rhodes, was shielded by the British Government, entered like iron into the souls of the Boers and only hardened their resistance to the demands of the Uitlanders. These demands were refused and the grievances of the Uitlanders, who now outnumbered the natives perhaps two to one, continued. Friction steadily increased. The British charged that the Boers were aiming at nothing less than the ultimate expulsion of the English

from South Africa, the Boers charged that the British were aiming at the extinction of the two Boer republics. There was no spirit of conciliation in either government

The South African War. Joseph Chamberlain, British Colonial Secretary, was arrogant and insolent. Paul Kruger, President of the Transvaal, was obstinate and ill-informed. Ultimately in October, 1899, the Boers declared war upon Great Britain. The Orange Free

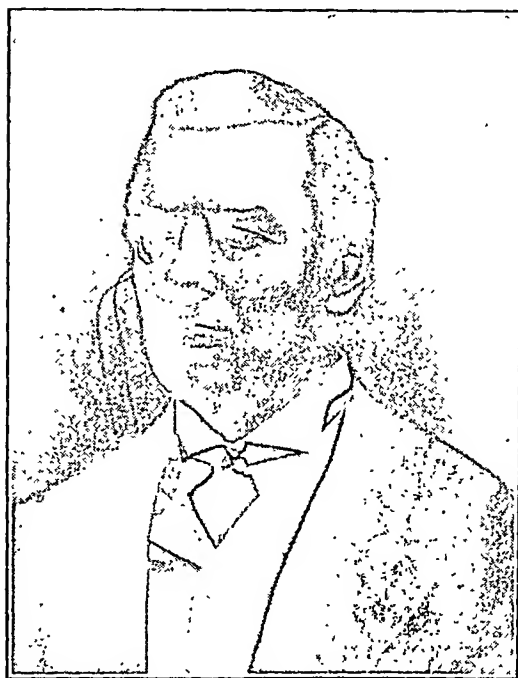
State, no party to the quarrel, threw in its lot with its sister Boer republic.

This war was lightly entered upon by both sides. Each grossly underestimated both the resources and the spirit of the other. The English Government had made no preparation at all adequate, apparently not believing that in the end this petty state would dare oppose the mighty British Empire. The Boers, on the other hand, had been long preparing for a conflict, and knew that the number of British troops in South Africa was small, totally insufficient to put down their resistance.

Moreover, for years they had

deceived themselves with a gross exaggeration of the significance of Majuba Hill as a victory over the British. Each side believed that the war would be short, and would result in its favor.

The war, which they supposed would be over in a few months, lasted for nearly three years. England suffered at the outset many humiliating reverses. The war was not characterized by great battles, but by many sieges at first, and then by guerrilla fighting and elaborate, systematic, and difficult conquest of the country. It was fought with great bravery on both sides. For the English, Lord Roberts and Lord Kitchener were the leaders, and of the Boers several greatly distinguished themselves, ob-



JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

taining world-wide reputations, Christian de Wet, Louis Botha, Delarey.

Victory of the English. The English won in the end by sheer force of numbers and peace was finally concluded on June 1, 1902. The Transvaal and the Orange Free State lost their independence, and became colonies of the British Empire. Otherwise the terms offered by the conquerors were liberal. Generous money grants and loans were to be made by England to enable the Boers to begin again in their sadly devastated land. Their language was to be respected wherever possible.

The work of reconciliation proceeded with remarkable rapidity after the close of the war. Responsible government, that is, self-government, was granted to the Transvaal Colony in 1906 and to the Orange River Colony in 1907. This liberal conduct of the English Government had the most happy consequences, as was shown very convincingly by the spontaneity and the strength of the movement for closer union, which culminated in 1909 in the creation of a new "colonial nation" within the British Empire. In 1908 a convention was held in which the four colonies were represented. The outcome of its deliberations, which lasted several months, was the draft of a constitution for the South African Union. This was then submitted to the colonies for approval and, by June, 1909, had been ratified by them all. The constitution was in the form of a statute to be enacted by the British Parliament.

The South African Union. The South African Union was the work of the South Africans themselves, the former enemies, Boers and



PAUL KRUGER

British, harmoniously coöperating. The central government consists of a Governor-General appointed by the Crown ; an Executive Council ; a Senate and a House of Assembly. Both Dutch and English are official languages and enjoy equal privileges. Difficulty



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was experienced in selecting the capital, so intense was the rivalry of different cities. The result was a compromise. Pretoria was chosen as the seat of the executive branch of the government, Cape Town as the seat of the legislative branch.

The creation of the South African Union was but another triumph of the spirit of nationality which has so greatly transformed the world since 1815. The new commonwealth has a population of about 1,500,000 whites and more than 5,000,000 people of non-European descent. Provision has been made for the ultimate admission of Rhodesia.

The British Empire. At the opening of the twentieth century Great Britain possessed an empire far more extensive and far more populous than any the world had ever seen, covering about thirteen millions of square miles, if Egypt and the Soudan were included, with a total population of over four hundred and twenty millions. This Empire was scattered everywhere, in Asia, Africa, Australasia, the two Americas, and the islands of the seven seas. The population included a motley host of peoples. Only fifty-four million were English-speaking, and of these about forty-two million lived in Great Britain. Most of the colonies are self-supporting. They present every form of government, military, autocratic, representative, democratic. The sea alone binds the Empire. England's throne is on the mountain wave. Dominance of the oceans she regards as

necessary in order that she may keep open her communications with her far-flung colonies. It is no accident that England is the greatest sea-power of the world, and intends to remain such.

A noteworthy feature of the British Empire, as already sufficiently indicated, is the practically unlimited self-government enjoyed by several of the colonies, those in which the English stock predominates, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand. But this system does not apply to the greatest of them all, India, nor to a multitude of smaller possessions.

QUESTIONS

I. What was the extent of the British Empire in 1815? Trace the growth of British dominion in India. What were the results of the mutiny of 1857?

II. What colonies did Great Britain possess in North America in 1815? What is the importance of Lord Durham in Canadian history? What is the government of the Dominion of Canada?

III. Give an account of Australian exploration and colonization. When and how were the Australian colonies made into a federation? What is that federation called? Describe the evolution of New Zealand.

IV. When did Great Britain get a foothold in South Africa? Trace the history of the relations of the British and the Boers down to the South African War. What were the results of that war? What is the South African Union?

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CHAPTER XXIX

THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

The Late Development of Africa. Lying almost within sight of Europe and forming the southern boundary of her great inland sea is the immense continent, three times the size of Europe, whose real nature was revealed only in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In some respects the seat of very ancient history, in most its history is just beginning. In Egypt a rich and advanced civilization appeared in very early times along the lower valley of the Nile. Yet only after thousands of years and only after 1850 were the sources and the upper course of that famous river discovered. Along the northern coasts arose the civilization and state of Carthage, rich, mysterious, and redoubtable, for a while the powerful rival of Rome, succumbing to the latter only after severe and memorable struggles. The ancient world knew therefore the northern shores of Africa. The rest was practically unknown. In the fifteenth century came the great series of geographical discoveries, which immensely widened the known boundaries of the world. Among other things they revealed the hitherto unknown outline and magnitude of the continent. But its great inner mass remained as before, unexplored, and so it remained until well into the nineteenth century.

The Situation in 1815. In 1815 the situation was as follows : The Turkish Empire extended along the whole northern coast to Morocco, that is, the Sultan was nominally sovereign of Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algeria. Morocco was independent under its own sultan. Along the western coasts were scattered settlements, or rather stations, of England, France, Denmark, Holland, Spain, and Portugal. Portugal had certain claims on the eastern coast, opposite Madagascar. England had just acquired the Dutch Cape Colony whence, as we have seen, her expansion into a great South African power has proceeded. The interior of the continent was unknown, and was of interest only to geographers.

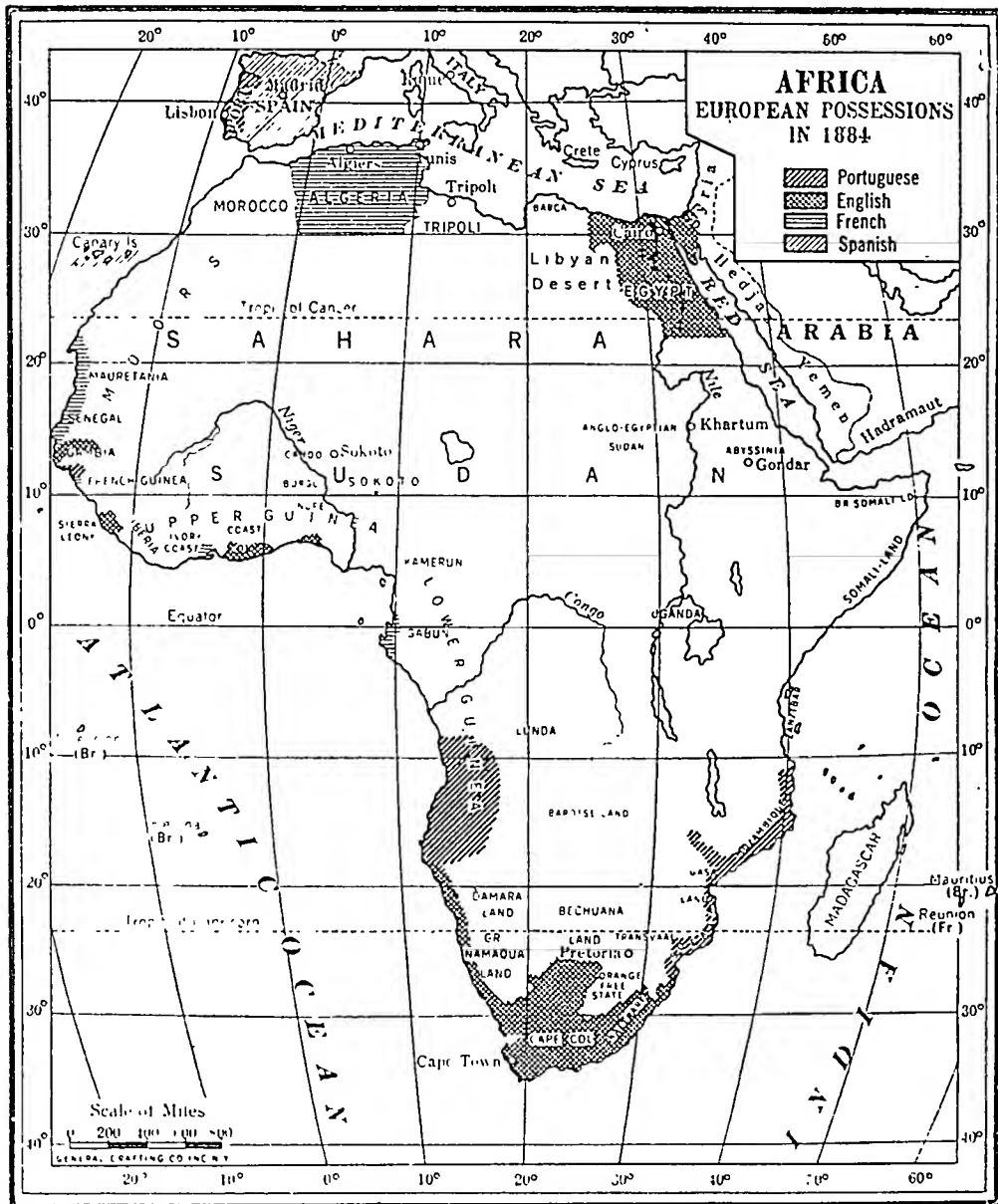
For sixty years after 1815, progress in the appropriation of Africa by Europe was slow. The most important annexation was that of Algeria by France between 1830 and 1847. In the south, England was spreading out, and the Boers were founding their two republics.

Explorations in Africa. European annexation waited upon exploration. Africa was the "Dark Continent," and until the darkness was lifted it was not coveted. About the middle of the century the darkness began to disappear. Explorers penetrated farther and farther into the interior, traversing the continent in various directions, opening a chapter of geographical discovery of absorbing interest. It is impossible within our limits to do more than allude to the wonderful work participated in by many intrepid explorers, Englishmen, Frenchmen, Portuguese, Dutch, Germans, and Belgians. A few incidents only can be mentioned.

The Sources of the Nile. It was natural that Europeans should be curious about the sources of the Nile, a river famous since the dawn of history, but whose origin remained enveloped in obscurity. In 1858 one source was found by Speke, an English explorer, to consist of a great lake south of the equator, to which the name Victoria Nyanza was given. Six years later another Englishman, Sir Samuel Baker, discovered another lake, also a source, and named it Albert Nyanza.

Livingstone and Stanley. Two names particularly stand out in this record of African exploration, Livingstone and Stanley. David Livingstone, a Scotch missionary and traveler, began his African career in 1840, and continued it until his death in 1873. He traced the course of the Zambesi River, of the upper Congo, and the region round about Lakes Tanganyika (tän-gän-yě'-kă) and Nyassa. He crossed Africa from sea to sea. He opened up a new country to the world. His explorations caught the attention of Europe, and when, on one of his journeys, Europe thought that he was lost or dead, and an expedition was sent out to find him, that expedition riveted the attention of Europe as no other in African history had done. It was under the direction of Henry M. Stanley, sent out by the New York *Herald*. Stanley's story of how he found Livingstone was read with the greatest interest in Europe, and heightened the desire, already widespread, for more knowledge about the great continent. Livingstone, whose name is the most important in the history of African exploration, died in 1873. His body was

borne with all honor to England and given the burial of a national hero in Westminster Abbey.



By this time not only was the scientific curiosity of Europe thoroughly aroused, but missionary zeal saw a new field for activity. Thus Stanley's journey across Africa, from 1874 to 1878, was followed in Europe with an attention unparalleled in the history of

modern explorations. Stanley explored the equatorial lake region, making important additions to knowledge. His great work was, however, his exploration of the Congo River system. Little had been known of this river save its lower course as it approached the sea. Stanley proved that it was one of the largest rivers in the world, that its length was more than three thousand miles, that it was fed by an enormous number of tributaries, that it drained an area of over 1,300,000 square miles, that in the volume of its waters it was only exceeded by the Amazon.

The Partition of Africa by Europe. By 1880, the scientific enthusiasm and curiosity, the missionary and philanthropic zeal of Europeans, the hatred of slave hunters who plied their trade in the interior, had solved the great mystery of Africa. The map showed rivers and lakes where previously all had been blank.

Upon discovery quickly followed appropriation. France entered upon her protectorate of Tunis in 1881, England upon her "occupation" of Egypt in 1882. This was a signal for a general scramble. A feverish period of partition succeeded the long, slow one of discovery. European powers swept down upon this continent lying at their very door, hitherto neglected and despised, and carved it up among themselves. This they did, without recourse to war, by a series of treaties among themselves, defining the boundaries of their claims. Africa became an annex of Europe. Out of this rush for territories the great powers, England, France, and Germany, naturally emerged with the largest acquisitions, but Portugal and Italy each secured a share. The situation and relative extent of these may best be appreciated by an examination of the map. Most of the treaties by which this division was affected were made between 1884 and 1890.

The Congo Free State. One feature of this appropriation of Africa by Europe was the foundation of the Congo Free State. This was the work of the second King of Belgium, Leopold II, a man who was greatly interested in the exploration of that continent. After the discoveries of Livingstone, and the early ones of Stanley, he called a conference of the powers in 1876. As a result of its deliberations an International African Association was established, which was to have its seat in Brussels, and whose aim was to be the exploration and civilization of central Africa. Each nation wishing to coöperate was to collect funds for the common object.

In 1879 Stanley was sent out to carry on the work he had already

begun. Hitherto an explorer he now became, in addition, an organizer and state builder.

During the next four or five years, 1879-1884, he made hundreds of treaties with native chiefs and founded many stations in the Congo basin. Nominally an emissary of an international association, his expenses were largely borne by King Leopold II.

The Berlin Conference. Portugal now put forth extensive claims to much of this Congo region on the ground of previous discovery. To adjust these claims and other matters a general conference was held in Berlin, in 1884-1885, attended by all the states of Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, and also by the United States. The conference recognized the existence as an independent power of the Congo Free State, with an extensive area, most of the Congo basin. It was evidently its understanding that this was to be a neutral and international state. Trade in it was to be open to all nations on equal terms, the rivers were to be free to all, and only such dues were to be levied as should be required to provide for the necessities of commerce. No trade monopolies were to be granted. The conference, however, provided no machinery for the enforcement of its decrees. Those decrees remained unfulfilled. The state quickly ceased to be international, monopolies were granted, trade in the Congo was not free to all.

The new state became practically Belgian because the King of Belgium was the only one to show much practical interest in the project. In 1885, Leopold II assumed the position of sovereign, declaring that the connection of the Congo Free State and Belgium should be merely personal, he being the ruler of both. This and later changes in the status of the Congo have either been formally recognized or acquiesced in by the powers. This international state finally in 1908 was converted outright into a Belgian colony, subject, not to the personal rule of the King, but to Parliament.

Egypt a Province of the Turkish Empire. Egypt, a seat of ancient civilization, was conquered by the Turks and became a part of the Turkish Empire in 1517. It remained nominally such down to 1914, when Great Britain declared it annexed to the British Empire as a protected state. During all that time its supreme ruler was the Sultan, who resided in Constantinople. But a series of remarkable events in the nineteenth century resulted in giving it a most singular and complicated position. To put down certain opponents of the

Sultan an Albanian warrior, Mehemet Ali (mā'-he-met ä'lē), was sent out early in the nineteenth century. Appointed by the Sultan Governor of Egypt in 1806, he had, by 1811, made himself absolute master of the country. He had succeeded only too well. Originally merely the representative of the Sultan, he had become the real ruler of the land. His ambitions grew with his successes, and he was able to gain the important concession that the right to rule as viceroy in Egypt should be hereditary in his family. The title was later changed to that of Khedive. Thus was founded an Egyptian dynasty, subject to the dynasty of Constantinople.

The Reign of Ismail (1863-1879). The fifth ruler of this family was Ismail (is-mä-ēl'). It was under him that the Suez Canal was completed, a great undertaking carried through by a French engineer, Ferdinand de Lesseps, the money coming largely from European investors. This Khedive plunged into the most reckless extravagance. As a result the Egyptian debt rose with extraordinary rapidity from three million pounds in 1863 to eighty-nine million in 1876.

The Khedive, needing money, sold, in 1875, his shares in the Suez Canal Company to Great Britain for about four million pounds, to the great irritation of the French. This was a mere temporary relief to the Khedive's finances, but was an important advantage to England, as the canal was destined inevitably to be the favorite route to India.

Intervention of England and France. This extraordinary increase of the Egyptian debt is the key to the whole later history of that country. The money had been borrowed abroad, mainly in England and France. Fearing the bankruptcy of Egypt the governments of the two countries intervened in the interest of their investors, and succeeded in imposing their control over a large part of the financial administration. This was the famous Dual Control, which lasted from 1879 to 1883.

The Khedive, Ismail, resenting this tutelage, was consequently forced to abdicate, and was succeeded by his son Tewfik, who ruled from 1879 to 1892. The new Khedive did not struggle against the Dual Control, but certain elements of the population did. The bitter hatred inspired by this intervention of the foreigners flared up in a native movement which had as its war cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians," and as its leader, Arabi Pasha, an officer in the army. Before this movement of his subjects the Khedive was powerless.

It was evident that the foreign control, established in the interest of foreign bond-holders, could only be perpetuated by the suppression of Arabi and his fellow-malcontents, and that the suppression could be accomplished only by the foreigners themselves. Thus financial intervention led directly to military intervention. England sought the coöperation of France, but France declined. She then proceeded alone, defeated Arabi in September, 1882, and crushed the rebellion.

England becomes "Adviser" to Egypt. The English had intervened nominally in the interest of the Khedive's authority against his



GENERAL GORDON

rebel, Arabi, though they had not been asked so to intervene either by the Khedive himself or by the Sultan of Turkey, legal sovereign of Egypt, or by the powers of Europe. Having suppressed the insurrection, what would they do? Would they withdraw their army? The question was a difficult one. To withdraw was to leave Egypt a prey to anarchy; to remain was certainly to offend the European powers which would look upon this as a piece of British aggression. Particularly would such action be resented by France.

Consequently England did

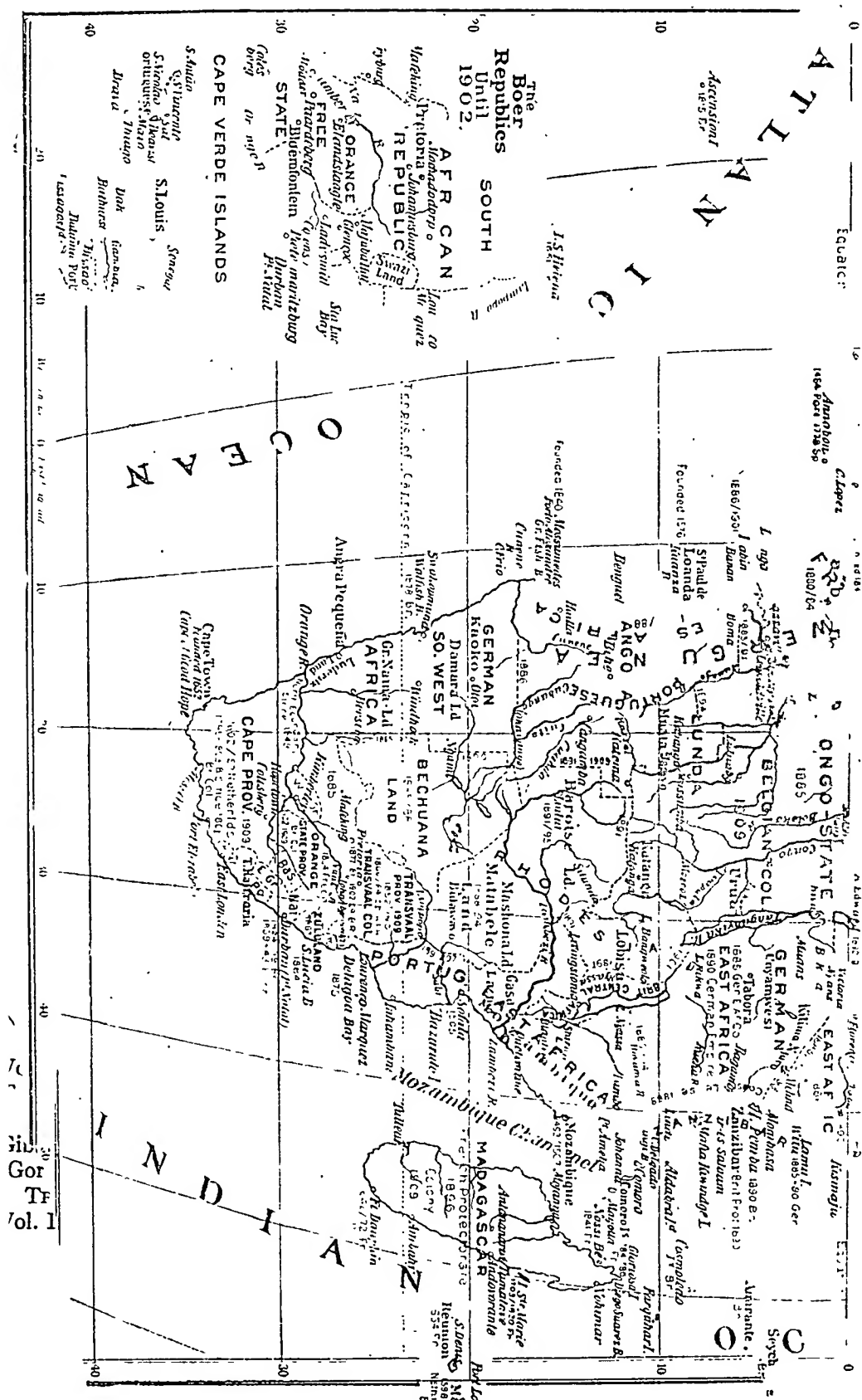
not annex Egypt. She recognized the Khedive as still the ruler, Egypt as still technically a part of Turkey. But she insisted on holding the position of "adviser" to the Khedive and also insisted that her "advice" in the government of Egypt be followed. From 1883 to 1914 such was the situation. A British force remained in Egypt, the "occupation," as it was called, continued, advice was compulsory. England was ruler in fact, not in law. The Dual Control ended in 1883, and England began in earnest a work of reconstruction and reform which was carried forward under the guidance of Lord Cromer, who was British Consul-General in Egypt until 1907.

Loss of the Sudan. In intervening in Egypt in 1882, England became immediately involved in a further enterprise which brought disaster and humiliation. Egypt possessed a dependency to the south, the Sudan, a vast region comprising chiefly the basin of the Upper Nile, a poorly organized territory with a varied, semi-civilized, nomadic population, and a capital at Khartoum. This province, long oppressed by Egypt, was in full process of revolt. It found a chief in a man called the Mahdi, or leader, who succeeded in arousing the fierce religious fanaticism of the Sudanese by claiming to be a kind of Prophet or Messiah. Winning successes over the Egyptian troops, he proclaimed a religious war, the people of the whole Sudan rallied about him, and the result was that the troops were driven into their fortresses and there besieged. Would England recognize any obligation to preserve the Sudan for Egypt? Gladstone, then prime minister, determined to abandon the Sudan. But even this was a matter of



LORD KITCHENER

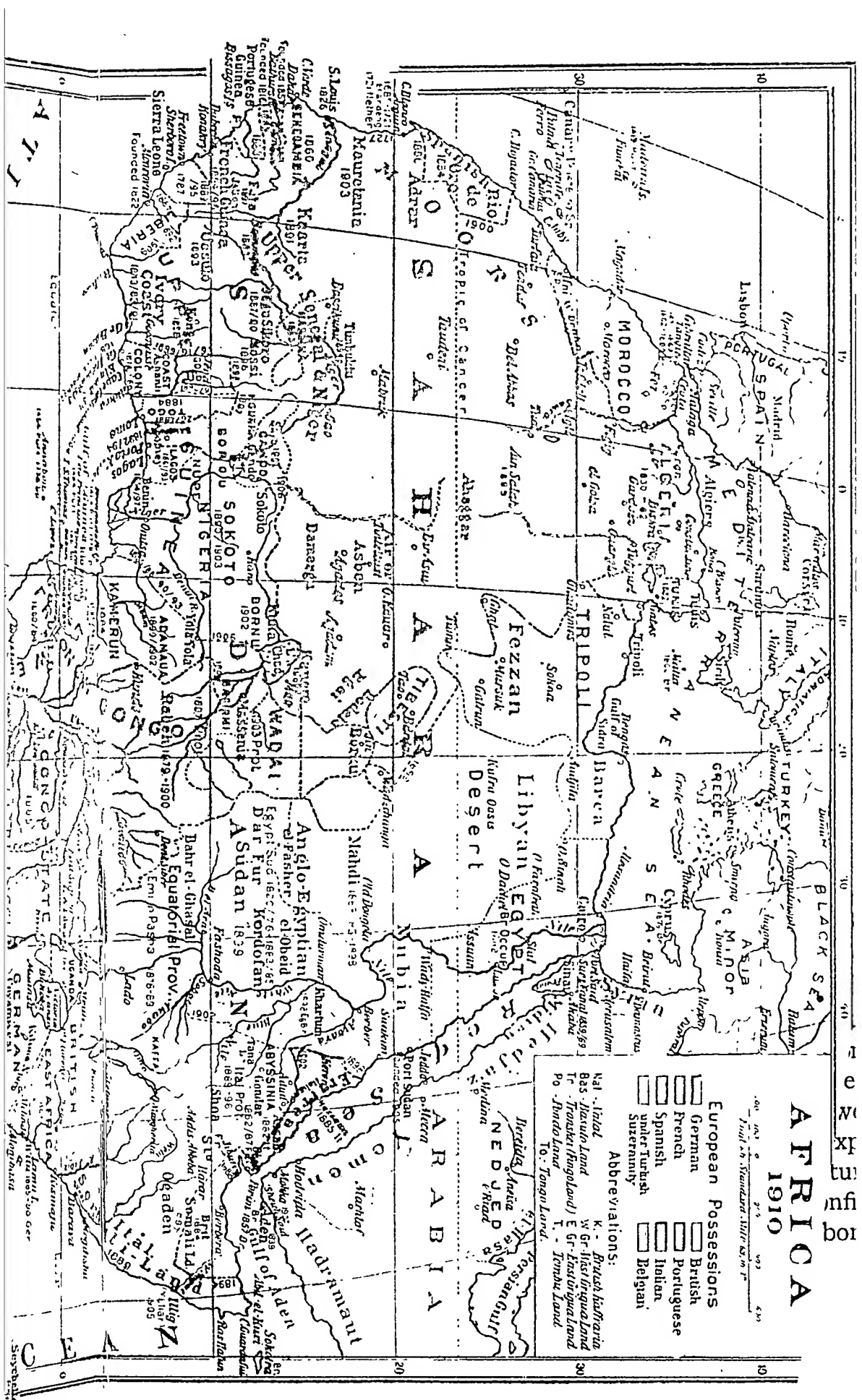
difficulty. It involved at least the rescue of the imprisoned garrisons. The ministry was unwilling to send a military expedition. It finally decided to send out General Gordon, a man who had shown a remarkable power in influencing half-civilized races. It was understood that there was to be no expedition. It was apparently supposed that somehow Gordon, without military aid, could accomplish the safe withdrawal of the garrisons. He reached Khartoum, but found the danger far more serious than had been supposed, the rebellion far more menacing. He found himself shortly shut up in Khartoum (chär-töm'), surrounded by frenzied and confident Mah-



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CHAPTER XXX

THE DISRUPTION OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE AND THE RISE OF THE BALKAN STATES

Decay of the Ottoman Empire. All through the period covered by this book there went on the process of the dismemberment of an empire which had once terrified Western Europe, threatening it with subjection to its yoke. During the past two centuries that empire has been on the defensive and has steadily lost ground. In the eighteenth century Russia and Austria, her neighbors, despoiled her of some of her valuable lands. In the nineteenth it was, in the main, her own subjects who rose against her, who tore the empire apart, and founded a number of independent states on soil that formerly was Turkish. The map of modern Europe shows no greater change as compared with the map a hundred years ago than in the Balkan peninsula. That change is the product of a most eventful history, the solution thus far given to one of the most intricate and contentious problems European statesmen have ever had to consider, the Eastern Question, the question, that is, of what should be done with Turkey.

The Subject Peoples of Turkey. The Turks, an Asiatic, Mohammedan people, had conquered southeastern Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and had subdued many different races: the Greeks, claiming descent from the Greeks of antiquity ; the Roumanians, claiming descent from Roman colonists of the Empire ; the Albanians; and various branches of the great Slavic race, the Serbians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Montenegrins. Full of contempt for those whom they had conquered, the Turks made no attempt to assimilate them or to fuse them into one body politic. They were satisfied with reducing the conquered to subjection, and with exploiting them. These Christian peoples were effaced for several centuries beneath Mohammedan oppression, their property likely to be confiscated, their lives taken, whenever it suited their rulers. They bore their

ills with resignation as long as they thought it impossible to resist oppression, yet they never acquiesced in their position. Hating their oppressors with a deathless hatred they only waited for their hour of deliverance. But the wars of liberation of the Balkan peoples from the Turks, begun in the first decade of the nineteenth century, were not yet over in the third decade of the twentieth century. This is a long, bloody, confused, and heroic chapter of history.

The Revolt of the Serbians. The Serbians were the first to rise, — in 1804 under Kara George, a swineherd. The Turks were driven from Serbia for a time, but they regained it in 1813. The Serbians again arose, and in 1820, Milosch Obrenovitch, who had instigated the murder of Kara George in 1817, and who thus became leader himself, secured from the Sultan the title of "Prince of the Serbians of the Pashalik of Belgrade." His policy henceforth was directed to the acquisition of complete autonomy for Serbia. This, after long negotiations and strongly supported by Russia, he achieved in 1830, when a decree of the Sultan bestowed upon him the title of "Hereditary Prince of the Serbians." Thus, after many years of war and negotiations, Serbia ceased to be a mere Turkish province, and became a principality tributary to the Sultan, but self-governing, and with a princely house ruling by right of heredity — the house of Obrenovitch which had succeeded in crushing the earlier house of Kara George. This was the first state to arise in the nineteenth century out of the dismemberment of European Turkey. Its capital was Belgrade.

The Greek War of Independence. The next of these subjects to rise against the hated oppressor was the Greeks. The Greeks had been submerged by the Turkish flood but not destroyed. Their condition in 1820 was better than it had been for centuries, their spirit was higher and less disposed to bend before Turkish arrogance, their prosperity was greater. There had occurred in the eighteenth century a remarkable intellectual revival, connected with the restoration and purification of the Greek language.

In 1821 the Greeks rose in revolt and began a war which did not end until they had achieved their independence in 1829. During the first six years they fought alone against the Turks. The war was one of utter atrocity on both sides. The period was made still more wretched by the inability of the Greeks to work together harmoniously. Torn by violent factional quarrels, they

were unable to gain any pronounced advantage. Indeed by 1826 it seemed as if they had definitely lost their fight.

Foreign Intervention. From the extremity of their misfortune the Greeks were rescued by foreign powers. The sympathy of cultivated people had, from the first, been aroused for the country which had given intellectual freedom and distinction to the world, this Mother of the Arts, which was now making an heroic and romantic struggle for an independent and worthy life of her own. Everywhere Philhellenic societies were formed under this inspiration of the memories of Ancient Greece. These societies, founded in France, Germany, Switzerland, England, and the United States, sought to aid the insurgents by sending money, arms, and volunteers, and by bringing pressure to bear upon the governments to intervene. Many men from western Europe joined the Greek armies. The most illustrious of these was Lord Byron, who gave his life for the idea of a free Greece, dying of fever at Missolonghi in 1824. Finally the governments resolved to intervene. England, Russia, and France, by the Treaty of London of 1827, agreed to demand that Greece be made a self-governing state under Turkish sovereignty, be therefore placed in practically the same situation as Serbia. The demand was refused by the Turkish government. A naval battle at Navarino (nä-vä-rē'-nō), October 20, 1827, resulted in the destruction of the Turkish fleet. The following year Russia declared war upon Turkey. This Russo-Turkish war lasted over a year. In the first campaign the Russians were unsuccessful, but, redoubling their efforts, and under better leadership, they crossed the Balkans, and marched rapidly toward Constantinople. The Sultan was obliged to yield and the Treaty of Adrianople was signed with Russia September 14, 1829.

Creation of the Kingdom of Greece. The outcome of this series of events was that Greece became a kingdom, entirely independent of Turkey, its independence guaranteed by the three powers, Russia, England, and France. The Danubian principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, were made practically, though not nominally, independent. The Sultan's power in Europe was therefore considerably reduced. In 1833 Otto, a lad of seventeen, second son of King Louis I. of Bavaria, became the first King of Greece. A new Christian state had been created in southeastern Europe.

The Crimean War (1854-1856). Russia emerged from the Turkish War with increased prestige and power. It had been her

campaign of 1829 that had brought the Sultan to terms. Greece had become independent, and was more grateful to her than to the other powers. Moldavia and Wallachia, still nominally a part of Turkey, were practically free of Turkish control, and Russian influence in them was henceforth paramount. Several years later Russia, under Nicholas I, was emboldened to attempt to extend her influence still farther, and this attempt precipitated a reopening of the Eastern Question, and the first great European war since the fall of Napoleon I.

Russia and the Protection of Christians in Turkey. Russia demanded the right of protection over all Greek Christians living in the Turkish Empire, of whom there were several millions. The demand was loosely expressed and might possibly, if granted, grow into a constant right of intervention by Russia in the internal affairs of Turkey, ultimately making that country a kind of vassal of the former. This, at any rate, was the assertion of Turkey. War therefore broke out between the two powers, Russia and Turkey, in 1853. Russia expected that the war would be limited to these two. In this she was shortly undeceived, for England and France and later Piedmont, came to the support of the Turks. Russia found herself opposed by four powers instead of by one. England went to war because she feared an aggressive and expanding Russia, feared for the route to India; France because Napoleon III wished to pay back old grudges against Russia, wished revenge for the Moscow campaign of Napoleon I, wished also to tear up the treaties of 1815, which sealed the humiliation of France. Piedmont went to war merely to win the interest of England and France for Cavour's plans for the making of Italy.

The Invasion of the Crimea. The war was chiefly fought in the Crimea, a peninsula in southern Russia, jutting out into the Black Sea and important because there Russia had constructed, at Sebastopol, a great naval arsenal, and because the Russian navy was there. To seize Sebastopol, to sink the fleet, would destroy Russia's naval power for many years, and thus remove the weapon with which she could seriously menace Turkey.

The Siege of Sebastopol. The siege of Sebastopol was the chief feature of the Crimean War. That siege lasted eleven months. Sebastopol was defended in a masterly fashion by Todleben (tōt'-lā-ben), the Russian engineer, and the only military hero of the first

order that the war developed. Parts of this campaign, subsidiary to the siege, were the battles of the Alma, of Balaklava, rendered forever memorable by the splendid charges of the heavy and light brigades, the latter made famous by a poem of Tennyson. The Allies suffered fearfully from the weather, the bitter cold, the breakdown of the commissary department, and the shocking inefficiency of the medical and hospital service. These deficiencies were remedied in time, but only after a terrible loss of life.

Early in 1855 (March 2), Nicholas I died, bitterly disappointed at the failure of his plans. Throughout the summer of 1855 the state of Sebastopol grew steadily worse and it finally fell, on September 8, 1855, after a siege of 336 days, and an enormous expenditure in human lives.

Treaty of Paris. Peace was finally made by the Congress of Paris. The Treaty of Paris, signed March 30, 1856, provided that the Black Sea should henceforth be neutralized, that it should not be open to vessels of war, even of those countries bordering on it, Russia and Turkey. The most important clause was that by which the powers admitted Turkey to the European family of states, from which she had been previously excluded as a barbarous nation, and by which they also agreed no more to interfere with her internal affairs. Thus Turkey was bolstered up by the Christian powers of western Europe because they did not wish to see Russia installed in Constantinople. As a solution of the Eastern Question the war was a flat failure. The promise of the Sultan that the lot of his Christian subjects should be improved was never kept. Their condition became worse.

The Rise of Roumania. By the middle of the nineteenth century the only part of the Turkish Empire that had become independent was Greece; Serbia and Moldavia-Wallachia were semi-independent and aspired to become completely so. The two latter provinces shortly declared themselves united under the single name of Roumania and, in 1866, they chose as their prince, a member of the Roman Catholic branch of the Hohenzollern family, Charles I. This German prince, who was the ruler of Roumania until his death in 1914, was at that time twenty-seven years of age. He at once set to work to study the conditions of his newly adopted country, ably seconded in this by his wife, a German princess, whose literary gift was to win her a great reputation, and was to be used in the interest

of Roumania. As "Carmen Sylva" she wrote poems and stories, published a collection of Roumanian folklore, and encouraged the national idea by showing her preference for the native Roumanian dress and for old Roumanian customs.

Charles I was primarily a soldier, and the great work of the early years of his reign was to build up the army, as he believed it essential if Roumania was to be really independent in her attitude toward Russia and Turkey. He increased the size of the army, equipped it with Prussian guns, and had it drilled by Prussian officers. The wisdom of this was apparent when the Eastern Question was again reopened.

Reopening of the Eastern Question. In 1875 the Eastern Question entered once more upon an acute phase. An insurrection broke out in the summer of that year in Herzegovina, a Turkish province west of Serbia. For years the peasantry had suffered from gross misrule. The oppression of the Turks became so grinding and was accompanied by acts so barbarous and inhuman that the peasants finally rebelled. These peasants were Slavs, and as such were aided by Slavs from neighboring regions, Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. They were made all the more bitter because they saw Slavs in Serbia comparatively contented, as these were largely self-governed. Why should not they themselves enjoy as good conditions as others? Religious and racial hatred of Christian and Slav against the infidel Turk flamed up throughout the peninsula. Christians could not rest easy witnessing the outrages committed upon their co-religionists. And just at this time those outrages attained a ferocity that shocked all Europe.

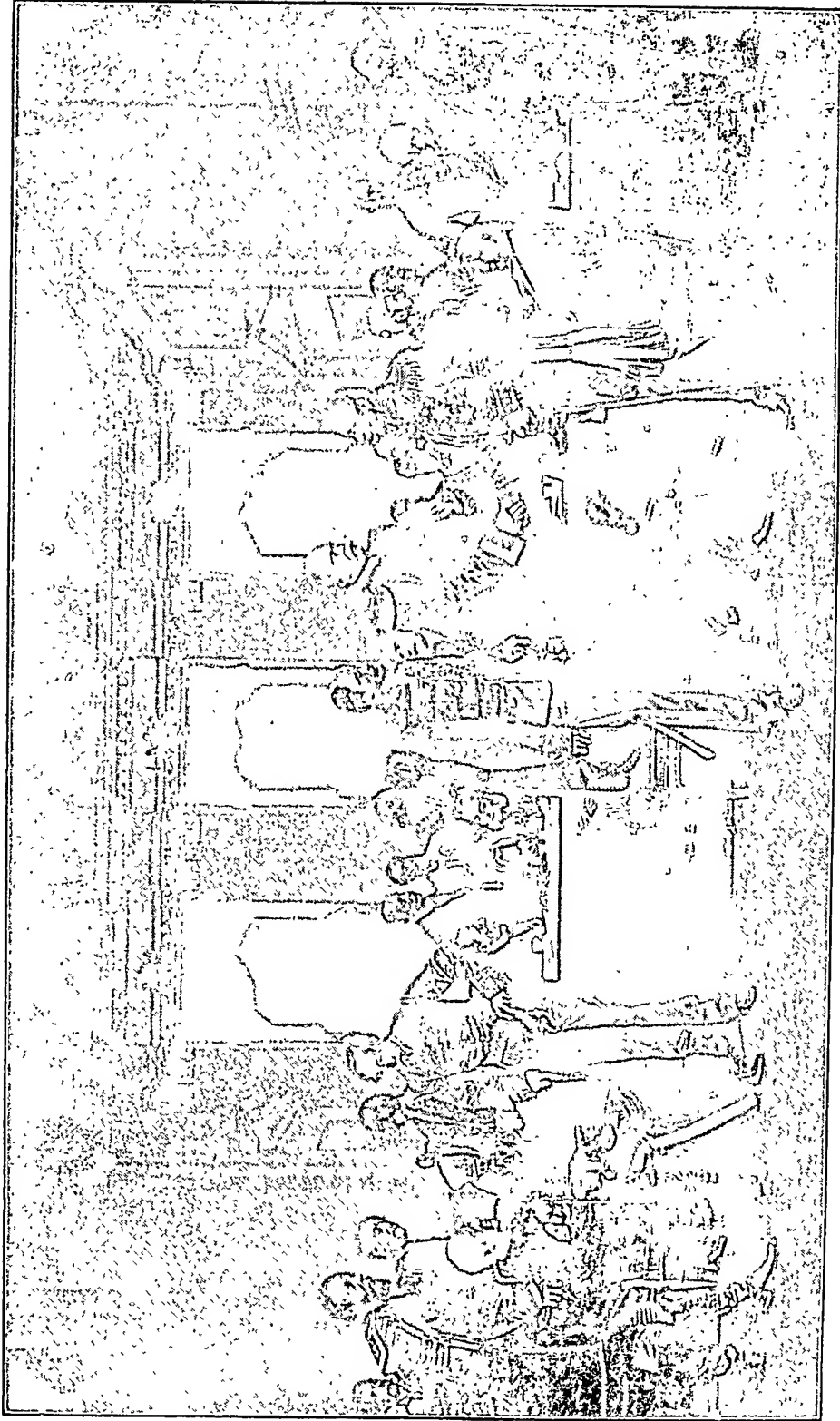
The Bulgarian Atrocities. Early in 1876 the Christians in Bulgaria, a large province of European Turkey, rose against the Turkish officials, killing some of them. The revenge taken by the Turks was of incredible atrocity. Pouring regular troops and the ferocious irregulars called Bashi-Bazouks into the province, they butchered thousands with every refinement or coarseness of brutality. In the valley of the Maritza all but fifteen of eighty villages were destroyed. In Batak, a town of 7000 inhabitants, five thousand men, women, and children were savagely slaughtered with indescribable treachery and cruelty.

These Bulgarian atrocities thrilled all Europe with horror. Gladstone, emerging from retirement, denounced "the unspeakable

Turk," in a flaming pamphlet. He demanded that England cease to support a government which was an affront to the laws of God, and urged that the Turks be expelled from Europe "bag and baggage." The public opinion of Europe was aroused.

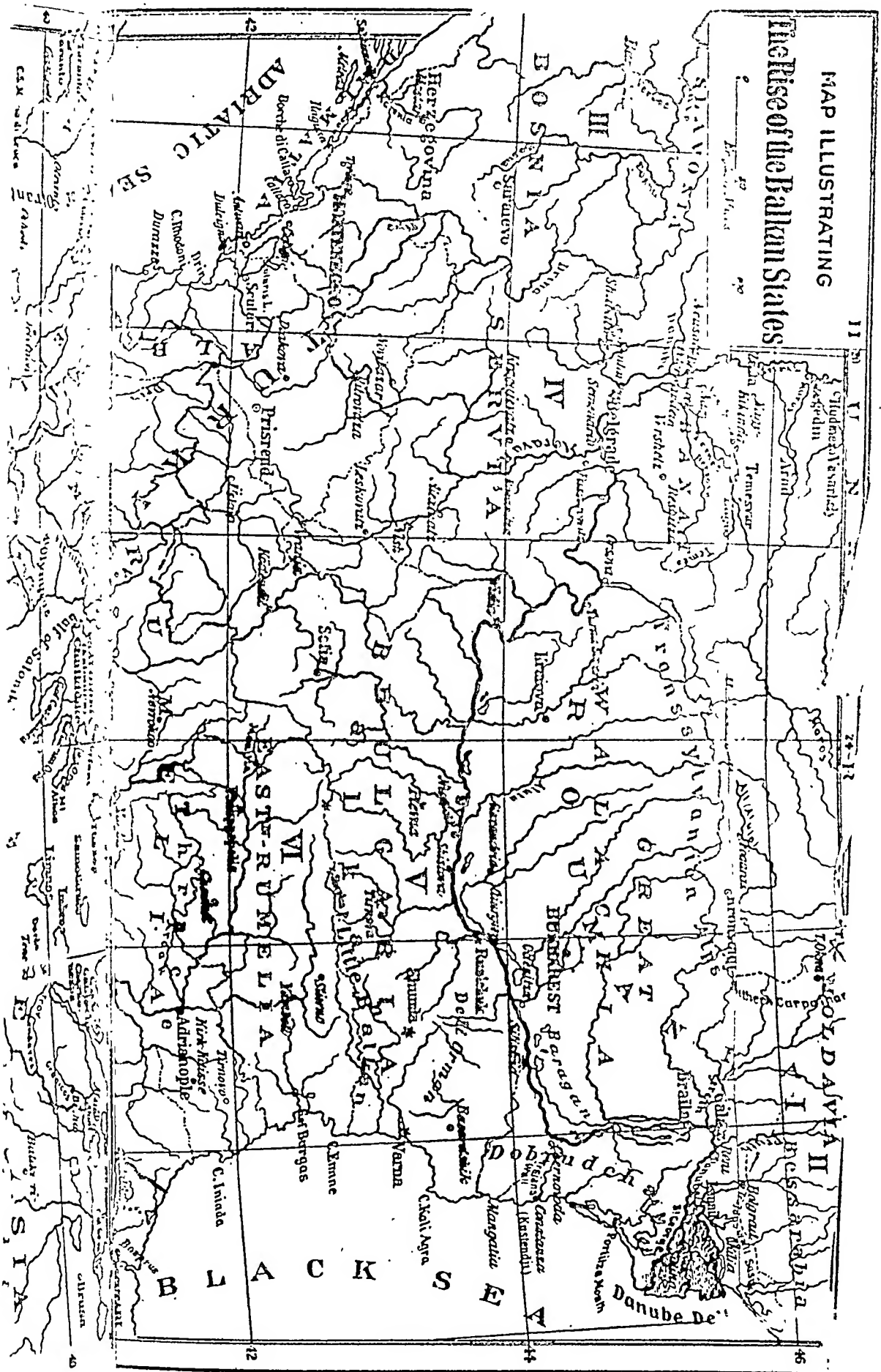
Russia Declares War upon Turkey. In July, 1876, Serbia and Montenegro declared war against Turkey, and the insurrection of the Bulgarians became general. The Russian people became intensely excited in their sympathy with their co-religionists and their fellow-Slavs. Finally the Russian government declared war upon Turkey, April 24, 1877. The war lasted until the close of January, 1878. The chief feature of the campaign was the famous siege of Plevna which the Turks defended for five months but which finally surrendered. This broke the back of Turkish resistance and the Russians marched rapidly toward Constantinople. The Sultan sought peace, and on March 3, 1878, the Treaty of San Stefano was concluded between Russia and Turkey. By this treaty the Porte recognized the complete independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania, and made certain cessions of territory to the two former states. The main feature of the treaty concerned Bulgaria, which was made a self-governing state, tributary to the Sultan. Its frontiers were very liberally drawn. Its territory was to include nearly all of European Turkey, between Roumania and Serbia on the north, and Greece to the south. Only a broken strip across the peninsula, from Constantinople west to the Adriatic, was to be left to Turkey. The new state therefore was to include not only Bulgaria proper, but Roumelia to the south and most of Macedonia. Gladstone's desire for the expulsion of the Turks from Europe "bag and baggage" was nearly realized.

The Congress of Berlin (1878). Various states objected to having the Eastern Question solved without their consent. England particularly, fearing Russian expansion southward toward the Mediterranean, declared that the Treaty of San Stefano must be submitted to a general congress on the ground that, according to the international law of Europe, the Eastern Question could not be settled by one nation but only by the concert of powers, as it affected them all. Austria joined the protest, wishing a part of the spoils of Turkey for herself. Russia naturally objected to allowing those who had not fought to determine the outcome of her victory. But as the powers were insistent, and as she was in no position for further hos-



THE CONGRESS OF BERLIN
From the painting by Anton von Werner.

The Rise of the Balkan States



tilities, she yielded. The Congress of Berlin was held under the presidency of Bismarck, Beaconsfield, then prime minister, representing England. It drew up the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed July 13, 1878. By this treaty Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania were rendered completely independent of Turkey. But Bulgaria was divided into three parts, one of which, called Macedonia, was handed back to Turkey, and another, called Eastern Roumelia, was to be still subject to the Sultan but to have a Christian governor appointed by him. The third part, Bulgaria, was still to be nominally a part of Turkey but was to elect its own prince and was to be self-governing. The powers in making these arrangements were thinking neither of Turkey, nor of the happiness of the people who had long been oppressed by Turkey. As far as humanitarian considerations were concerned the disposition of Macedonia was a colossal blunder. Its people would have been far happier had they formed a part of Bulgaria. Owing to the rival ambitions of the great powers Macedonia's Christians were destined long to suffer an odious oppression from which more fortunate Balkan Christians were free.

The same powers found the occasion convenient for taking various Turkish possessions for themselves. Austria was invited to "occupy" and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina. England was to "occupy" Cyprus. All these territories were nominally still a part of the Turkish Empire. Their position was anomalous, unclear, and destined to create trouble in the future.

Advantages of the Treaty of Berlin. The benefits assured by the Treaty of Berlin were considerable and they were due solely to Russia's intervention, though Russia herself drew little direct profit from her war. Three Balkan states, long in process of formation, Montenegro, Serbia, and Roumania, were declared entirely independent, and a new state, Bulgaria, had been called into existence, though still slightly subject to the Porte. As a result of the treaty, European Turkey was greatly reduced, its population having shrunk from seventeen millions to six millions. In other words eleven million people or more had been emancipated from Turkish control.

Bulgaria after 1878. The Treaty of Berlin, while it brought substantial advantages, did not bring peace to the Balkan peninsula. Though diminishing the possessions of the Sultan, it did not satisfy the ambitions of the various peoples, it did not expel the Turk from Europe and thus cut out the root of the evil. Abundant sources

of trouble remained, as the next forty years were to show. Yet considerable progress was made. In 1885 Bulgaria was enlarged by the addition of Eastern Roumelia and two years later Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg, a German, was made the ruling Prince. Bulgaria aspired to annex Macedonia, where, however, she was to encounter many rivals. She only awaited a favorable opportunity to renounce her nominal connection with Turkey. The opportunity came in 1908. On October 5th of that year Bulgaria declared her independence, and her Prince assumed the title of Tsar. The later history of Bulgaria may best be described in connection with the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913.

The Kingdom of Roumania. In 1881 Roumania proclaimed herself a kingdom, and her prince henceforth styled himself King Charles I. The royal crown was made of steel from a Turkish gun captured at Plevna, a perpetual reminder of what was her war of independence. Roumania proceeded to create an army on Prussian models of about 500,000 men, to build railroads and highways, and to improve the condition of the peasantry.

The Kingdom of Serbia. Serbia, also, was recognized as independent by the Berlin Treaty in 1878. She proclaimed herself a kingdom in 1882. She was to have a highly turbulent history. In 1885 she declared war against Bulgaria, only to be unexpectedly and badly defeated. The financial policy was deplorable. In seven years the debt increased from seven million to three hundred and twelve million francs. The scandals of the private life of King Milan utterly discredited the monarchy. Milan was forced to abdicate in 1889, and was succeeded by his twelve-year-old son, Alexander I, who was brutally murdered in 1903 with his wife, Queen Draga, in a midnight palace revolution. The new king, Peter I, found his position for several years most unstable. A new and important chapter in the history of Serbia began with the Balkan War of 1912.

Greece after 1833. In January, 1833, Otto, second son of Louis I, the King of Bavaria, became King of Greece, a country of great poverty, with a population of about 750,000, unaccustomed to the reign of law and order usual in western Europe. The kingdom was small, with unsatisfactory boundaries, lacking Thessaly, which was peopled entirely by Greeks. The country had been devastated by a long and unusually sanguinary war. Internal conditions were anarchic. Brigandage was rife; the debt was large. The problem was, how

to make out of such unpromising materials a prosperous and progressive state.

The Reign of Otto. King Otto reigned from 1833 to 1862. He was aided in his government by many Bavarians, who filled important positions in the army and the civil service. This German influence was a primary cause of the unpopularity of the new régime. The beginnings were made, however, in the construction of a healthy national life. Athens was made the capital, and a university was established there. A police system was organized ; a national bank created. In 1844 Otto was forced to consent to the conversion of his absolute monarchy into a constitutional one. A parliament with two chambers, the Deputies being chosen by universal suffrage, was instituted. The political education of the Greeks then began.

From the reopening of the Eastern Question by the Crimean War Greece hoped to profit by the enlargement of her boundaries. The great powers, however, thought otherwise, and forced her to remain quiet. Because the government did not defy Europe and insist upon her rights, which would have been an insane proceeding, it became very unpopular. For this reason, as well as for despotic tendencies, Otto was driven from power in 1862 by an insurrection, and left Greece, never to return.

The Reign of George I. A new king was secured in the person of a Danish prince, second son of the then King of Denmark. The new king, George I, ruled from 1863 to 1913. That his popularity might be strengthened at the very outset, England in 1864 ceded to the kingdom the Ionian Islands, which she had held since 1815. This was the first enlargement of the kingdom since its foundation. In 1881, mainly through the exertions of England, the Sultan was induced to cede Thessaly to Greece, and thus a second enlargement of territory occurred. This was in accordance with the promise of the Congress of Berlin that the Greek frontier should be "rectified."

In 1897 Greece declared war against Turkey, aiming at the annexation of Crete, which had risen in insurrection against Turkey. Greece was easily defeated, and was forced to cede certain parts of Thessaly to Turkey and give up the project of the annexation of Crete. After long negotiations among the powers, the latter island was made autonomous under the suzerainty of the Sultan, and was put under the direct administration of Prince George, a son of the King of Greece,

who remained in power until 1906. A new problem, the Cretan, was thus pushed into the foreground of Greek politics.

Serbian, Bulgarian, and Greek rivalries met in the plains of Macedonia, which each country coveted and which was inhabited by representatives of all these peoples, inextricably intermingled. The problem of Macedonia was further complicated by the rivalry of the

great powers and by the revolution which broke out in Turkey itself in 1908.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908. The Eastern Question entered upon a new and startling phase in the summer of 1908. In July a swift, sweeping, and pacific revolution occurred in Turkey. The Young Turks, a revolutionary, constitutional party, dominated by the political principles of western Europe, seized control of the government, to the complete surprise of the diplomatists and public of Europe. This party consisted of those who had been driven from Turkey by the despotism of the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II (äb'-döl hä-mēd'), and were resident abroad, chiefly in Paris, and of those who, still living in



ABDUL HAMID II

From a photograph by W. and D. Downey.

Turkey, dissembled their opinions and were able to escape expulsion. Its members desired the overthrow of the despotic, corrupt, and inefficient government, and the creation in its place of a modern liberal system, capable, by varied and thoroughgoing reforms, of ranging Turkey among progressive nations. Weaving their conspiracy in silence and with remarkable adroitness, they succeeded in drawing into it the Turkish army, hitherto the solid bulwark of the Sultan's power. Then, at the ripe moment, the army re-

fused to obey the Sultan's orders, and the conspirators demanded peremptorily by telegraph that the Sultan restore the Constitution of 1876, a constitution which had been granted by the Sultan in that year merely to enable him to weather a crisis, and which, having quickly served the purpose, had been immediately suspended and had remained suspended ever since. The Sultan, seeing the ominous defection of the army, complied at once with the demands of the Young Turks, "restored" on July 24 the Constitution of 1876, and ordered elections for a parliament, which should meet in November. Thus an odious tyranny was instantly swept away. This revolution, completely successful and almost bloodless, was received with incredible enthusiasm throughout the entire breadth of the Sultan's dominions. Insurgents and soldiers, Mohammedans and Christians, Greeks, Serbs, Bulgarians, Albanians, Armenians, Turks, all joined in jubilant celebrations of the release from intolerable conditions. The most astonishing feature was the complete subsidence of the racial and religious hatreds which had hitherto torn and ravaged the Empire from end to end. The revolution proved to be the most fraternal movement in modern history. Picturesque and memorable were the scenes of universal reconciliation. The ease and suddenness with which this astounding change was effected proved how universal was the detestation of the reign and methods of Abdul Hamid II throughout all his provinces and among all his peoples.

Was this the beginning of a new era or was it the beginning of the end of the Turkish Empire? It will be more convenient to examine this question a little later.

QUESTIONS

I. What is the Eastern Question? What Christian peoples were subjects of Turkey? Which of these peoples first won its independence from Turkey? How did it do it?

II. Give an account of the Crimean War. How did the Eastern Question come to be reopened in 1875? What part did Russia take in the war that followed? What was the Treaty of San Stefano? What were the most important changes made in the Treaty of San Stefano by the Congress of Berlin?

III. Trace the history of Greece after 1833. Give an account of the Turkish Revolution of 1908. What Balkan states had won their independence by 1908?

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CHAPTER XXXI

RUSSIA TO THE WAR WITH JAPAN

The Varied Peoples of Russia. Russia at the fall of Napoleon was the largest state in Europe, and was a still larger Asiatic empire. It extended in unbroken stretch from the German Confederation to the Pacific Ocean. Its population was about 45,000,000. Its European territory covered about 2,000,000 square miles. It was inhabited by a variety of races, but the principal one was the Slavic. Though there were many religions, the religion of the court and of more than two-thirds of the population was the Greek Orthodox form of Christianity. Though various languages were spoken, Russian was the chief one. The Russians had conquered many peoples in various directions. A considerable part of the former Kingdom of Poland had been acquired in the three partitions at the close of the eighteenth century, and more in 1815. Here the people spoke a different language, the Polish, and adhered to a different religion, the Roman Catholic. In the Baltic provinces, Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland, the upper class was of German origin and spoke the German language, while the mass of peasants were Finns and Lithuanians, speaking different tongues. All the inhabitants were Lutherans. Finland had recently been conquered from Sweden (1809). The languages spoken there were Swedish and Finnish, and the religion was Lutheran. To the east and south were peoples of Asiatic origin, many of them Mohammedans in religion. There were in certain sections considerable bodies of Jews.

All these dissimilar elements were bound together by their allegiance to the sovereign, the Tsar, a monarch of absolute, unlimited power.

The Nobility and the Peasantry. There were two classes of society in Russia — the nobility and the peasantry. The large majority of the latter were serfs of the Tsar and the nobility. The nobility numbered about 140,000 families. The nobles secured

offices in the army and the civil service. They were exempt from many taxes, and enjoyed certain monopolies. Their power over their serfs was extensive and despotic. They enforced obedience to their orders by the knout and by banishment to Siberia. The middle class of well-to-do and educated people, increasingly important in the other countries of Europe, practically did not exist in Russia. Russia was an agricultural country, whose agriculture, moreover, was very primitive and inefficient. It was a nation of serfs, and of peasants little better off than the serfs. This class was wretched, uneducated, indolent, prone to drink excessively. In the "mir," or village community, however, it possessed a rudimentary form of communism and limited self-government.

Alexander I (1801-1825). Over this vast and ill-equipped nation ruled the Autocrat of All the Russias, or Tsar, an absolute monarch, whose decisions, expressed in the form of ukases or decrees, were the law of the land. The ruler in 1815 was Alexander I, a man thirty-eight years of age.

Alexander stood forth as the most enlightened sovereign on any of the great thrones of Europe. In the reorganization of Europe in 1814 and 1815 he was, on the whole, a liberal force. He favored generous terms to the conquered French, he insisted that Louis XVIII should grant a constitution to the French people, he encouraged the aspirations of the German people for a larger political life.

The Kingdom of Poland. Alexander showed his liberal tendencies even more unmistakably in his Polish policy. He succeeded at the Congress of Vienna in securing most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw which he then transformed into the Kingdom of Poland. This was a state of 3,000,000 inhabitants, with an area less than one-sixth the size of the former Polish kingdom, but containing the Polish capital, Warsaw. This was henceforth to be an independent kingdom, not a part of Russia. The only connection between the two was in the person of the ruler. The Tsar of Russia was to be King of Poland. Alexander granted a constitution to this state, creating a parliament, and promising liberty of the press and of religion. The Polish language was to be the official language. Poland enjoyed freer institutions at this moment than did either Prussia or Austria. The franchise was wider than that of England or France. Apparently, also, Alexander considered his Polish experiment as preliminary to an introduction of similar reforms into Russia also.

But Alexander's character was unstable. He was impressionable, changeable, easily discouraged. Metternich made it his especial business to frighten him out of his liberalism, which was the chief obstacle in Europe to the policy of resolute reaction. He ceaselessly played upon Alexander's essentially timid nature and it took him only three years to accomplish this conversion. Alexander then became a vigorous supporter of Metternich's policy of intervention which expressed itself in the various congresses and which made the name of the Holy Alliance a by-word among men. He became disappointed over his Polish experiment and began to infringe upon the liberties he himself had granted. He grew more and more reactionary and when he died, on December 1, 1825, he left an administration dominated by a totally different spirit from that which had prevailed in the earlier years.

Nicholas I (1825-1855). Alexander was succeeded by his brother Nicholas I, whose reign of thirty years, 1825-1855, was eventful. It was one of uncompromising absolutism, both at home and abroad. Nicholas was the great bulwark of monarchical authority in Europe for thirty years. His system of government was one of remorseless, undeviating repression, through the agencies of a brutal police and an elaborate censorship. Punishments for Liberals of any sort were of great severity. The most harmless word might mean exile to Siberia, without any kind of preliminary trial. In twenty years perhaps 150,000 persons were thus exiled. Tens of thousands languished in the prisons of Russia. Religious persecution was added to political.

Nicholas's foreign policy was marked by the same characteristics, and made him hated throughout Europe as the most brutal autocrat on the Continent. He suppressed the Polish insurrection of 1830-1831, abolished the constitution granted by Alexander I, and incorporated Poland in Russia, thus ending the history of that kingdom, a history of only fifteen years. He waged two wars against Turkey, previously described, one in 1828-1829, and one in 1853-1855. He interfered decisively to suppress the Hungarian revolutionists in 1849. He died in the middle of the Crimean War, though not until it was apparent that the prestige of his country, so overwhelming since Napoleon's flight from Moscow in 1812, had been completely shattered. This war was not only a defeat but a disillusionment. The government was proved to be as incompetent and as impotent as it

was reactionary. It was clear that the state was honeycombed with abuses which must be reformed if it was to prosper.

Alexander II (1855-1881) and the Problem of Serfdom. That the time for changes had come was clearly seen by the next occupant of the throne, Alexander II, who ruled from 1855 to 1881. Of an open mind, and desirous of improving the conditions of Russian life,

he for some years followed a policy of reform. Particularly did he address himself to the question of serfdom.

Nearly nine-tenths of the arable land of Russia was owned by the imperial family and by the one hundred and forty thousand families of the nobility. The land was, therefore, generally held in large estates. It was owned by a small minority; it was tilled by the millions of Russia who were serfs. It was easy for the Emperor to free the crown serfs, about 23,000,000 since no one could question the right of the state to do what it would with its own. Con-



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sequently the crown serfs were liberated by a series of measures covering several years, 1859 to 1866. But the Edict of Emancipation, which was to constitute Alexander II's most legitimate title to fame, concerned the serfs of private landowners, the nobles. There were about 23,000,000 of these, also. These private landlords reserved a part of their land for themselves, requiring the serfs to work it without pay, generally three days a week. The rest of the land was turned over to the serfs, who cultivated it on their own account, getting therefrom what support they could, hardly enough, as a matter of fact, for

sustenance. The serfs were not slaves in the strict sense of the word. They could not be sold separately. But they were attached to the soil, could not leave it without the consent of the owner, and passed, if he sold his estate, to the new owner. The landlord otherwise had practically unlimited authority over his serfs. They possessed no rights which, in practice, he was bound to respect. Such a system, it is needless to say, offended the conscience of the age.

Emancipation of the Serfs. On March 3, 1861, the Edict of Emancipation was issued. It abolished serfdom throughout the Empire, and it won for Alexander the popular title of the "Tsar Liberator." This manifesto did not merely declare the serfs free men; but it undertook also to solve the far more difficult problem of the ownership of the soil. The Tsar felt that merely to give the serfs freedom, and to leave all the land in the possession of the nobles, would mean the creation of a great proletariat possessing no property, therefore likely to fall at once into a position of economic dependence upon the nobles, which would make the gift of freedom a mere mockery. Moreover, the peasants were firmly convinced that they were the rightful owners of the lands which they and their ancestors for centuries had lived upon and cultivated, and the fact that the landlords were legally the owners did not alter their opinion. To give them freedom without land, leaving that with the nobles, who desired to retain it, would be bitterly resented as making their condition worse than ever. On the other hand, to give them the land with their freedom would mean the ruin of the nobility as a class, considered essential to the state. The consequence of this conflict of interests was a compromise, satisfactory to neither party, but more favorable to the nobility than to the peasants.

The Division of the Land. The lands were divided into two parts. The landlords were to keep one; the other was to go to the peasants either individually or collectively as members of the village community or *mir* to which they belonged. But this was not given them outright; the peasant and the village must pay the landlord for the land assigned them. As they were not in a position to do this the state was to advance the money, getting it back by installments. This arrangement was a great disappointment to the peasants. Their newly acquired freedom seemed a doubtful boon in the light of this method of dividing the land. Indeed, they could not see that they were profiting from the change. Personal liberty would not mean

much, when the conditions of earning a livelihood became harder rather than lighter. The peasants regarded the land as their own. But the state guaranteed forever a part to the landlords and announced that the peasants must pay for the part assigned to themselves. Moreover, as the division worked out, they found that they had less land for their own use than in the pre-emancipation days, and that they had to pay the landlords, through the state, more than the lands which they did receive were worth. The Edict of Emancipation did not therefore bring either peace or prosperity to the peasants. The land question became steadily more acute during the next fifty years owing to the vast increase in population and the consequent greater pressure upon the land. The Russian peasant lived necessarily upon the verge of starvation.

The emancipation of the serfs is seen, therefore, not to have been an unalloyed boon. Yet Russia gained morally in the esteem of other nations by abolishing an indefensible wrong. Legally, every man was free. Moreover, the peasants, though faring ill, yet fared better than had the peasants of Prussia and Austria at the time of their liberation.

Other Reforms. The abolition of serfdom was the greatest act of Alexander II's reign, but it was only one of several liberal measures enacted at this time of general enthusiasm. A certain amount of local self-government was granted, reforms in the judicial system were carried through, based upon a study of the systems of Europe and the United States, the censorship of the press was relaxed, educational facilities were somewhat developed. This hopeful era of reform was, however, soon over, and a period of reaction began, which characterized the latter half of Alexander's reign and ended in his assassination in 1881. There were several causes for this change: the vacillating character of the monarch himself, taking fright at his own work; the disappointment felt by many who had expected a millennium, but who found it not; the intense dislike of the privileged and conservative classes for the measures just described.

The Polish Insurrection of 1863. Just at this time, when the attitude of the Emperor was changing, when public opinion was in this fluid, uncertain state, occurred, in 1863, a new insurrection of Poland which was put down with vigor and without mercy. Russia now went farther than she had ever gone before in trying to stamp

out all traces of Polish nationality. The Poles must be Russified. The Russian language must be used in the correspondence of the officials and the lectures of the university professors, and the use of Polish was forbidden in churches, schools, theaters, newspapers, in business signs, in fact, everywhere.

The Rise of Nihilism. The relapse of Alexander during his later years into the traditional repressive ways of Russian monarchs aroused intense discontent and engendered a movement which threatened the very existence of the monarchy itself, namely, Nihilism.

The Nihilists belonged to the intellectual class of Russia. Reading the works of the more radical philosophers and scientists of western Europe, and reflecting upon the foundations of their own national institutions and conditions, they became most destructive critics. They were extreme individualists who tested every human institution and custom by reason. As few Russian institutions could meet such a test, the Nihilists condemned them all. Theirs was an attitude, first of intellectual challenge, then of revolt against the whole established order. Shortly, Socialism was grafted upon this hatred of all established institutions. In the place of the existing society, which must be swept away, a new society was to be erected, based on socialistic principles. The Nihilists carried on a vigorous propaganda, whose object was as one of their documents said "to found on the ruins of the present social organization the empire of the working classes." They encountered, of course, the pitiless opposition of the Government, which used all the engines of power it commanded against them, executions, imprisonment, exile to Siberia.

Attempts upon the Emperor's Life. Finally the Nihilists, adopting a policy of terrorization, determined to kill the Tsar as the only way of overthrowing the whole hated arbitrary and oppressive system. Several attempts were made. In April, 1879, a school-master, Solovief, fired five shots at the Emperor, none of which took effect. In December of the same year a train on which he was supposed to be returning from the Crimea was wrecked, just as it reached Moscow, by a mine placed between the rails. Alexander escaped only because he had reached the capital secretly on an earlier train. The next attempt (February, 1880) was to kill him while at dinner in the Winter Palace in St. Petersburg. Dynamite was exploded, ten soldiers were killed and fifty-three wounded in the guardroom

directly overhead, and the floor of the dining room was torn up. The Tsar narrowly escaped because he did not go to dinner at the usual hour.

St. Petersburg was by this time thoroughly terrorized. Alexander now appointed Loris-Melikoff practically dictator. Melikoff sought to inaugurate a milder régime. He released hundreds of prisoners, and in many cases commuted the death sentence. He urged the Tsar to grant the people some share in the government, believing that this would kill the Nihilist movement, which was a violent expression of the discontent of the nation with the abuses of an arbitrary and lawless system of government. He urged that this could be done without weakening the principle of autocracy, and that thus Alexander would win back the popularity he had enjoyed during his early reforming years. After much hesitation and mental perturbation the Tsar ordered, March 13, 1881, Melikoff's scheme to be published in the official journal. But on that same afternoon, as he was returning from a drive, escorted by Cossacks, a bomb was thrown at his carriage. The carriage was wrecked, and many of his escorts were injured. Alexander escaped as by a miracle, but a second bomb exploded near him as he was going to aid the injured. He was horribly mangled, and died within an hour. Thus perished the Tsar Liberator. At the same time the hopes of the Liberals perished also. This act of supreme violence did not intimidate the successor to the throne, Alexander III, whose entire reign was one of stern repression.

Reaction under Alexander III. The man who now ascended the throne of Russia was in the full flush of magnificent manhood. Alexander III, son of Alexander II, was thirty-six years of age and of powerful physique. His education had been chiefly military. He was a man of firm and resolute rather than large or active mind.

It shortly became clear that he possessed a strong, inflexible character, that he was a thorough believer in absolutism, and was determined to maintain it undiminished. He assumed an attitude of defiant hostility to innovators and liberals. His reign, which lasted from 1881 to 1894, was one of reversion to the older ideals of government and of unqualified absolutism.

The terrorists were hunted down, and their attempts practically ceased. The press was thoroughly gagged, university professors and students were watched, suspended, exiled, as the case might be.

The reforms of Alexander II were in part undone, and the secret police, the terrible Third Section, was greatly augmented. Liberals gave up all hope of any improvement during this reign, and waited for better days. Under Alexander III began the inhuman persecutions of the Jews which have been so dark a feature of later Russian history. The great Jewish emigration to the United States dates from this time.

Economic Progress. In one sphere only was there progress in this bleak, stern reign. That sphere was the economic. An industrial revolution began then which was carried much farther under the succeeding reign. Russia had been for centuries an agricultural country whose agriculture, moreover, was of the primitive type. Whatever industries existed were mainly of the household kind. She was one of the poorest countries in the world, her immense resources being undeveloped. A tremendous impetus was given to economic, industrial development by the appointment in 1892 as Minister of Finance and Commerce of Sergius de Witte. Witte believed that Russia; the largest and most populous country in Europe, a world in itself, ought to be self-sufficient, that as long as it remained chiefly agricultural it would be tributary to the industrial nations for manufactured articles, that it had abundant resources, in raw material and in labor, to enable it to supply its own needs if they were but developed. He believed that this development could be brought about by the adoption of a policy of protection. Was not the astonishing industrial growth of Germany and of the United States convincing proof of the value of such a policy? By adopting it for Russia, by encouraging foreigners to invest heavily in the new protected industries, by showing them that their rewards would inevitably be large, he began and carried far the economic transformation of his country. Immense amounts of foreign capital poured in and Russia advanced industrially in the closing decade of the nineteenth century with great swiftness.

Extensive Railway Construction. One thing more was necessary. Russia's greatest lack was good means of communication. She now undertook to supply this want by extensive railway building. For some years before Witte assumed office, Russia was building less than 400 miles of railway a year; from that time on for the rest of the decade, she built nearly 1400 miles a year. The most stupendous of these undertakings was that of a trunk line connecting Europe

with the Pacific Ocean, the great Trans-Siberian railroad. For this Russia borrowed vast sums of money in western Europe, principally in France. Begun in 1891, the road was formally opened in 1902. It reduced the time and cost of transportation to the East about one-half. In 1909 Russia possessed over 41,000 miles of railway, over 28,000 of which were owned and operated by the government.

Rise of Labor Problems. This tremendous change in the economic life of the Empire was destined to have momentous consequences, some of which were quickly apparent. Cities grew rapidly, a large laboring class developed, and labor problems of the kind familiar to western countries, socialistic theories, spread among the working people; also a new middle class of capitalists and manufacturers was created which might some day demand a share in the government. These new forces would, in time, threaten the old, illiberal, unprogressive régime which had so long kept Russia stagnant and profoundly unhappy. That the old system was being undermined was not, however, apparent, and might not have been for many years had not Russia, ten years after Alexander's death, become involved in a disastrous and humiliating war with Japan.

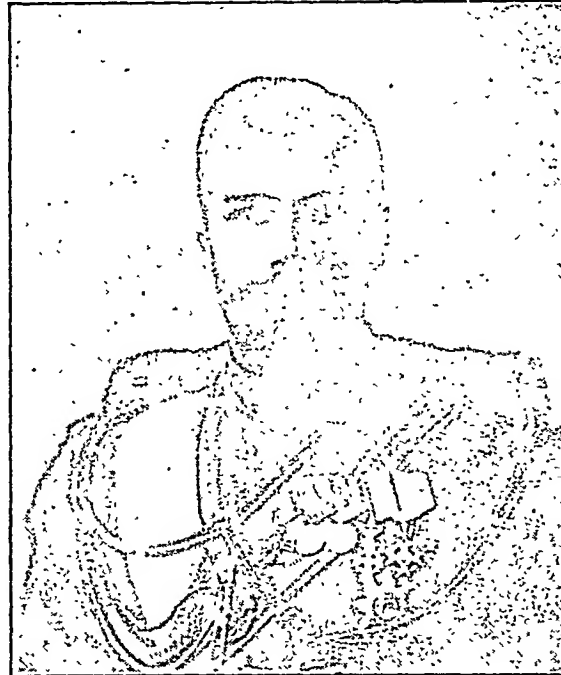
Reign of Nicholas II (1894-1917). Alexander III died in 1894, and was succeeded by his son, Nicholas II, then twenty-six years of age. The hope was general that a milder régime might now be introduced. This, however, was not to be. For ten years the young Tsar pursued the policy of his father with scarcely a variation save in the direction of greater severity. A suggestion that representative institutions might be granted was declared "a senseless dream." The government was not one of law but of arbitrary power. Its instruments were a numerous and corrupt body of state officials and a ruthless, active police. No one was secure against arrest, imprisonment, exile. The most elementary personal rights were lacking.

The professional and educated man was in an intolerable position. If a professor in a university, he was watched by the police and was likely to be removed at any moment, as was Professor Milyoukov, a historian of distinguished attainments, for no other reason than "generally noxious tendencies." If an editor, his position was even more precarious, unless he was utterly servile to the authorities. It was a suffocating atmosphere for any man of the slightest intellectual independence, living in the ideas of the present age. The censorship grew more and more rigorous, and included such books as Green's

Short History of the English People, and Bryce's *American Commonwealth*. Arbitrary arrests of all kinds increased from year to year as the difficulty of thoroughly bottling up Russia increased. Students were the objects of special police care, as it was the young and ardent and educated who were most indignant at this senseless despotism. Many of them disappeared, in one year as many as a fifth of those in the University of Moscow, probably sent to Siberia or to prisons in Europe.

Russification in Finland.

A government of this kind was not likely to err from excess of sympathy with the subject nationalities, such as the Poles and the Finns. In Finland, indeed, its arbitrary course attained its climax. Constitutional liberties which that country had enjoyed since 1809 were abolished in 1899, and a policy of Russification was attempted. The Finns began a stubborn but apparently hopeless struggle for



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their historic rights with the autocrat of one hundred and forty million men.

Under such a system as that just described men could be terrorized into silence; they could not be made contented. Disaffection of all classes, driven into subterranean channels, only increased, awaiting the time for explosion. That time came with the disastrous defeat of Russia in the war with Japan in 1904-1905, a landmark in contemporary history.

To understand recent events in Russia it is necessary to trace the course of that war whose consequences have been profound, and to show the significance of that conflict we must interrupt this narrative of Russian history in order to give an account of the recent evolution of Asia, the rise of the so-called Far Eastern Question, and the interaction of Occident and Orient upon each other.

QUESTIONS

- I. Describe Russia as it existed at the fall of Napoleon I. Was Alexander I a liberal or a reactionary? What was the history of the Kingdom of Poland?
- II. What was the foreign policy of Nicholas I? Who was the "Tsar Liberator"? Under what conditions were the Russian serfs liberated? What was Nihilism? What reforms were enacted during the reign of Alexander II?
- III. What was the policy of Sergius de Witte and what were its results? Give an account of the opening years of the reign of Nicholas II.

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CHAPTER XXXII

THE FAR EAST

European Possessions in Asia. Europe has not only taken possession of Africa, but she has taken possession of large parts of Asia. England and France dominate southern Asia by their control, the former of India and Burma, the latter of a large part of Indo-China. Russia, on the other hand, dominates the north, from the Ural Mountains to the Pacific Ocean. As far as geographical extent is concerned, she is far more an Asiatic power than a European, which, indeed, is also true of England and of France, and she has been an Asiatic power much longer than they, for she began her expansion into Asia before the Pilgrims came to America. For nearly three centuries Russia has been a great Asiatic state, while England has been a power in India for only half that time.

It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that Russia began to devote serious attention to Asia as a field for colonial and commercial expansion. Siberia was regarded merely as a convenient prison to which to send her disaffected or criminal citizens. Events in Europe, however, caused her to concentrate her attention more and more upon her Asiatic development. She sought there what she had long been seeking in Europe, but without avail, because of the opposition she encountered, namely, contact with the ocean, a free outlet to the world. Russia's coast line, either in Europe or Asia, had no harbors free from ice the year round. Blocked repeatedly from obtaining such in Europe at the expense of Turkey, she came to seek them in Eastern Asia. This ambition explains her Asiatic policies. In 1858 she acquired from China the whole northern bank of the Amur and two years later more territory farther south, the Maritime Province, at the southern point of which she founded as a naval base Vladivostok, which means the Dominator of the East. But Vladivostok was not ice-free in winter. Russia still lacked her longed-for outlet.

The Civilization of China. Between Russian Asia on the north, and British and French Asia on the south, lies the oldest nation of the world, China, and one more extensive than Europe and probably more populous, with more than 400,000,000 inhabitants. It is a land of great navigable rivers, of vast agricultural areas, and of mines rich in coal and metals, as yet largely undeveloped. The Chinese were a highly civilized people long before the Europeans were. They preceded the latter by centuries in the use of the compass, powder, porcelain, paper. As early as the sixth century of our era they knew the art of printing from movable blocks. They have long been famous for their work in bronze, in wood, in lacquer, for the marvels of their silk manufacture. As a people laborious and intelligent, they have always been devoted to the peaceful pursuits of industry, and have despised the arts of war.

China had always lived a life of isolation, despising the outside world. She had no diplomatic representatives in any foreign country, nor were any foreign ambassadors resident in Peking. Foreigners were permitted to trade in only one Chinese port, Canton, and even there only under vexatious and humiliating conditions.

The "Opium War." It was not likely that a policy of such isolation could be permanently maintained in the modern age, and as the nineteenth century progressed it was gradually shattered. The Chinese desired nothing better than to be let alone. But this was not to be. By a long series of aggressions extending to our own day, various European powers have forced China to enter into relations with them, to make concessions of territory, of trading privileges, of diplomatic intercourse. In this story of European aggression the "Opium War" waged by Great Britain against China from 1840 to 1842 was decisive, as showing how easy it was to conquer China. The Chinese had forbidden the importation of opium, as injurious to their people. But the British did not wish to give up a trade in which the profits were enormous. The war, the first between China and a European power, lasted two years and ended in the victory of Great Britain. The consequences, in forcing the doors of China open to European influence, were important. By the Treaty of Nanking, 1842, she was forced to pay a large indemnity, to open to British trade four ports in addition to Canton, and to cede the island of Hong Kong, near Canton, to England outright. Hong Kong has

since become one of the most important naval and commercial stations of the British Empire.

The Treaty Ports. Other powers now proceeded to take advantage of the British success. The United States sent Caleb Cushing to make a commercial treaty with China in 1844, and before long France, Belgium, Holland, Prussia, and Portugal established trade centers at the five treaty ports. The number of such ports has since been increased to over forty. China was obliged to abandon her policy of isolation and to send and receive ambassadors.

A period of critical importance in China's relations with Europe began in the last decade of the nineteenth century as a result of a war with Japan in 1894-1895. To appreciate this war it is necessary to give some account of the previous evolution of Japan.

Description of Japan. The rise of Japan as the most forceful state in the Orient is a chapter of very recent history, of absorbing interest, and of great significance to the present age. Accomplished in the last third of the nineteenth century, it has already profoundly altered the conditions of international politics, and seems likely to be a factor of increasing moment in the future evolution of the world.

Japan is an archipelago consisting of several large islands and about four thousand smaller ones. It covered, in 1894, an area of 147,000 square miles, an area smaller than that of California. The main islands form a crescent, the northern point being opposite Siberia, the southern turning in toward Korea. Between it and Asia is the Sea of Japan. The country is very mountainous, its most famous peak, Fujiyama, rising to a height of 12,000 feet. Of volcanic origin, numerous craters are still active. Earthquakes are not uncommon, and have determined the character of domestic architecture. The coast line is much indented, and there are many good harbors. The Japanese call their country Nippon, or the Land of the Rising Sun. Only about one-sixth of the land is under cultivation, owing to its mountainous character, and owing to the prevalent mode of farming. Yet into this small area is crowded a population of over fifty millions, which is larger than that of Great Britain or France. It is no occasion for surprise that the Japanese have desired territorial expansion.

Japanese Civilization. The people of Japan derived the beginnings of their civilization from China, but in many respects they differed greatly from the Chinese. The virtues of the soldier were

held in high esteem. Patriotism was a passion, and with it went the spirit of unquestioning self-sacrifice. "Thou shalt honor the gods and love thy country," was a command of the Shinto religion, and was universally obeyed. An art-loving and pleasure-loving people, they possessed active minds and a surprising power of assimilation which they were to show on a national and momentous scale.

Japanese Policy of Isolation. The Japanese had followed the same policy of seclusion as had the Chinese. Japan had for centuries been almost hermetically sealed against the outside world. On the peninsula of Deshima there was a single trading station which carried on a slight commerce with the Dutch. This was Japan's sole point of contact with the outside world for over two centuries.

This unnatural seclusion was rudely disturbed by the arrival in Japanese waters of an American fleet under Commodore Perry in 1853, sent out by the government of the United States. American sailors, engaged in the whale fisheries in the Pacific, were now and then wrecked on the coasts of Japan, where they generally received cruel treatment. Perry was instructed to demand of the ruler of Japan protection for American sailors and property thus wrecked, and permission for American ships to put into one or more Japanese ports, in order to obtain necessary supplies and to dispose of their cargoes. He presented these demands to the government. He announced further that if his requests were refused, he would open hostilities. The government granted certain immediate demands, but insisted that the general question of opening relations with a foreign state required careful consideration. Perry consented to allow this discussion and sailed away, stating that he would return the following year for the final answer. The discussion of the general question on the part of the governing classes was very earnest. Some believed in maintaining the old policy of complete exclusion of foreigners. Others, however, believed this impossible, owing to the manifest military superiority of the foreigners. They thought it well to enter into relations with them in order to learn the secret of that superiority, and then to appropriate it for Japan. They believed this the only way to insure, in the long run, the independence and power of their country. This opinion finally prevailed, and when Perry reappeared a treaty was made with him (1854) by which two ports were opened to American ships. This was a mere beginning, but the important fact was that Japan had, after two centuries of

seclusion, entered into relations with a foreign state. Later other and more liberal treaties were concluded with the United States and with other countries.

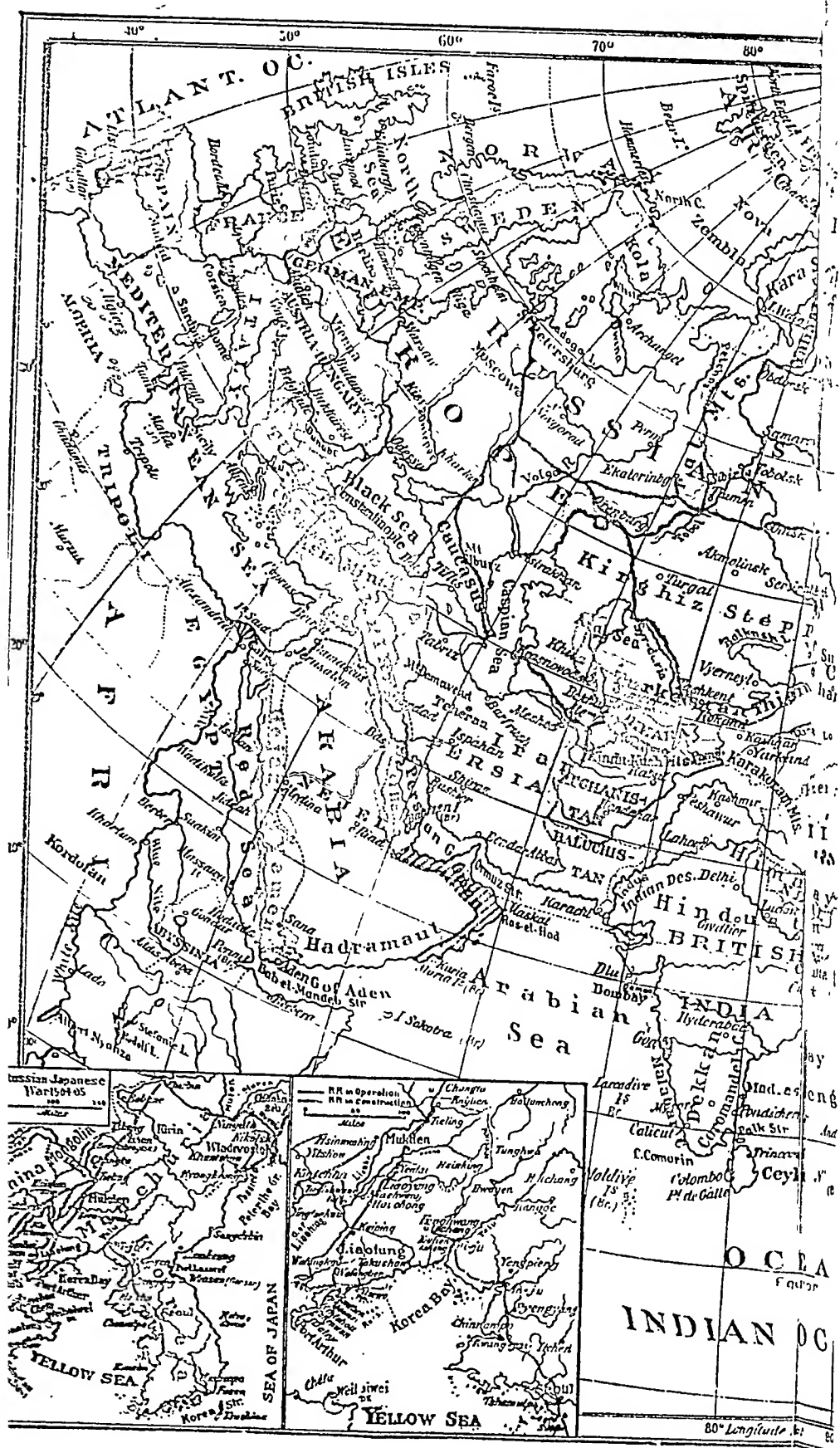
The Rapid Transformation of Japan. The reaction of the events described upon the internal evolution of Japan was remarkable. They produced a very critical situation, and precipitated a civil war, the outcome of which discussion and conflict was the triumph of the party that believed in change. After 1868 Japan revolutionized her political and social institutions in a few years, adopted with ardor the material and scientific civilization of the West, made herself in these respects a European state, and entered as a result upon an international career, which has already profoundly modified the world, and is likely to be a constant and an increasing factor in the future development of the East. So complete, so rapid, so hearty an appropriation of an alien civilization, a civilization against which every precaution of exclusion had for centuries been taken, is a change unique in the history of the world, and notable for the audacity and the intelligence displayed. The entrance upon this course was a direct result of Perry's expedition. The Japanese revolution will always remain an astonishing story. Once begun it proceeded with great rapidity. In place of the former military class arose an army based on European models. Military service was declared universal and obligatory in 1872. The German system, which has revolutionized Europe, began to revolutionize Asia.

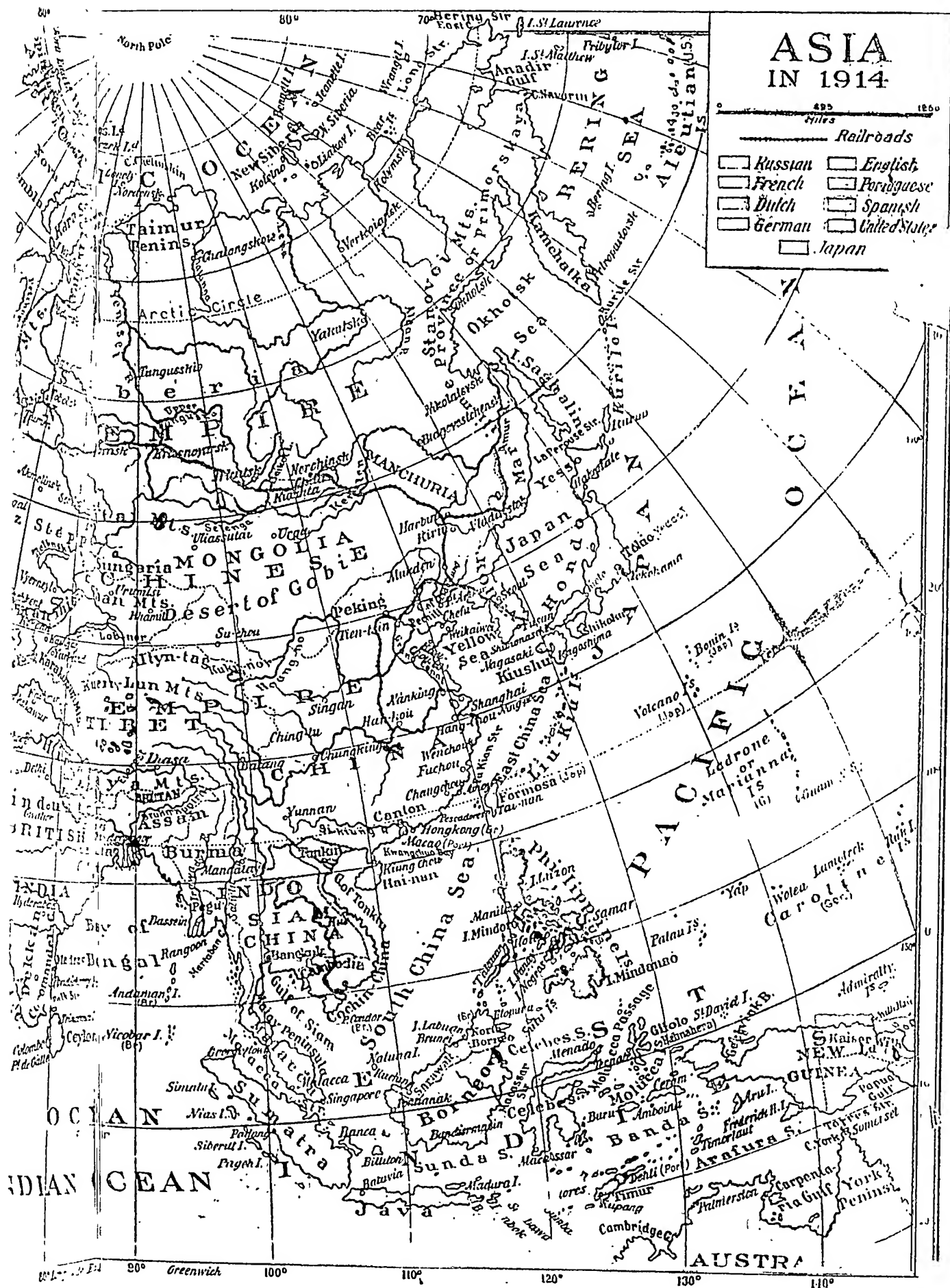
The first railroad was begun in 1870 between Tokio and Yokohama. Thirty years later there were over 3,600 miles in operation. To-day there are 7,000. The educational methods of the West were also introduced. A university was established at Tokio, and later another at Kioto. Professors from abroad were induced to accept important positions in them. Students showed great enthusiasm in pursuing the new learning. Public schools were created rapidly, and by 1883 about 3,300,000 pupils were receiving education. In 1873 the European calendar was adopted. The codes of law were thoroughly remodeled after an exhaustive study of European systems. Finally, a constitution was granted in 1889, after eight years of careful elaboration and study of foreign models. It established a parliament of two chambers, a House of Peers (the so-called "Elder Statesmen") and a House of Representatives. The vote was given to men of twenty-five years or older who paid a certain property tax. The

constitution reserved very large powers for the monarch. Parliament met for the first time in 1890. The test of reformed Japan came in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, and proved the solidity of this amazing achievement. During those years she fought and defeated two powers apparently much stronger than herself, China and Russia, and took her place as an equal in the family of nations.

Chino-Japanese War and Its Consequences. A war in which the efficiency of the transformed Japan was clearly established broke out with China in 1894. The immediate cause was the relations of the two powers to Korea. Korea was a kingdom, but both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over it. Japan had an interest in extending her claims, as she desired larger markets for her products. Friction was frequent between the two countries concerning their rights in Korea, as a consequence of which Japan began a war in which, with her modern army, she was easily victorious over her giant neighbor, whose armies fought in the old Asiatic style with a traditional Asiatic equipment. The Japanese drove the Chinese out of Korea, invaded Manchuria, where they seized the fortress of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, occupied the Liaotung peninsula on which that fortress is located, and prepared to advance toward Peking. The Chinese, alarmed for their capital, agreed to make peace, and signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki (April 17, 1895), by which they ceded Port Arthur, the Liaotung peninsula, the Island of Formosa, and the Pescadores Islands to Japan, also agreeing to pay a large war indemnity of two hundred million taels (about \$175,000,000). China recognized the complete independence of Korea.

Europe Intervenes. In the hour of triumph Japan was thwarted by a European intervention, and deprived of the fruits of victory. Russia now entered in decisive fashion upon a scene where she was to play a prominent part for the next decade. She showed that she entertained plans directly opposed to those of the Japanese. She induced France and Germany to join her in forcing them to give up the most important rewards of their victory, in ordering them to surrender the Liaotung peninsula on the ground that the possession of Port Arthur threatened the independence of Peking and would be a perpetual menace "to the peace of the Far East." This was a bitter blow to the Japanese. Recognizing, however, that it would be





folly to oppose the three great military powers of Europe, they yielded, restored Port Arthur and the peninsula to China, and withdrew from the mainland, indignant at the action of the powers, and resolved to increase their army and navy and develop their resources, believing that their enemy in Asia was Russia, with whom a day of reckoning must come sooner or later, and confirmed in this belief by events that crowded thick and fast in the next few years.

The insincerity of the powers in talking about the integrity of China and the peace of the East was not long in manifesting itself.

Germany and Shantung. In 1897 two German missionaries were murdered in the province of Shantung. The German Emperor immediately sent a fleet to demand redress. As a result Germany secured from China (March 5, 1898) a ninety-nine year lease of the fine harbor of Kiauchau, with a considerable area round about, and extensive commercial and financial privileges in the whole province of Shantung. Indeed, that province became a German "sphere of influence."

Russia Secures Port Arthur. This action of Germany encouraged Russia to make further demands. She acquired from China (March 27, 1898) a lease for twenty-five years of Port Arthur, the strongest position in eastern Asia, which, as she had stated to Japan in 1895, enabled the possessor to threaten Peking and to disturb the peace of the Orient. France and England also each acquired a port on similar terms of lease.

The "Boxer" Movement. It seemed, in the summer of 1898, that China was about to undergo the fate of Africa, that it was to be carved up among the various powers. This tendency was checked by the rise of a bitterly anti-foreign party, occasioned by these acts of aggression, and culminating in the Boxer insurrections of 1900. These grew rapidly, and spread over northern China. Their aim was to drive the "foreign devils into the sea." Scores of missionaries and their families were killed, and hundreds of Chinese converts murdered in cold blood. Finally, the Legations of the various powers in Peking were besieged, and for weeks Europe and America feared that all the foreigners in them would be massacred. In the presence of this common danger the powers were obliged to drop their jealousies and rivalries, and send a relief expedition, consisting of troops from Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and the United States. The Legations were rescued, just as their re-

sources were exhausted by the siege of two months (June 13–August 14, 1900). The international army suppressed the Boxer movement after a short campaign, forced the Chinese to pay a large indemnity, and to punish the ringleaders. In forming this international army, the powers had agreed not to acquire territory, and at the close of the war they guaranteed the integrity of China. Whether this would mean anything remained to be seen.

Japanese Apprehensions. The integrity of China had been invoked in 1895 and ignored in the years following. Russia, France, and Germany had appealed to it as a reason for demanding the evacuation of Port Arthur by the Japanese in 1895. Soon afterward Germany had virtually annexed a port and a province of China, and France and England had each acquired a port. Then came the most decisive act, the securing of Port Arthur by Russia. This caused a wave of indignation to sweep over Japan, and the people of that country were with difficulty kept in check by the prudence of their statesmen. The acquisition of Port Arthur by Russia meant that now she had a harbor ice-free the year round. That Russia did not look upon her possession as merely a short lease, but as a permanent one, was unmistakably shown by her conduct. She constructed a railroad south from Harbin, connecting with the Trans-Siberian. She threw thousands of troops into Manchuria; she set about immensely strengthening Port Arthur as a fortress, and a considerable fleet was stationed there. To the Japanese all this seemed to prove that she purposed ultimately to annex the immense province of Manchuria, and later probably Korea, which would give her a larger number of ice-free harbors and place her in a dominant position on the Pacific, menacing, the Japanese felt, the very existence of Japan. Moreover, this would absolutely cut off all chance of possible Japanese expansion in these directions, and of the acquisition of their markets for Japanese industries. The ambitions of the two powers to dominate the East clashed, and, in addition, to Japan the matter seemed to involve her permanent safety, even in her island home.

The Russo-Japanese War. Japan's prestige at this time was greatly increased by a treaty concluded with England in 1902 establishing a defensive alliance, each power promising the other aid in certain contingencies. In case either should become involved in war the other would remain neutral but would abandon its neutrality

and come to the assistance of its ally if another power should join the enemy. This meant that if France or Germany should aid Russia in a war with Japan, then England would aid Japan. In a war between Russia and Japan alone England would be neutral. The treaty was therefore of great practical importance to Japan, and it also increased her prestige. For the first time in history, an Asiatic power had entered into an alliance with a European power on a plane of entire equality. Japan had entered the family of nations and it was remarkable evidence of her importance that Great Britain saw advantage in an alliance with her. Meanwhile Russia had a large army in Manchuria and a leasehold of the strong fortress and naval base of Port Arthur. She had definitely promised to withdraw from Manchuria when order should be restored, but she declined to make the statement more explicit. Her military preparations increasing all the while, the Japanese demanded of her the date at which she intended to withdraw her troops from Manchuria, order having apparently been restored. Negotiations between the two powers dragged on from August, 1903, to February, 1904. Japan, believing that Russia was merely trying to gain time to tighten her grip on Manchuria by elaborate and intentional delay and evasion, and to prolong the discussion until she had sufficient troops in the province to be able to throw aside the mask, suddenly broke off diplomatic relations and commenced hostilities. On the night of February 8, 1904, the Japanese torpedoed a part of the Russian fleet before Port Arthur and threw their armies into Korea, a country which both Japan and Russia coveted.

The Russo-Japanese War, thus begun, lasted from February, 1904, to September, 1905. It was fought on both land and sea. Japan was victorious on both, because of her superior preparation, because of the greater efficiency of her government, and because of her nearness to the theater of war. Tremendous battles around Mukden, a terrific struggle over Port Arthur, were outstanding features of the war. The two powers finally consented, at the suggestion of President Roosevelt, to send delegates to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to see if the war could be brought to a close. The result was the signing of the Treaty of Portsmouth, September 5, 1905. By this treaty Russia recognized Japan's paramount interests in Korea, which country, however, was to remain independent. Both the Russians and the Japanese were to evacuate Manchuria. Russia

transferred to Japan her lease of Port Arthur and the Liaotung peninsula, and ceded the southern half of the island of Saghalin. A few years later Japan annexed Korea outright (1910).

Changes in China. The lesson of these tremendous events was not lost upon the Chinese. The victories of Japan, an Oriental state, over a great Occidental power, as well as over China, convinced many influential Chinese of the advantage to be derived from an adoption of European methods, an appropriation of European knowledge. The leaven of reform began to work fruitfully in the Middle Kingdom. The acquisition of western knowledge was encouraged. Students went in large numbers to the schools and universities of Europe and America. Twenty thousand of them went to Japan. The state encouraged the process by throwing open the civil service, that is, official careers, to those who obtained honors in examinations in western subjects. Schools were opened throughout the country. Even public schools for girls were established in some places, a remarkable fact for any Oriental country. In 1906 an edict was issued aiming at the prohibition of the use of opium within ten years.

Political reorganization was also undertaken. An imperial commission was sent to Europe in 1905 to study the representative systems of various countries, and on its return a committee, consisting of many high dignitaries, was appointed to study its report. In August, 1908, an official edict was issued promising, in the name of the Emperor, a constitution in 1917.

China Becomes a Republic. The process of transformation was destined to proceed even more rapidly than was contemplated. Radical and revolutionary parties appeared upon the scene, demanding a constitution immediately. As the Imperial Government could not resist, it granted one in 1911 establishing a parliament with extensive powers. To cap all, in central and southern China a republican movement arose and spread rapidly. Finally a republic was proclaimed at Nanking and Dr. Sun Yat Sen, who had been educated in part in the United States, was elected president. A clash between this republican movement and the imperial party in the north resulted in the forced abdication of the boy Emperor (February, 1912). This was the end of the Manchu dynasty. Thereupon Yuan Shih K'ai was chosen President of the Republic of China. The situation confronting the new Republic was extremely grave. Would it prove possible to establish the new regime upon solid and enduring bases, or

would the Republic fall a prey to the internal dissensions of the Chinese, or to foreign aggression at the hands of European powers, or, more likely, at the hands of an ambitious and militaristic neighbor, Japan? These were the secrets of the future.

Yuan Shih K'ai was elected for a term of five years. His administration was marked by a growing tension between his increasingly autocratic tendencies and the liberal and radical tendencies of Parliament. In the midst of his term, the President died, June 6, 1916. He was succeeded by Li Yuan-Lung, the Vice-President, generally considered more loyal to republican principles.

QUESTIONS

I. How long have Russia and England been Asiatic powers? What were the causes of Russian expansion in Asia? What were the relations of China to Europe down to the nineteenth century? When did those relations begin to change?

II. What was long the foreign policy of Japan? What part did the United States play in bringing about a change in that policy? Describe the revolution carried through in Japan during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

III. What were the causes of the war between China and Japan in 1894 and 1895? What were its results? What was the attitude of European powers toward China after that war? What was the "Boxer" movement?

IV. What were the causes of the Russo-Japanese War and what were its consequences? Give an account of the history of China since 1905.

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CHAPTER XXXIII

RUSSIA AFTER THE WAR WITH JAPAN

Effect of the Japanese War upon Russia. We are now in a position to follow with some understanding the later history of Russia, a history at once crowded, intricate, and turbulent. That history is the record of the reaction of the Japanese War upon Russia herself.

That war was from the beginning unpopular with the Russians. Consisting of a series of defeats, its unpopularity only increased, and the indignation and wrath of the people were shown during its course in many ways. The government was justly held responsible, and was discredited by its failure. As it added greatly to the already existing discontent, the plight in which the government found itself rendered it powerless to repress that discontent in the usual summary fashion. There was for many months extraordinary freedom of discussion, of the press, of speech, cut short now and then by the officials, only to break out later. The war with Japan had for the government of Russia most unexpected and unwelcome consequences. The very winds were let loose.

Plehve's Iron Rule. The Minister of the Interior, in whose hands lay the maintenance of public order, was at this time Plehve, one of the most bitterly hated men in recent Russian history. Plehve had been in power since 1902, and had revealed a character of unusual harshness. He had incessantly and pitilessly prosecuted liberals everywhere, had filled the prisons with his victims, had been the center of the movement against the Finns, previously described, and seems to have secretly favored the horrible massacres of Jews which occurred at this time. He was detested as few men have been. He attempted to suppress in the usual manner the rising volume of criticism occasioned by the war, by applying the same ruthless methods of breaking up meetings, and exiling to Siberia students, professional men, laborers. He was killed July, 1904, by a bomb thrown under his carriage by a former student. Russia breathed more easily.

The Demands of the Liberals. The various liberal and advanced elements of the population uttered their desires with a freedom such as they had never known before. They demanded that the reign of law be established in Russia, that the era of bureaucratic and police control, recognizing no limits of inquisition and of cruelty, should cease. They demanded the individual rights usual in western Europe, freedom of conscience, of speech, of publication, of public meetings and associations, of justice administered by independent judges. They also demanded a constitution, to be framed by the people, and a national parliament.

The Tsar showing no inclination to accede to these demands, disorder continued and became more widespread, particularly when the shameful facts became known that officials were enriching themselves at the expense of the national honor, selling for private gain supplies intended for the army, even seizing the funds of the Red Cross Society. The war continued to be a series of humiliating and sanguinary defeats, and on January 1, 1905, came the surrender of Port Arthur after a fearful siege. The horror of the civilized world was aroused by an event which occurred a few weeks later, the slaughter of "Bloody Sunday" (January 22, 1905). Workmen in immense numbers, under the leadership of a radical priest, Father Gapon, tried to approach the Imperial Palace in St. Petersburg, hoping to be able to lay their grievances directly before the Emperor, as they had no faith in any of the officials. Instead of that they were attacked by the Cossacks and the result was a great loss of life, how large cannot be accurately stated.

The Tsar Promises a Representative Assembly. All through the year 1905 tumults and disturbances occurred. Peasants burned the houses of the nobles. Mutinies in the army and navy were frequent. The uncle of the Tsar, the Grand Duke Sergius, one of the most pronounced reactionaries in the Empire, who had said "the people want the stick," was assassinated. Russia was in a state bordering on anarchy. Finally the Tsar sought to reduce the ever-mounting spirit of opposition by issuing a manifesto concerning the representative assembly which was so vehemently demanded (August 19, 1905). The manifesto proved a bitter disappointment, as it spoke of the necessity of preserving autocratic government and promised a representative assembly which should only have the power to give advice, not to see that its advice was followed. The agitation

therefore continued unabated, or rather increased, assuming new and alarming aspects, which exerted in the end a terrific pressure upon the government. Finally the Tsar on October 30, 1905, issued a new manifesto which promised freedom of conscience, speech, meeting, and association, also a representative assembly or Duma, to be elected on a wide franchise, establishing "as an immutable rule that no law can come into force without the approval of the Duma," and giving to the Duma also effective control over the acts of public officials.

The Duma. The Duma, thus promised, was to be a law-making body and was to have a supervision over state officials. But before it met the Tsar proceeded to clip its wings. He issued a decree constituting the Council of the Empire, that is, a body consisting largely of official appointees from the bureaucracy, or of persons associated with the old order of things, as a kind of Upper Chamber of the legislature, of which the Duma should be the Lower. Laws must have the consent of both Council and Duma before being submitted to the Tsar for approval.

The elections to the Duma were held in March and April, 1906, and resulted in a large majority for the Constitutional Democrats, popularly called the "Cadets." In the name of the Tsar certain "organic laws" were now issued, laws that could not be touched by the Duma. Thus the powers of that body were again restricted before it had even met.

Opening of the Duma, May 10, 1906. The Duma was opened, by Nicholas II in person, with elaborate ceremony, May 10, 1906. It was destined to have a short and stormy life. It showed from the beginning that it desired a comprehensive reform of Russia along the well-known lines of western liberalism. It was combated by the court and bureaucratic parties, which had not been able to prevent its meeting, but which were bent upon rendering it powerless, and were only waiting for a favorable time to secure its abolition. It demanded that the Council of the Empire, the second chamber, should be reformed, as it was under the complete control of the Emperor, and was thus able to nullify the work of the people's chamber. It demanded that the ministers be made responsible to the Duma as the only way of giving the people control over the officials. It demanded the abolition of martial law throughout the Empire, under cover of which all kinds of crimes were being perpetrated by

the governing classes. It passed a bill abolishing capital punishment. As the needs of the peasants were most pressing, it demanded that the lands belonging to the state, the crown, and the monasteries be given to them on long lease.

The Dissolution of the Duma. The Duma lasted a little over two months. Its debates were marked by a high degree of intelligence and by frequent displays of eloquence, in which several peasants distinguished themselves. It criticized the abuses of the government freely and scathingly. Its sessions were often stormy, the attitude of the ministers frequently contemptuous. It was foiled in all its attempts at reform by the Council of the Empire, and by the Tsar.

The crucial contest was over the responsibility of ministers. The Duma demanded this as the only way of giving the people an effective participation in the government. The Tsar steadily refused. A deadlock ensued. The Tsar cut the whole matter short by dissolving the Duma, on July 22, 1906, expressing himself as "cruelly disappointed" by its actions, and ordering elections for a new Duma.

The Tsar and the Duma. The second Duma was opened by the Tsar March 5, 1907. It did not work to the satisfaction of the government. Friction between it and the ministry developed early and steadily increased. Finally the government arrested sixteen of the members and indicted many others for carrying on an alleged revolutionary propaganda. This was, of course, a vital assault upon the integrity of the assembly, a gross infringement upon even the most moderate constitutional liberties. Preparing to contest this high-handed action, the Duma was dissolved on June 16, 1907, and a new one ordered to be elected in September, and to meet in November. An imperial manifesto was issued at the same time altering the electoral law in most sweeping fashion, and practically bestowing the right of choosing the large majority of the members upon about 130,000 landowners. This also was a grave infringement upon the constitutional liberties hitherto granted, which had, among other things, promised that the electoral law should not be changed without the consent of the Duma.

The government declared by word and by act that the autocracy of the ruler was undiminished. Illegalities of the old, familiar kind were committed freely by officials. Reaction ruled unchecked. The third Duma, elected on a very limited and plutocratic suffrage, was opened on November 14, 1907. It was composed in large

measure of reactionaries, of large landowners. It proved a docile assembly.

The government did not dare to abolish the Duma outright, as urged by the reactionaries. The Duma continued to exist, but was rather a consultative than a legislative body. With the mere passage of time it took on more and more the character of a permanent institution, exerting a feeble influence on the national life. However, the government of Russia became again in practice what it had been before the war with Japan, what it had been all through the nineteenth century. The tremendous struggle for liberty had failed. The former governing classes recovered control of the state, after the stormy years from 1904 to 1907, and applied once more their former principles. Among these were renewed attacks upon the Finns, increasingly severe measures against the Poles, and savage treatment of the Jews. Russia was still wedded to her idols, or at least her idols had not been overthrown. Her medieval past was still the strongest force in the state, to which it still gave a thoroughly medieval tone. Whether the war of 1914 would result in accomplishing what the war with Japan began but did not achieve, a sweeping reformation of the institutions and policies, ambitions and mental outlook of the nation, was, of course, the secret of the future.

QUESTIONS

I. What were the effects of the Japanese War upon Russia? What was "Bloody Sunday"? How was the Tsar brought to promise a representative assembly? How did he keep that promise?

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CHAPTER XXXIV

THE BALKAN WARS OF 1912 AND 1913

An Era of Armed Peace. The contemporary world, to a degree altogether unprecedented in history, has been dominated by the thought of war, by extraordinary preparations for war, and by zealous and concerted efforts to prevent war. Finally a conflict came which staggered the imagination and beggared description, and whose issues were incalculable, a conflict which soon clamped the entire world in its iron grip. This was a ghastly outcome of a century of development, rich beyond compare in many lines. It is, however, not inexplicable, and it is important for us to see how so melancholy, so sinister a turn has been given to the destinies of the race.

The rise and development of the militaristic spirit have been shown in the preceding pages. The Prussian military system, marked by scientific thoroughness and efficiency, had been adopted by most of the countries of the Continent. Europe became in the last quarter of the nineteenth century what she had never been before, literally an armed continent. The rivalry of the nations to have the most perfect instruments of destruction, the strongest army, and the strongest navy, became one of the most conspicuous features of the times. Ships of war were made so strong that they could resist attack. New projectiles of terrific force were consequently required and the torpedo was invented. A new agency would be useful to discharge this missile and thus the torpedo boat was developed. To neutralize it was therefore, the immediate necessity, and the torpedo-boat destroyer was the result. Boats that could navigate beneath the waters would have an obvious advantage over those that could be seen, and the submarine was provided for this need. And finally men took possession of the air with dirigible balloons and aeroplanes, as aerial auxiliaries of war. Thus man's immemorial occupation, war, gained from the advance of science and contributed to that advance. The wars of the past were fought on the surface

of the globe. Those of the present are fought in the heavens above, and in the earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth.

But all this was tremendously expensive. The burden finally became so heavy, the rivalry so keen that it gave rise to a movement which aimed to end it. In the summer of 1898 the civil and military authorities of Russia were considering how they might escape the necessity of replacing an antiquated kind of artillery with a more modern but very costly one. Out of this discussion emerged the idea that it would be desirable, if possible, to check the increase of armaments. This could not be achieved by one nation alone but must be done by all, if done at all. The outcome of these discussions was the issuance by the Tsar, Nicholas II, on August 24, 1898, of a communication to the powers, suggesting that an international conference be held to consider the general problem.

The First Peace Conference at the Hague (1899). The conference, thus suggested by the Tsar, was held at the Hague in 1899. Twenty-six of the fifty-nine sovereign governments of the world were represented by one hundred members. Twenty of these states were European, four were Asiatic — China, Japan, Persia, and Siam, — and two were American — the United States and Mexico. The Conference was opened on May 18 and closed on July 29.

So pronounced were the differences of opinion in the Conference, and particularly so strong was the opposition of Germany, that the Conference was unable to reach any agreement upon the fundamental question which had given rise to its convocation. It could only adopt a resolution expressing the belief that "a limitation of the military expenses which now burden the world is greatly to be desired in the interests of the material and moral well-being of mankind" and the desire that the governments "shall take up the study of the possibility of an agreement concerning the limitation of armed forces on land and sea, and of military budgets."

Establishment of a Permanent Court of Arbitration. With regard to arbitration the Conference was more successful. It established a Permanent Court of Arbitration for the purpose of facilitating arbitration in the case of international disputes which it is found impossible to settle by the ordinary means of diplomacy. The Court does not consist of a group of judges holding sessions at stated times to try such cases as may be brought before it. But it is

provided that each power "shall select not more than four persons of recognized competence in questions of international law, enjoying the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators," and that their appointment shall run for six years and may be renewed. Out of this long list the powers at variance may choose, in a manner indicated, the judges who shall decide any given case.

Recourse to this Court is optional, but the Court is always ready to be invoked. Arbitration is entirely voluntary with the parties to a quarrel, but if they wish to arbitrate, the machinery is at hand, a fact which is, perhaps, an encouragement to its use.

The work of the First Peace Conference was very limited and modest, yet encouraging. But that the new century was to bring not peace but a sword, that force still ruled the world, was shortly apparent. Those who were optimistic about the rapid spread of arbitration as a principle destined to regulate the international relations of the future were sadly disappointed by the meager results of the Conference, and were still more depressed by subsequent events. For almost on the very heels of this Conference, which it was hoped would further the interests of peace, came the devastating war in South Africa, followed quickly by the war between Russia and Japan. Also the expenditures of European states upon armies and navies continued to increase, and at an even faster rate than ever.

The Second Peace Conference at the Hague (1907). The sequel of the Hague Conference was deeply disappointing. But despite discouragements the friends of peace were active, and finally brought about the Second Conference at the Hague in 1907. This also was called by Nicholas II, though President Roosevelt had first taken the initiative. The Second Conference was in session from June 15 to October 18. This Second Conference accomplished much useful work in the adoption of conventions regulating the actual conduct of war in more humane fashion, and in defining certain aspects of international law with greater precision than heretofore. But, concerning compulsory arbitration, and concerning disarmament or the limitation of armaments, nothing was achieved. It passed this resolution: "The Conference confirms the resolution adopted by the Conference of 1899 in regard to the restriction of military expenditures; and, since military expenditures have increased considerably in nearly every country since the said year,

the Conference declares that it is highly desirable to see the governments take up the serious study of the question."

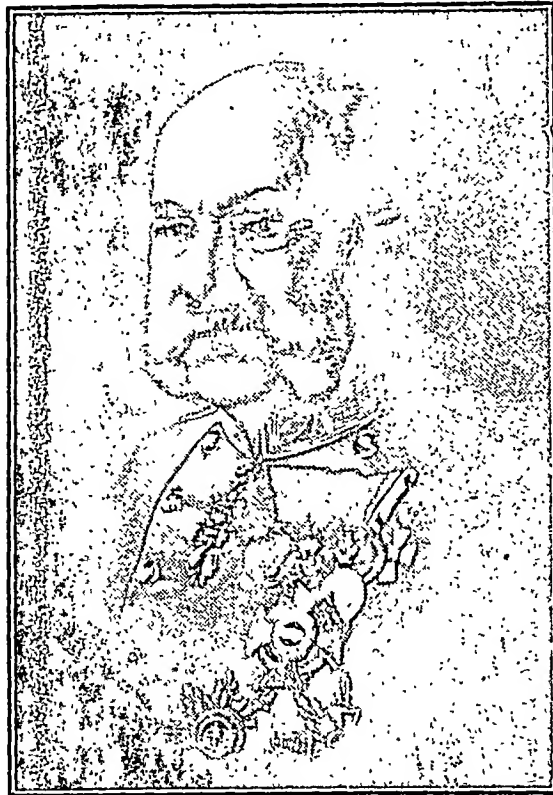
This platonic resolution was adopted unanimously. A grim commentary on its importance in the eyes of the governments was contained in the history of the succeeding years with their ever increasing military and naval appropriations, their tenser rivalry, their deepening determination to be ready for whatever the future might have in store.

That future had in store for 1912 and 1913 two desperate wars in the Balkan peninsula and for 1914 an appalling cataclysm.

The Turkish Revolution of 1908. We have seen with what enthusiasm the bloodless revolution of July 24, 1908, was hailed by all the races of Turkey. It seemed the brilliant dawn of a new era. It proved to be the signal for a renewed attack upon the Ottoman Empire. From that day to the outbreak of the European War six years later the Balkan peninsula was the storm center of the world. Event succeeded event, swift, startling, and sensational, throwing a lengthening and deepening shadow before. No adequate description of these crowded years can be attempted here. Only an outline can be given indicating the successive stages of a portentous and absorbing drama.

The ease with which the Young Turks overthrew in those July days of 1908 the loathsome régime of Abdul Hamid, and the principles of freedom and fair play which they proclaimed, aroused the happiest anticipations, and enlisted the liveliest sympathy among multitudes within and without the Empire. The very atmosphere was charged with the hope and the expectation that the reign of liberty, equality, and fraternity was about to begin for this sorely visited land where unreason in all its varied forms had hitherto held sway. 'Would not Turkey, rejuvenated, modernized, and liberalized, strong in the loyalty and well-being of its citizens, freed from the blighting inheritance of its gloomy past, take an honorable place at last in the family of humane and progressive nations? Might not the old racial and religious feuds disappear under a new régime, where each locality would have a certain autonomy, large enough to insure essential freedom in religion and in language? Might not Turkey become a stronger nation by adopting the principles of true toleration toward all her various races and religions? Might not this be the final, though unexpected, solution of the famous Eastern Question?

Attitude of Foreign Powers. Even in those golden days some doubted, not seeing any authentic signs of an impending millennium for that distracted corner of the globe. At least the problem of so vast a transformation would be very difficult. The unanimity shown in the joyous destruction of the old system might not be shown in the construction of the new, as many precedents in European history suggested. If Turkey were left alone to concentrate her entire energy upon the impending work of reform, she might perhaps succeed. But she was not to be left alone now any more than she had been for centuries. The Eastern Question had long perplexed the powers of Europe, and had at the same time lured them on to seek their own advantage in its labyrinthine mazes. It was conspicuously an international problem. But the internal reform of Turkey might profoundly alter her international position by increasing the power of the Empire. Certain states having, for reasons of their own, no relish for any such a change, now took action well calculated to prevent it.



FRANCIS JOSEPH

From a photograph taken in 1915.

Austria Annexes Bosnia and Herzegovina. On October 3, 1908, Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria-Hungary announced, through autograph letters to various rulers, his decision to incorporate Bosnia and Herzegovina definitely within his Empire. These were Turkish provinces, handed over by the Congress of Berlin in 1878 to Austria-Hungary for "occupation" and administration, though they still remained officially under the suzerainty of the Porte. On October 5 Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria proclaimed, amid great ceremony, the complete independence of Bulgaria from Turkish

suzerainty, and assumed the title of Tsar. Two days later the Greek population of the island of Crete repudiated all connection with Turkey and declared for union with Greece. On the same day, October 7, Francis Joseph issued a proclamation to the people of Bosnia and Herzegovina announcing the annexation of those provinces. Against this action Serbia protested vigorously to the powers, her parliament was immediately convoked, and the war spirit flamed up and threatened to get beyond control. Ferdinand was prepared to defend the independence of Bulgaria by going to war with Turkey, if necessary.

Serbia. These sensational events immediately aroused intense excitement throughout Europe. They constituted violent breaches of the Treaty of Berlin. One state was particularly indignant at the situation thus created, Serbia. For years the Serbians had entertained the ambition of uniting Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro, all peopled by members of the same Serbian race, thus restoring the Serbian empire of the Middle Ages, and gaining access to the sea. This plan was blocked, apparently forever. Serbia could not expand to the west, as Austria barred the way with Bosnia and Herzegovina. She could not reach the sea. Thus she could get her products to market only with the consent of other nations. She alone of all the states in Europe, with the exception of Switzerland, was in this predicament. Fearing that she must thus become a vassal state, probably to her enemy, Austria-Hungary, seeing all possibility of expansion ended, all hopes of combining the Serbs of the Balkans under her banner frustrated, the feeling was strong that war, even against desperate odds, was preferable to strangulation. However, she did not fly to arms. But the feeling of anger and alarm remained, an element in the general situation that could not be ignored, auguring ill for the future.

But trouble for the Young Turks came not only from the outside. It also came from inside and, as was shortly seen, it lay in large measure in their own unwisdom.

Opening of the Turkish Parliament. The new Turkish Parliament met in December, 1908, amid general enthusiasm. Four months later events occurred which threatened the abrupt termination of this experiment in constitutional and parliamentary government. A counter-revolution broke out. This, however, was shortly suppressed, the Sultan, Abdul Hamid II, was deposed and the Young

Turks succeeded in reasserting their authority. Meanwhile sickening massacres had occurred in Asia Minor, particularly at Adana, showing that the religious and racial animosities of former times had lost none of their force.

The Failure of the Young Turks. The Young Turks were now in a position to carry out their policy. From the very beginning they failed. They did not rise to the height of their opportunity, they did not meet the expectations that had been aroused, they did not loyally live up to the principles they professed. They made no attempt to introduce the spirit of justice, of fair play toward the various elements of their highly composite empire. Instead of seeking to apply the principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, they resorted to autocratic government, to domination by a single race. They the Turks, that is, the Mohammedan ruling race, determined to keep power absolutely in their own hands by hook or crook. In the very first elections to Parliament they arranged affairs so that they would have a majority over all other races combined. They did not intend to divide power with the Christian Greeks and Armenians or the Mohammedan Arabs. Their policy was one of Turkification, just as the Russian policy was one of Russification, the German of Germanization. They made no attempt to punish the perpetrators of the Adana massacres in which over thirty thousand Armenian Christians were slaughtered. The Armenian population was thus alienated from them. They tried to suppress the liberties which under all previous régimes the Orthodox Greek Church had enjoyed. Thus they offended the Greeks. They went a step farther. In the west were the Albanians, a Moslem people who had hitherto combined local independence with loyal and appreciated services to the Turkish authorities, in both the army and the government. The Turks decided to suppress this independence and to make the Albanians submit in all matters to the authorities at Constantinople. But the Albanians had been for centuries remarkable fighters. They now flew to arms. Year after year the Albanian rebellion broke out, only temporarily subdued or smothered by the Turks, who thus exhausted their strength and squandered their resources in fruitless but costly efforts to "pacify" those hardy, war-loving mountaineers.

Thus only a few years of Young Turk rule were necessary to create a highly critical situation, so numerous were the disaffected elements.

There had been no serious attempt to regenerate Turkey, to bring together the various races on the basis of liberty for all. The Young Turks from the beginning failed as reformers because they were untrue to their promises. Their failure led to war in the Balkans and the war in the Balkans led to the European War.

The Turko-Italian War of 1911. While the Turkish Empire was in this highly perturbed condition and while the Balkan states were aglow with indignation at the treatment being meted out to the members of their races resident in Macedonia and were trembling with the desire to act, trouble flared up for the Young Turks in another quarter. Italy had for years been casting longing eyes on the territories which fringe the southern shores of the Mediterranean. She had once hoped to acquire Tunis but had unexpectedly found herself forestalled by France, which seized that country in 1881. At the same time England began her occupation of Egypt. All that remained, therefore, was Tripoli, like Egypt a part of the Turkish Empire. For many years the thought that this territory ought to belong to Italy had been accepted as axiomatic in influential quarters in the Italian government and diplomatic circles. Schemes had been worked out and partly put into force for a "pacific penetration" of an economic character of this land. Now, however, the time seemed to have arrived to seize it outright. Austria-Hungary had annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Bulgaria had declared her independence in 1908, and there had been no successful opposition on the part of Turkey or of any of the Great Powers. Was not this the ripe moment for Italy's project?

The Invasion of Tripoli. In September, 1911, Italy sent her warships to Tripoli and began the conquest of that country. It proved a more difficult undertaking than had been imagined. While she seized the coast towns, her hold on them was precarious and her progress into the interior was slow and costly, owing to the fact that the Turks aroused and directed the natives against the invaders. Italy had given her ally, Austria-Hungary, to understand that she would not attack Turkey directly in Europe, as European Turkey was a veritable tinder-box which, if it once caught fire, might blaze up into a devastating and incalculable conflagration. But as month after month went by and Italy was producing only an uncertain effect in Tripoli, she resolved on more decisive action nearer Constantinople, hoping to bring the Turks to terms. She attacked and seized Rhodes

and eleven other Turkish islands in the Ægean, the Dodecanese. This, and the fact that an Albanian revolution against the Turks was at the same time attaining alarming proportions, made the latter ready to conclude peace with Italy so that they might be free to put down the Albanians. On October 15, 1912, was signed at Ouchy, or Lausanne, a treaty whereby Turkey relinquished Tripoli. It was also provided that Italy should withdraw her troops from the Dodecanese as soon as the Turkish troops were withdrawn from Tripoli, a phrase about which it was easy later to quibble.

Significance of the Italo-Turkish War. The great significance of this war did not lie in the fact that Italy acquired a new colony. It lay in the fact that it began again the process, arrested since 1878, of the violent dismemberment of the Turkish Empire; that it revealed the military weakness of that Empire, powerless to preserve its integrity; and, what is most important, that it contributed directly and greatly to a far more serious attack upon Turkey by the Balkan states, which, in turn, led to the European War. The tinder-box was lighted and a general European conflagration resulted. The Italian attack upon Tripoli was momentous in its consequences.

Union of the Balkan States. During the war in Tripoli the Balkan states negotiated with each other with a view to united action against Turkey. This union was not easy to bring about as Bulgaria, Serbia, and Greece disliked each other intensely, for historical, racial, sentimental reasons too numerous and too complex to be described here. However, they disliked the Turks more, and they were suffering constantly from the Turks. Terrible persecutions, even massacres of the Christians in Macedonia in which large numbers of Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbians lost their lives, inflamed the people of those states with the desire to liberate their brothers in Macedonia. By doing this they would also increase their own territories and diminish or end an odious tyranny. These nations found it possible to unite for the purpose of overwhelming the Turks; they might not find it possible to agree as to the partition among themselves of any territories they might acquire, since here their old, established ambitions and antipathies might conflict. But at any rate they realized that now was their chance, that they might never again find their common enemy so weak and demoralized.

The First Balkan War. In October, 1912, the four Balkan states, Montenegro, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Greece, declared war on Turkey,

The war was brief and an overwhelming success for the allies. Fighting began on October 15, the very day of the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne between Italy and Turkey, although technically the declarations of war were not issued until October 18. The Greeks pushed northward into Macedonia, gained several victories over the enemy, and on November 8, only three weeks after the beginning of the campaign, they entered the important city and port of Salonica, with Crown Prince Constantine at their head. Farther west the Serbians and Montenegrins were also successful. The Serbians won a great victory at Kumanovo, where they avenged the defeat of their ancestors at Kossova, which they had not forgotten for five hundred years. They then captured Monastir.

Meanwhile the Bulgarians, who had the larger armies, had gone from victory to victory, defeating the Turks brilliantly in the battles of Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas. The latter was one of the great battles of modern times, three hundred and fifty thousand troops being involved in fierce, tenacious struggle for three days. The result was the destruction of the military power of the Turks. By the middle of November the Bulgarians had reached the Chataldja line of fortifications which extend from the Sea of Marmora to the Black Sea. Only twenty-five miles beyond them lay Constantinople.

The Treaty of London (May 30, 1913). The collapse of the Turkish power in Europe was nearly complete. Peace negotiations were now begun in London, but failed. In March, 1913, the war was accordingly resumed and resulted in further victories for the allies. Turkey was now compelled to accept terms of peace. On May 30, the Treaty of London was signed. It provided that a line should be drawn from Enos on the Ægean Sea to Midia on the Black Sea, and that all Turkey west of that line should be ceded to the allies, except a region of undefined dimensions on the Adriatic, Albania, whose boundaries and status should be determined by the Great Powers. Crete was ceded to the Great Powers and the decision as to the islands in the Ægean which Greece had seized was also left to them. In December, 1913, Crete was incorporated in the kingdom of Greece. The Sultan's dominions in Europe had shrunk nearly to the vanishing point. After five centuries of proud possession he found himself almost expelled from Europe, retaining still Constantinople and only enough territory round about to protect it. This great achievement was the work of the four Balkan states,

united for once in the common work of liberation. The Great Powers had done nothing. Europe felt relieved, however, that so considerable a change as this in the map of the Balkan peninsula had been effected without involving the Great Powers in war.

The Intervention of Austria. The Treaty of London had not long to live. No sooner had the Balkan states conquered Turkey than they fell to fighting among themselves over the division of the spoils. The responsibility for this calamity does not rest solely with them. It rests in part with the Great Powers, particularly with Austria and Italy. It was the intervention of these powers and their insistence upon the creation of a new independent state, Albania, out of a part of the territory now relinquished by the Turks, that precipitated a new crisis. For the creation of this new state on the Adriatic coast prevented Serbia from realizing one of her most passionate and legitimate ambitions, an outlet to the sea, an escape from her landlocked condition which placed her at the mercy of her neighbors, particularly of Austria.

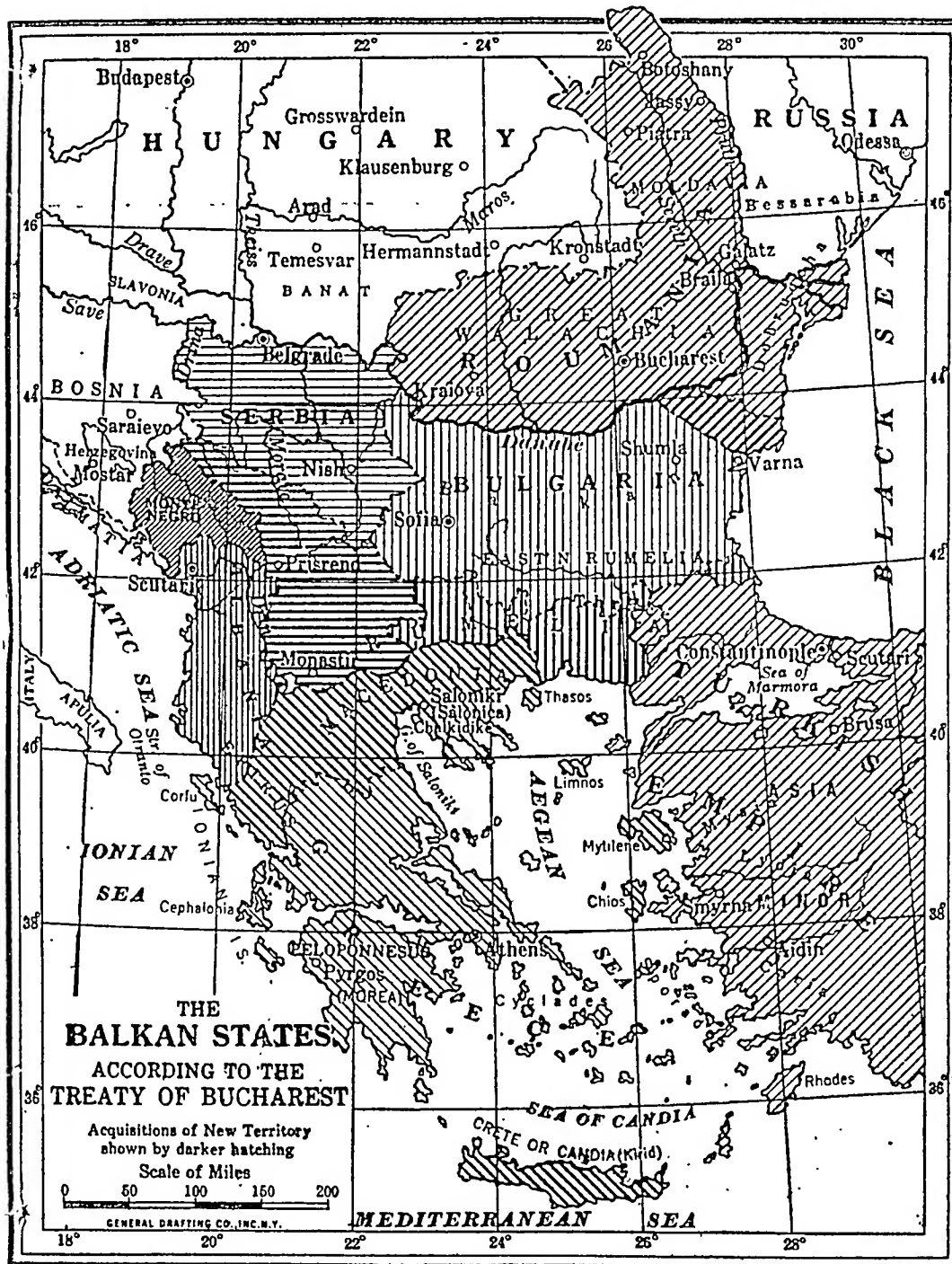
Austrian Opposition to Serbia. Before beginning the war with the Turks, Serbia and Bulgaria had defined their future spheres of influence in upper Macedonia, should the war result in their favor. The larger part of Macedonia should go to Bulgaria, and Serbia's gains should be chiefly in the west, including the longed-for Adriatic seacoast. But now Albania was planted there and Serbia was as landlocked as ever. Austria was resolved that Serbia should under no conditions become an Adriatic state. She had always been opposed to the aggrandizement of Serbia, because she had millions of Serbs under her own rule who might be attracted to an independent Serbia, enlarged and with prestige heightened. Moreover she believed that Serbia would be the pawn of Russia, and she would not tolerate Russia's influence on her southern borders and along the Adriatic, if she could help it. She did not propose to be less important in those waters than she had been in the past. Therefore Serbia must be excluded from the Adriatic. It was the blocking of Serbia's outlet to the sea that caused the second Balkan war between the allies. Intense was the indignation of the Serbians, but they could do nothing. They therefore sought as partial compensation larger territories in Macedonia than their treaty with Bulgaria had assigned them, arguing, correctly enough, that the conditions had greatly changed from those contemplated when that agreement was made.

and that the new conditions justified and necessitated a new arrangement. But here they encountered the stubborn opposition of Bulgaria, which refused any concessions along this line and insisted upon the strict observance of the treaty. Instantly the old, bitter hatred of these two countries for each other flamed up again. The Serbians insisted that the expulsion of the Turks had been the work of all the allies and that there should be a fair division of the territories acquired in the name of all. On the other hand, the Bulgarians argued that it was they who had done the heavy fighting in the war, which was true, that they had furnished by far the larger number of troops, that it was their victories at Kirk Kilissé and Lulé Burgas that had annihilated the power of the Turks in Europe, that they were entitled to annex territories in Macedonia which they declared were peopled by Bulgarians. Other considerations also entered into the situation.

The Second Balkan War (1913). Bulgaria intended to have her way. Her army was elated by the recent astounding successes, was rather contemptuous of the Serbians and Greeks, emphatically minimized the services rendered by these to the common cause, thought that she could easily conquer both if necessary, and could take what territories she chose. It was Bulgaria, whose war party had lost all sense of proportion, all sense of the rights of her former allies, that began the new struggle. She treacherously attacked Greece and Serbia at the end of June, 1913. Fierce fighting ensued for several days.

Bulgaria's action in plunging into this avoidable conflict was all the more foolhardy as her relations with her northern neighbor, Roumania, were also unsettled and precarious. Roumania had demanded that Bulgaria cede her a strip of territory in the northeast of Bulgaria, in order that the balance of power among the Balkan states might remain practically what it had been. Bulgaria had refused this so-called compensation. The result was that Roumania also went to war with Bulgaria. The Turks, too, seeing a chance to recover some of the land they had recently lost, joined the war.

Treaty of Bucharest (1913). Thus Bulgaria was confronted on all sides by enemies. She was at war with five states, not three, for Montenegro was also involved. By the middle of July she saw that the case was hopeless and consented to make peace, by the Treaty

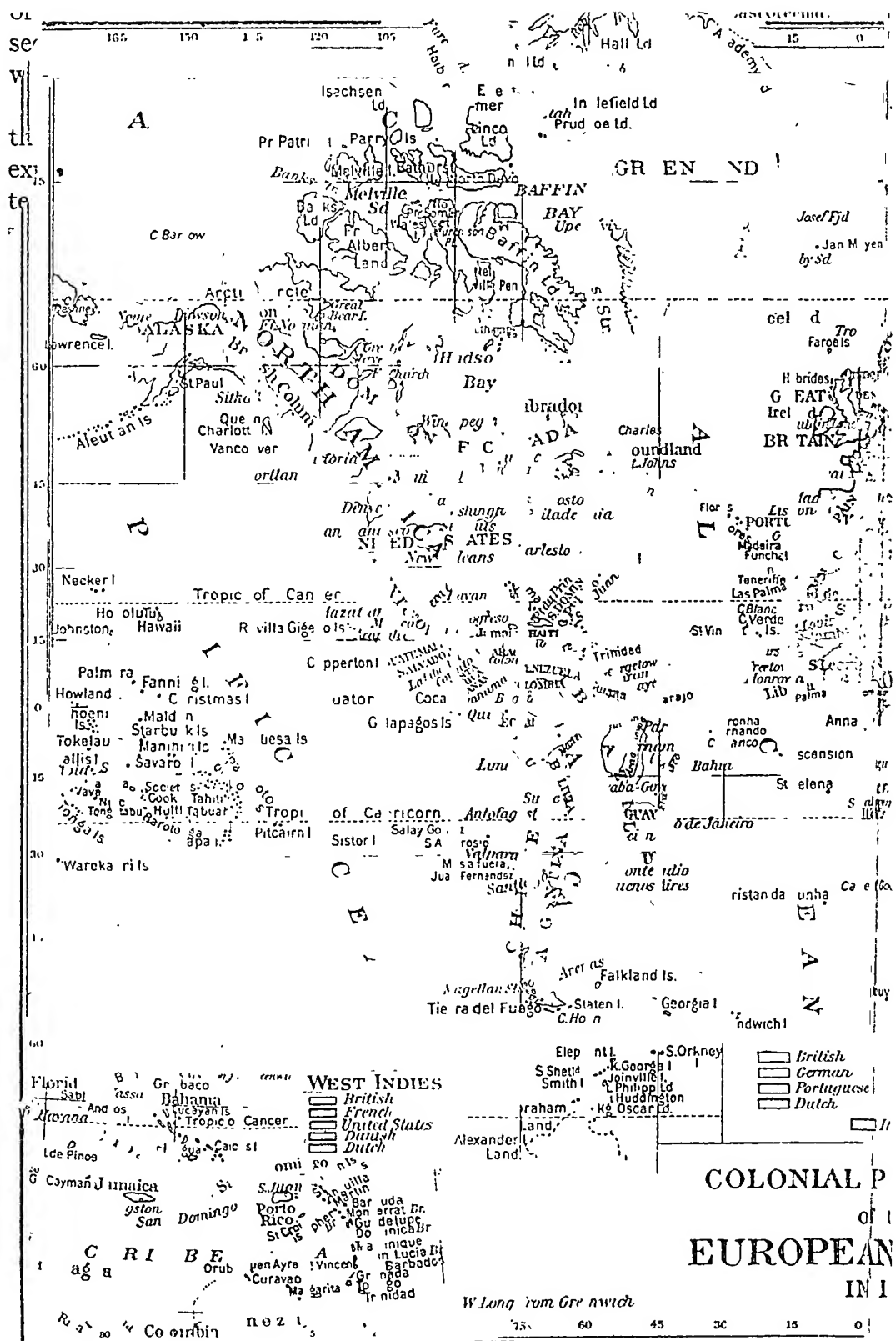


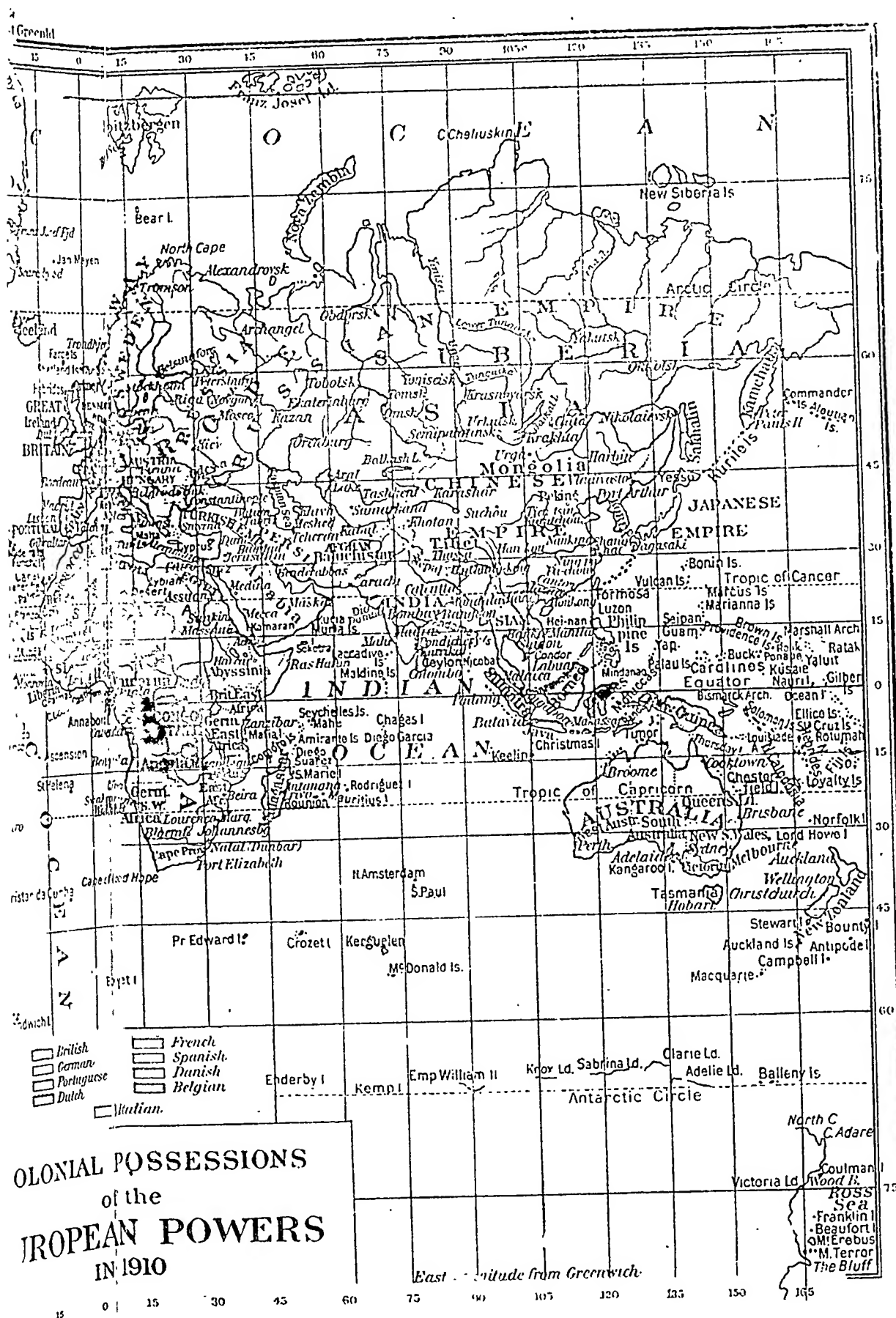
of Bucharest, signed August 10, 1913, by which Serbia and Greece secured larger possessions than they had ever anticipated, and by which Roumania was given the territory she desired. Turkey also recovered a large area which she had lost the year before, including the important city and fortress of Adrianople. All this was at the expense of Bulgaria, who paid for her arrogance and unconciliatory temper by losing much territory which she would otherwise have secured, by seeing her former and hated allies victorious over her in the field and in annexations of territory which she regarded as rightfully hers. Bulgaria was deeply embittered by all this, and only waited for an opportunity to tear up the Treaty of Bucharest, which she refused to consider as morally binding, as in any sense a permanent settlement of the Balkans. The year 1913 will remain of bitter memory in the minds of all Bulgarians.

Changes in the Balkan Map. The two Balkan wars cost heavily in human life and in treasure. On the other hand, Montenegro, Greece, and Serbia had nearly doubled in size. Bulgaria and Roumania had grown. The Turkish Empire in Europe was limited to a comparatively small area.

We must now examine the reaction of all these profound and astonishing changes in the Balkans upon Europe in general. In other words, we must study the causes of the war of 1914. For the Balkan wars of 1912 and 1913 were a prelude to the European War of 1914. The sequence of events from the Turkish Revolution of July, 1908, to the Austrian declaration of war upon Serbia in July, 1914, is direct, unmistakable, disastrous. Each year added a link to the lengthening chain of iron.

The Albanian Fiasco. It may be said in passing that the new Albanian state proved a fiasco from the start and that it disappeared completely when the war began in August, 1914, the powers that had created it withdrawing their support and its German prince, William of Wied, leaving for Germany, where he joined the army that was fighting France. He had meanwhile announced his abdication in a high-flown manifesto.





QUESTIONS

I. What is meant by the era of "Armed Peace"? How was the first Hague Conference brought about and what did it accomplish? What were the results of the second Hague Conference?

II. Describe the problems and policies of the Young Turks. What was the attitude of foreign powers toward the Turkish Revolution? Why did Italy declare war upon Turkey in 1911? What was the outcome of the war?

III. Describe the first Balkan War, stating its causes and results. How did the second Balkan War come about and what was its outcome? What changes did these wars make in the map of Europe? What can you tell about Albania?

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CHAPTER XXXV

THE WORLD WAR

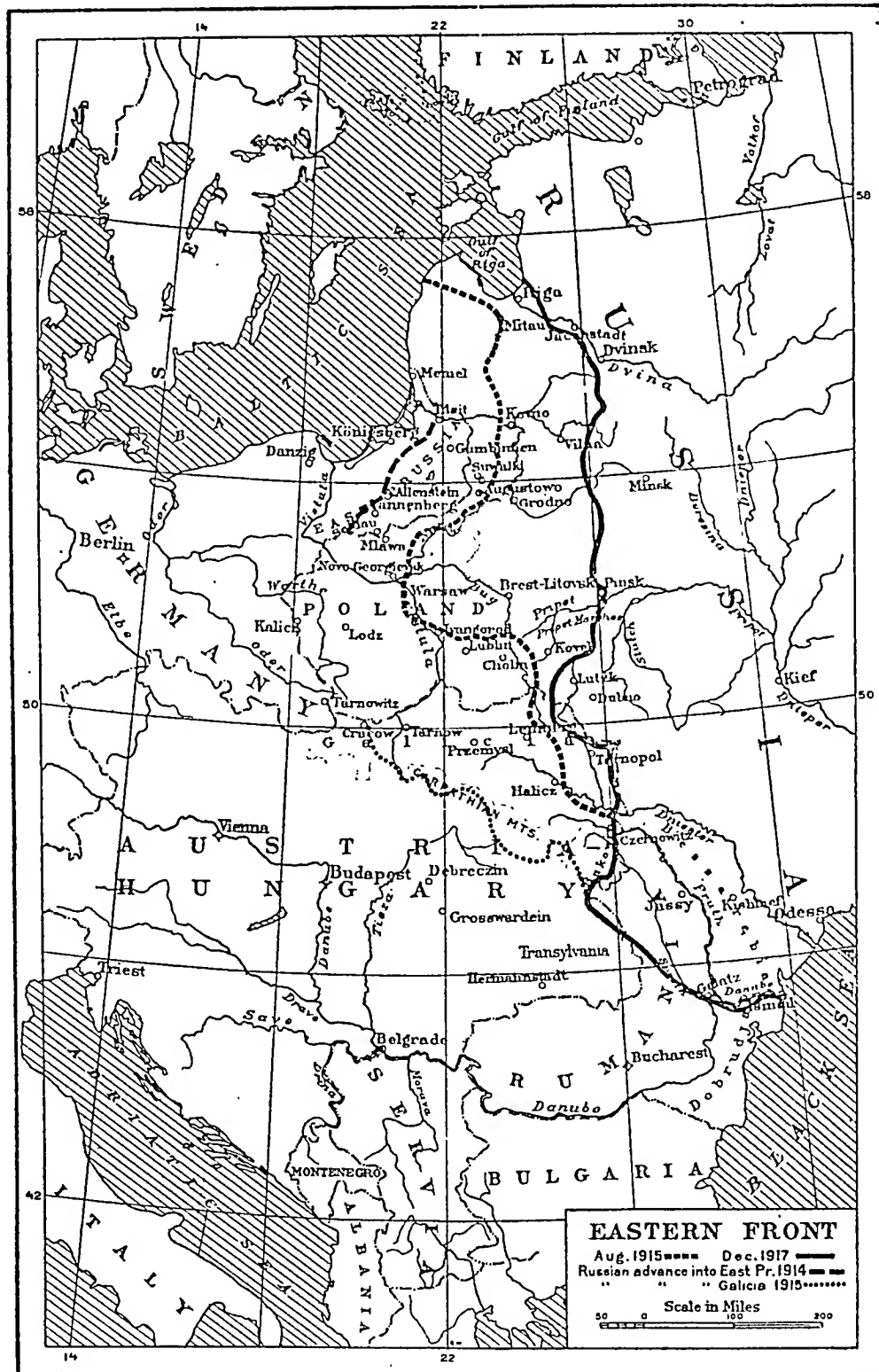
Austria Plans War upon Serbia (1913) In August, 1913, the long-drawn-out crisis in the Balkans seemed safely over with the Treaty of Bucharest, to the apparent satisfaction of the people of Europe. It had not resulted in what had been greatly feared, a European war. That had been avoided and the world breathed more freely. But that this feeling was not shared by the governments of Austria and Germany has since been revealed.

The relations of Austria-Hungary and Serbia have already been described, the former's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, and her part in the creation of the new state of Albania for the same purpose, to prevent Serbia's getting any outlet to the sea. Yet, though successful in this, she had not been able to prevent the growth of Serbia. Serbia had, however, submitted in 1908 and 1909 and in 1913, to demands which emanated from Austria-Hungary and which were deeply humiliating. On both sides there was, as there had long been, plenty of bad blood.

Behind Austria stood Germany, her ally, like her much dissatisfied with the outcome of the late Balkan wars, because the collapse of Turkey might put an end to her plans for the exploitation of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia by the Berlin-Bagdad railway, and because the enlargement of Serbia, through whose territory the trains must run, might create difficulties.

Austria was so offended at the new situation that, immediately after the signing of the Treaty of Bucharest in 1913, she determined to make war upon Serbia, but desisted, not being able to get the support of her allies. But nine months later an opportunity came, which she did not miss, to carry out her purpose. A horrible crime occurred, and it furnished the pretext she desired.

Assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand. On June 28, 1914, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Emperor of



the storm broke with its full force and Canadian militia repeated the glories of British regulars from Mons to the Marne. In British imperial history the Second Battle of Ypres (ē'pr) will be memorable." But it broke no line and like the battle of Neuve Chapelle it was mere "nibbling," a word that now passed into current use to describe the character of the fighting.

All through the summer of 1915 there was only desultory fighting on the western front, broken by special attempts to break the line which would not break. One incident of importance was the relieving of Sir John French and the appointment of General Haig as commander in chief of the British armies. The issue was to prove that England had at last found her leader.

GERMANY INVADES RUSSIA

The Eastern Front. While the year 1915 saw no substantial change on the western front, it saw one on the eastern, where developments occurred of the greatest importance. Blocked, at any rate for the time being, in the west, the Germans adopted a new plan, namely to crush and eliminate Russia, then to turn westward, settle accounts with France and bring England to her knees. After Tannenberg the Russians, recovering, resumed the offensive, and again invaded East Prussia, whereupon Hindenburg fell upon them, administering a crushing defeat in the Battle of the Mazurian Lakes (February 12, 1915). The Russians lost in killed and wounded a hundred and fifty thousand and a hundred thousand more were taken prisoners.

This was a mere beginning. East Prussia was freed from the presence of the Russians. But they had overrun Galicia, a northern province of Austria. They must be expelled and then no foreign soldiers would stand upon the soil of the Central Empires. Moreover, the war should be carried straight over into Russia. The tables must be turned, and turned they were, in a memorable fashion. All through the summer of 1915, from April to August, a mammoth drive of Germans and Austrians combined, under Hindenburg and Mackensen, went on over a wide front. Victory followed victory in rapid succession. The Russians were driven out of Galicia. Przemyśl fell on June 2; Lemberg on June 22. Russian Poland was invaded. Warsaw, its capital, was captured on August 5. All

of Poland was conquered and Lithuania and Courland were overrun. When the campaign was over the Russian line was still intact, but it had been forced far back and now ran from Riga, in the north, to Czernowitz, in the south, near the northern border of Roumania.

It was a notable summer's work. Mackensen took his place beside Hindenburg as a national hero. The process of Russian disintegration which two years later was to lead to the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had begun. Russia had lost 65,000 square miles of territory, a territory larger than New England. The military statistics of this war are uncertain, but it is said that Russian losses in killed and wounded were a million two hundred thousand and nearly a million in prisoners. So much for the eastern front. As the year 1914 had seen the Germans seize Belgium and northern and eastern France, the year 1915 had seen them seize a large part of Russia.

The Gallipoli Campaign. The Allies suffered another notable discomfiture during that year 1915, and a serious diminution of prestige, this time in the extreme southeastern point of Europe. They attempted the capture of Constantinople, the capital of the Turkish Empire, an extraordinarily difficult thing to do owing to topographical reasons. Could they accomplish this, then the Balkan states not yet in the war would probably enter it on the side of the Allies, and with that alignment Austria could be attacked and invaded from the south and east; also Turkey might be compelled to sue for peace or at any rate would be put on the defensive. And could the Allies control the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, they could secure a connection with Russia through the Black Sea. They could thus send to Russia the war supplies she so greatly needed and could receive from her the food supplies she produced.

In February and March a British and French fleet tried to force the Dardanelles. Penetrating the channel as far as the "Narrows," they could get no farther. The shores were powerfully fortified, and in the battle between the forts and the ships of war, several of the latter were destroyed. The fleet was forced to withdraw. Constantinople could not be reached that way. Next an attempt was made by land. After a costly delay Anglo-French troops, reinforced by troops from Australia and New Zealand, called "Anzacs,"¹ who had been brought up by way of the Red Sea, landed on the

¹ A composite word made by the initial letters of the words Australian New Zealand Army Corps.

peninsula of Gallipoli, Sir Ian Hamilton in command. But the Turks had had their warning and, under the command of a German general, Liman von Sanders, were ready for them. The landing was effected only at a heavy cost and the positions which the Allies confronted proved impregnable. A flanking movement from Suvla Bay likewise proved unsuccessful. The Allies held on all through the year, but they were foiled and in December they abandoned the attempt. Their losses had been enormous and nothing had been accomplished, save that possibly the expedition had kept the Turks from pressing any attack upon the Suez Canal.

Bulgaria Enters the War. The year 1915 had still other untoward events for the Allies. On October 4, 1915, Bulgaria entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. This action of Bulgaria had two immediate consequences. It linked the Central Powers with Turkey, completing the "corridor" to the East, to Asia. And it sounded the doom of Serbia.

Conquest of Serbia. We have seen that the war began with the Austrian invasion of Serbia. But by the middle of December, 1914, the Serbians had been able to drive the Austrians out and had re-occupied Belgrade. Such was the first chapter of Serbian history in the Great War. The second was very different. The Germans and Austrians, fresh from their successes in Russia and Galicia, invaded Serbia in great strength in October, 1915, under General von Mackensen. At the same time the Bulgarians invaded her from the east. For two months the Serbians fought single-handed and with unquenchable valor against the overwhelming forces of Germany, Austria, and Bulgaria, left in the lurch, moreover, by their ally Greece, which was by treaty bound to aid them in a contingency like this. Serbia was completely conquered and crushed. A remnant only of her armies was able to reach safety on the coast of Albania, whence it was transported in Allied vessels to the island of Corfu. It is difficult to find words adequately to characterize the awful retreat across the barren Albanian Mountains, the unspeakable hardships endured. The war exacted another martyrdom. The Austro-Germans followed up their conquest by overrunning Montenegro (January, 1916).

The Allies Occupy Salonica. Simultaneously with the conquest and extinction of Serbia another train of events was being started, whose full significance was not to be made manifest until two more

eventful and discouraging years had passed. In October, 1915, an Anglo-French force landed at Salonica, the leading port of Greece. It had come to aid Serbia in response to an invitation from the prime minister of Greece, Venizelos. Constantine, the King of Greece and a brother-in-law of the German Emperor, did not propose to aid Serbia, although by treaty bound to do so. He now dismissed Venizelos (vā-nē-zā'-lōs) and began a tortuous pro-German policy which was ultimately to cost him his throne.

The Anglo-French army marched northward to help the Serbians, but was unsuccessful and had to withdraw behind the lines of Salonica. But out of the union of this force, subsequently greatly enlarged, with the reorganized and reinvigorated remnant of the Serbian army which had found refuge in the island of Corfu, was to emerge in time salvation for the stricken land.

Italy Joins the Allies. While the situation had, during the year, grown worse for the Allies in the East and in the Balkans, there had been a distinct and a promising gain for them in another quarter. In May, 1915, Italy had entered the war on their side. Two motives had influenced her. One was the chance to round out her territory.

Ever since the Kingdom of Italy had been formed in the decade between 1859 and 1870 the Italians had been restless under the thought that their unification had been incomplete, that outside the boundaries of the state as determined at that time there were hundreds of thousands of Italians still subject to Austria, namely in the Trentino to the north, and in Trieste and the peninsula of Istria to the northeast. This was Italia Irredenta or Unredeemed Italy. This territory the Italian Government now endeavored to acquire, peacefully through direct negotiations with Austria-Hungary. But the Allies promised her more if she would enter the war on their side than Austria would promise if she would continue to remain neutral. Another motive also influenced the Government, the insistent popular demand that Italy do her share in the work of the defense of civilization against *Kultur*, of democracy and liberty against autocracy and oppression. The strong instinct of the Italian people was that they belonged with the Allies by reason of the principles they held in common with them. Their action in entering the war was naturally greeted with enthusiasm in France and England, and with deep resentment in Germany and Austria.

The intervention of Italy was followed shortly by that of the little independent republic of San Marino, which declared war upon the Central Powers, June 3, 1915.

The Conquest of German Colonies. Another Allied gain during 1914 and 1915 was the conquest of the German colonies. Japan seized Kiauchau, as we have seen, soon after her entrance into the war. In Africa, British and French troops easily overran Togoland and Kamerun. German Southwest Africa was conquered by South African troops under General Smuts, though the conquest was not completed until early in 1917. A campaign against German East Africa was begun early and resulted in soon freeing that colony of most of the German troops, some of whom, however, remained untracked and undefeated, apparently, until the end of the war. In the main the vast German colonial empire had shrunk to very small proportions by the close of 1915.

The "Lusitania." In the same year, 1915, occurred an event which shocked the world by its wanton and cowardly barbarity and which was in time to have far-reaching consequences, — the sinking, on May 7, of the mammoth Atlantic liner, the *Lusitania*, off the coast of Ireland. This incident may best be described later. It should, however, be included in this list of events which signalized the year 1915.

THE WAR IN 1916

We have seen that Germany's original plan of war was to crush France first and then to turn against Russia and force her to her knees. This plan had been attempted in 1914, but had not succeeded. France had not been crushed but she had, in a year and a half of war, suffered terribly and the German military authorities believed it was possible to do, in 1916, what they had failed to accomplish in 1914. This is the meaning of Verdun. The German General Staff thought that, by delivering one terrific, irresistible, deadly blow against the French army, they could smash it. Then peace would be in sight, as France would recognize the hopelessness of further struggle. Verdun was a strong position, but, once taken, no equally stout defense could be made between it and Paris. The capital would fall and the fall of Paris would certainly mean the elimination of France. Incidentally, as the German Crown Prince was in command near Verdun, blinding military glory would irradiate the person of the

heir to the Prussian throne. Could anything be more desirable or more appropriate?

Verdun. On February 21, 1916, at 7.15 in the morning the storm broke upon Verdun, a place long famous in the military annals of France, but destined now to win a glory beyond compare. Never had there been so pulverizing an artillery fire as that which inaugurated this attack. The Germans had made enormous preparations, had enormous armies and supplies. It seemed humanly impossible

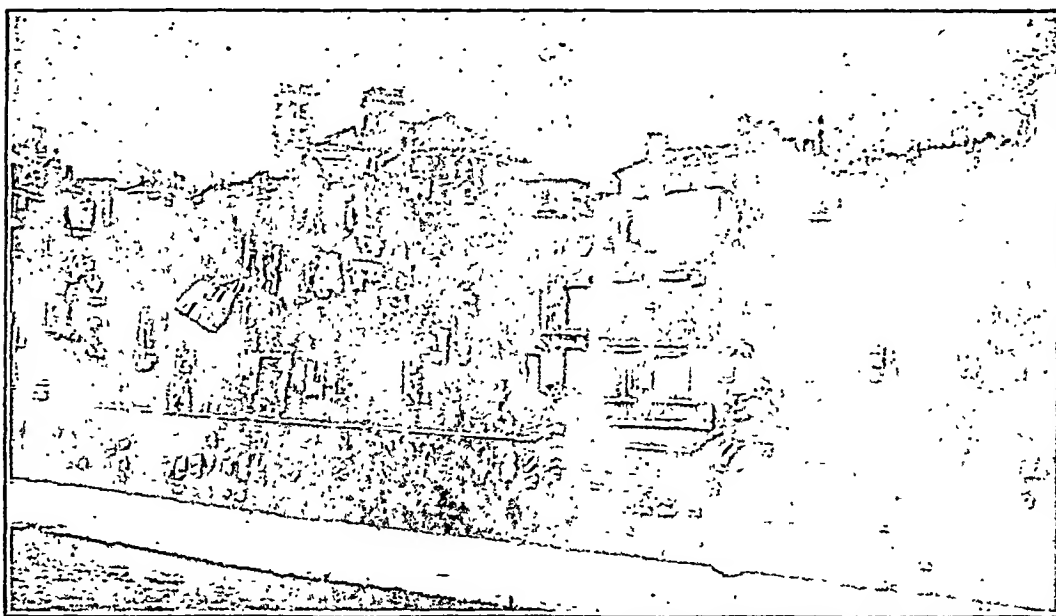


Photo by Central News Photo Service, N. Y.

RUINS OF WHAT WAS ONCE A FAMOUS SPOT IN PICTURESQUE VERDUN

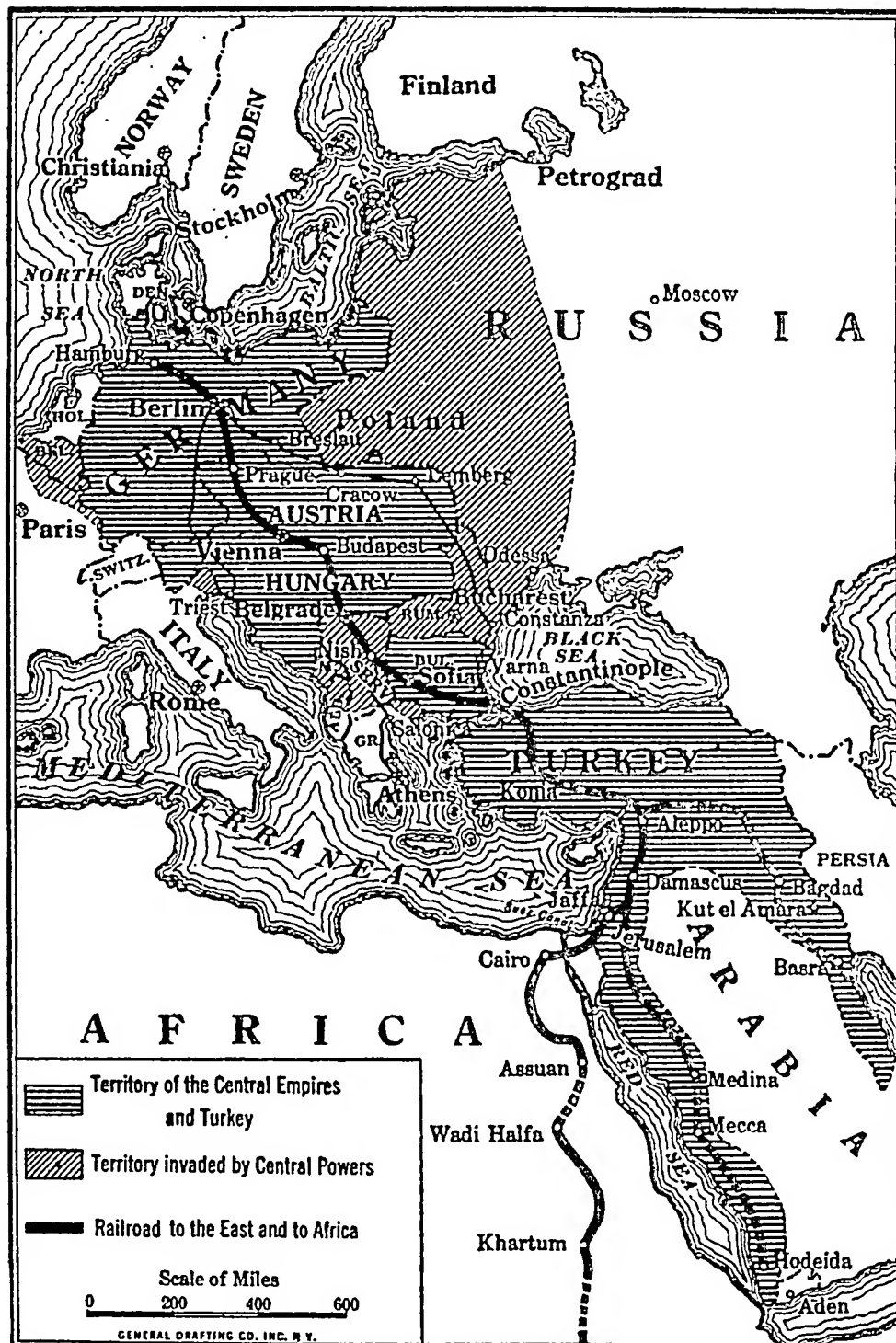
to prevent them from blasting their way through. But the impossible was done. The French disputed every inch of ground, with incredible coolness and inexhaustible bravery. Nevertheless they lost position after position and in four days of frenzied fighting were driven back four miles. Then French reinforcements arrived, hurried thither by thousands of motors. And one of Joffre's most brilliant subordinates, Pétain, reached the scene and infused new energy into the army of defense. Superb and spirit-stirring was Pétain's cry to his soldiers: "Courage, comrades! We'll get them."

It is impossible to summarize this battle, for it raged for six months, from February to October, and was characterized by a multitude of incidents. The fighting back and forth for critical positions continued week after week and month after month. Douaumont and

Vaux are the names of two subsidiary forts which stand forth most conspicuously in the murderous welter of repeated attack and counter-attack, of thrust and counter-thrust. The Germans were resolved to take Verdun, cost what it might. They were ready to pay the price, but victory they would have. They paid the price, in irreparable losses, but victory they did not win. The French stiffened, under Pétain and later under Nivelle, and with the electrifying cry "Ils ne passeront pas!", "They shall not pass!", they baffled the fury of the enemy and at the end pitched him out of most of the positions he had won. Verdun did not fall. The military reputations of Pétain and Nivelle had grown enormously and the latter soon succeeded Joffre as commander in chief. The Crown Prince did not emerge from this enterprise irradiated with any blinding effulgence of glory.

The Battle of the Somme. The course and outcome of the later phases of the Verdun campaign were affected by another campaign which was being carried on simultaneously in another sector of the long line that ran from Belgium through France to Switzerland. This was the Battle of the Somme. This battle was an endeavor to bring to an end the long deadlock on the western front. After a terrific bombardment, which had by this time become the customary prelude to an offensive, the general assault was begun on July 1. For a few days the Allies made progress, though on the whole very slowly. The German line stiffened and fiercely counter-attacked. The battle dragged and the rainy season set in, making it almost impossible to move the heavy guns over the muddy roads. All through the summer and well into the fall the desperate struggle went on, dying down in October. The total area won by the Allies was small, about 120 square miles. Nowhere had they advanced more than seven miles from their starting point. It was in this Battle of the Somme that a new and redoubtable engine of war was introduced by the British, powerful armored motor cars, quickly nicknamed "tanks," which could cross trenches, break through barbed-wire entanglements, and at the same time could scatter a murderous fire all about from the guns within. Machine gun fire against them was entirely ineffectual. Only when squarely hit by powerful missiles from big cannon were the tanks disabled.

The Austrians Attack Italy. There was also serious fighting during 1916 on the Italian and on the Russian fronts. In May the



THE "MIDDLE EUROPE" SCHEME

Austrians began an attack from the Tyrol. Controlling the passes of the Alps, they were able to form a large army and to threaten Verona and Vicenza. The Italians resisted desperately but lost a large number of guns and men. They also lost about two hundred and thirty square miles of Italian territory. But the Austrians had weakened their eastern front so seriously that the Russians under Brusiloff were winning victories over them in that theater. This in turn reacted upon the Italian campaign by forcing the Austrians to recall many troops in order to ward off the new danger. Therefore they were obliged to forego for the time being their dream of breaking into the plains of Venetia.

The interplay of these various campaigns was unmistakable. The Somme helped Verdun, the Russian drive helped Italy by freeing her of the Austrians and by enabling her to begin an offensive along the Isonzo which yielded Gorizia on August 9 and brought her to within thirteen miles of coveted Trieste.

The Conquest of Roumania. Roumania entered the war on the side of the Allies on August 27, 1916. Her chief motive was to assure "the realization of her national unity," by which phrase was meant the liberation from Austria-Hungary of the three million Roumanians who lived in the eastern section of the Dual Monarchy, namely, in Transylvania, and their incorporation in the Kingdom of Roumania. Roumania's declaration of war was naturally warmly applauded by the Allies. It was followed immediately by a Roumanian invasion of Transylvania, which achieved very considerable successes.

But the Germans were resolved to prevent this threatened mutilation of their ally, Austria, and also this threatened cutting of the connection between the Central Powers and Turkey. Roumanian success, if unimpeded, would imperil the famous "corridor" through Bulgaria and Serbia. The German General Staff determined, therefore, to strike with all the force at its command, to deal a blow that should be both swift and memorable. Two large armies composed of Germans, Austro-Hungarians, Bulgarians, and Turks, and under the command of Falkenhayn and Mackensen, were sent against Roumania. They conquered the southern part of the kingdom with comparative ease and entered Bucharest, the capital, on December 6. What was left of the Roumanian army withdrew to the north. Jassy became the provisional seat of Roumanian government. Peace was

not concluded until much later, but meanwhile the Central Powers controlled most of the territory of Roumania, and exploited its rich resources in wheat and oil. The corridor to Constantinople was widened rather than cut. From this time forth the German ambition to create a Middle Europe, dominated by Germany, became more and more pronounced and more and more insistent.

Portugal Enters the War. One more state entered the European War in 1916, Portugal. On February 23, Portugal seized the German ships in her harbors, claiming that the shortage of tonnage created by Germany's submarine campaign justified the action. Whereupon Portugal participated in the war by sending an army to France and by aiding England in Africa.

The Battle of Jutland. The year 1916 witnessed also a great naval engagement between England and Germany, the Battle of Jutland. On May 31, 1916, the German High Seas fleet, commanded by Admiral von Scheer, steamed forth from the harbor of Kiel to which it had long tightly stuck and skirted up the western coast of Denmark. Sighted by the British scouts under Admiral Beatty, about 3.30 in the afternoon, an engagement immediately began, the main British squadron, under Admiral Jellicoe, coming up only later. The battle continued for several hours until darkness came on, between eight and nine. It was the greatest naval battle since Trafalgar and, in the strength and power of the units engaged, undoubtedly the greatest in all history. The result was inconclusive. Both sides lost important ships but both claimed to be victorious. That the real victor, however, was England was proved by the fact that the German fleet was obliged to return to Kiel and did not again emerge from that refuge.

THE WAR IN 1917

America and the War. The entrance of the United States into the war was the most important event of the year 1917, though not immediately the most important, for the collapse of Russia, occurring also in that year, had a quicker and more direct bearing upon the military situation. But in the end, if America kept the faith, she could tip the scales decisively.

We entered the war because Germany forced us in, because she rendered it impossible for us to stay out unless we were the most

craven and pigeon-hearted people on the earth. Any one who counted on that being the case was entertaining a notion for which he could certainly cite no evidence in our previous history.

How did Germany force us into this war? What specific things did she do that could be answered in the end in one way and one way only?

German Offenses against America. The record is a long one, of offenses to the moral, the spiritual, the material interests of America. First, the wanton attack upon Serbia, a small state, by two great ones, Austria and Germany. Second, the invasion of Belgium and the martyrdom of that country, amid nameless indignities and inhumanities. The indignation of America was spontaneous, widespread, and intense. The sentiment of horror, thus needlessly aroused, coupled with admiration for the resistance of the Belgians and sympathy for their sufferings, contributed powerfully to the creation of that vigorous public opinion which finally gained expression on April 6, 1917.

But the conquest and the inhuman treatment of Belgium were no direct infringement of our rights. The national indignation was profoundly stirred, the national sympathy aroused, but neither the sovereignty of the government nor the persons or property of the citizens of the United States were affected. These were, however, not long to remain immune from attack. German and Austrian officials, accredited to our government and enjoying the hospitality of our country, proceeded to use their positions here for the purpose of damaging Germany's enemies. They fomented strikes among American munition workers and seamen; they caused bombs to be placed on ships carrying munitions of war; they plotted incendiary fires, and conspired to bring about the destruction of ships and factories. In 1915 the ambassador of Austria-Hungary, Dumba, and the German military and naval attachés, Papen and Boy-Ed, were caught in such activities, and were forced to leave the country. Under the supervision of Papen a regular office was maintained to procure fraudulent passports, by lying and by forgery, for German reservists. American territory was used as a base of supplies, and military enterprises against Canada and against India were hatched by Germans on American soil. These German plots were in gross defiance of our position as a neutral and of our sovereignty as an independent nation.

Germany's Submarine Policy. While the diplomatic representatives of Germany were engaged in plotting criminal enterprises against Americans at home, the German government itself had embarked upon a course of procedure that inevitably ended in the destruction of American lives and property on the high seas. In February, 1915, Germany proclaimed the waters around the British Isles "a war zone" and announced that enemy ships found within that zone would be sunk without warning. Neutrals were expected to keep their ships and citizens out of this area. If they did not, the responsibility for what might happen would be theirs, not Germany's.

Such was the announcement of Germany's submarine policy, a policy that was to have more momentous consequences than its authors imagined. A submarine is a war vessel and as such has a perfect right to attack an enemy war vessel without warning and sink her if she can. But neither a submarine nor any other war vessel has any right, under international law, to sink a merchantman belonging to the enemy or belonging to a neutral, except under certain conditions, and one of the conditions is that the persons on board, crew and passengers, shall be removed to the ship attacking, or their lives otherwise absolutely safeguarded.

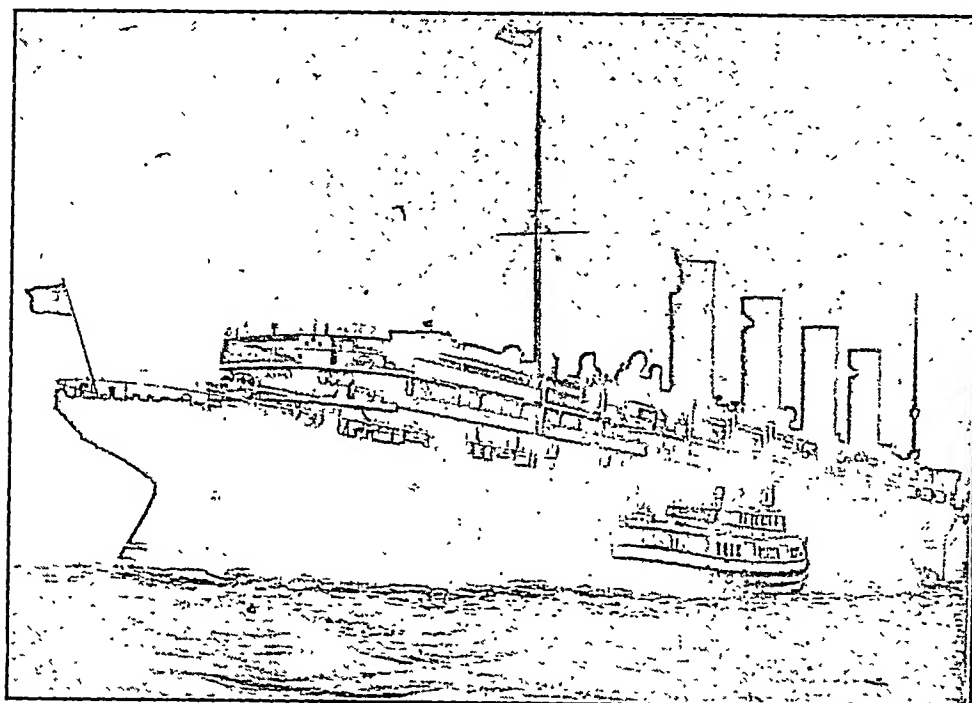
President Wilson, six days after the German proclamation, despatched a note to Germany announcing that the United States would hold the German government to "a strict accountability" should any American ships be sunk or American lives lost, and that the United States would take all steps necessary "to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

To this the German government replied that neutral vessels entering the war zone "will themselves bear the responsibility for any unfortunate accidents that may occur. Germany disclaims all responsibility for such accidents and their consequences."

Germany's ruthless submarine campaign, in force since February, had resulted by the first of May in the sinking of over sixty merchant ships in the war zone, several of them belonging to neutral nations, with a loss of about two hundred and fifty lives, all of them the lives of noncombatants, some of whom were Americans. Her purpose was to damage England, but she was willing to sacrifice neutrals if they got in the way. But while Germany was torpedoing many vessels, yet England's commerce went on as before, thousands of

ships entering and clearing British ports, and Great Britain was transporting an army to France without the loss of a single man.

The Sinking of the "Lusitania." As the German people had been told that the submarines would quickly bring England to her knees and as they were not doing so, something spectacular and sensational must be achieved to justify the promises and expectations, and to silence criticism or discouragement at home. Con-



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THE "LUSITANIA" LEAVING NEW YORK, MAY 1ST, 1915

Torpedoed by a German submarine six days later.

sequently, the largest trans-Atlantic British liner still in service was selected for destruction. The world, it was believed, would then take notice and people would think twice before entering the war zone. On May 7, the *Lusitania* was torpedoed twice without warning and sank in less than twenty minutes. Nearly twelve hundred men, women, and children were drowned, among them over a hundred Americans. This cold-blooded, deliberate murder of innocent noncombatants was the most brilliant achievement of Germany's submarine campaign and was celebrated with enthusiasm in Germany

as a great "victory." The rest of the world regarded it as both barbarous and cowardly. The indignation of Americans at this murder of Americans was universal and intense. When, three years later, American soldiers in France went over the top, in the campaign of 1918, shouting "*Lusitania*" at their foes, they were but expressing the deep-seated indignation of an outraged people, an indignation and resentment which time had done nothing to assuage.

On May 13, President Wilson despatched a message to Germany denouncing this act as a gross violation of international law, demand-



Photo from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

BRONZE MEDALS AWARDED TO MEN WHO HELPED SINK THE "LUSITANIA"

The medal, it should be noted, bears the date May 5, not May 7.

ing that Germany disavow it and make reparation as "far as reparation is possible," and declaring that the government of the United States would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

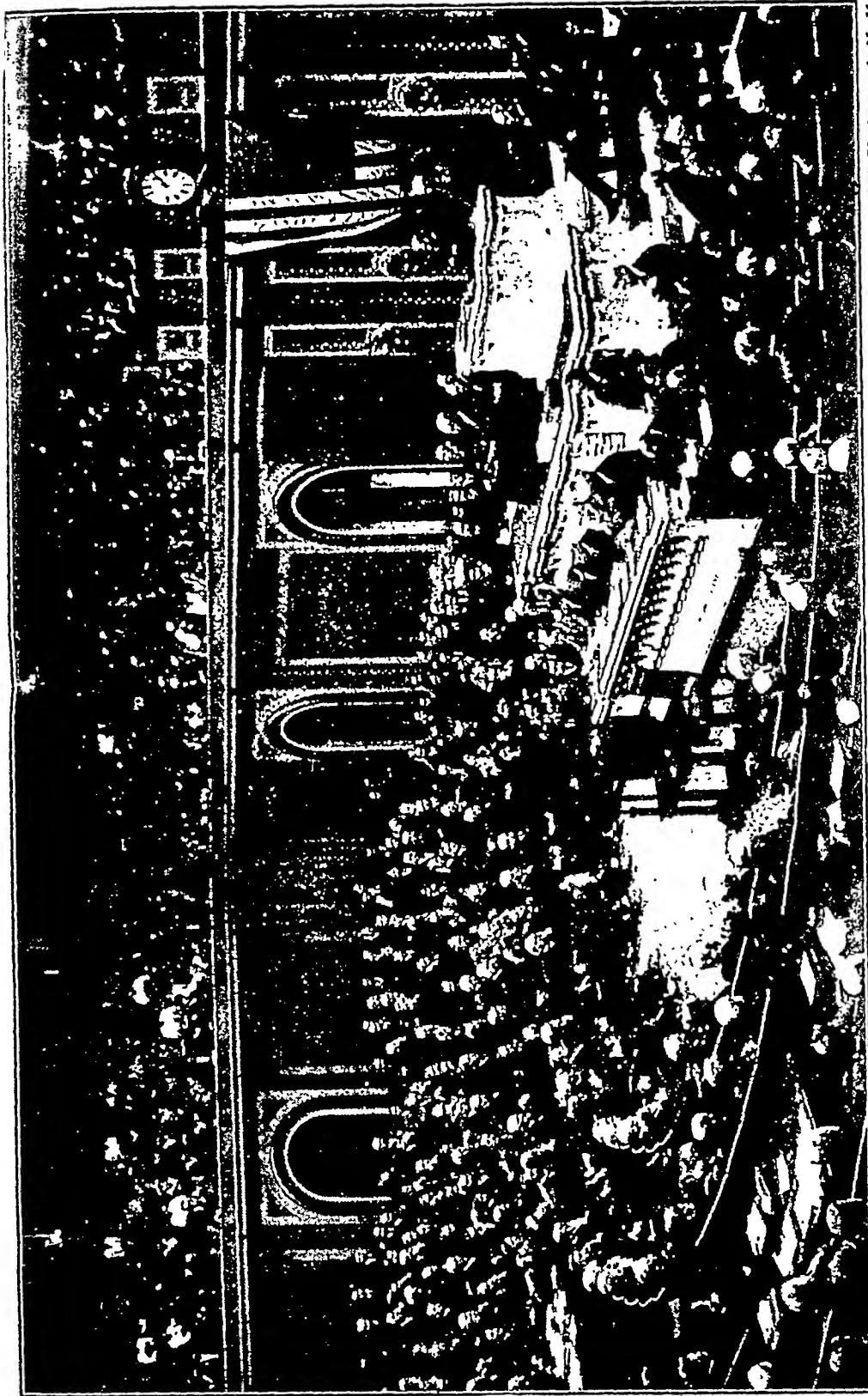
Germany replied on May 28, evading the main issues of the American note and making many assertions that were quickly proved to be lies. A correspondence ensued between the two governments, in which the President repeated his demand for disavowal and all possible reparation. In the end Germany offered to pay for the lives lost but refused to admit that the sinking of the ship was illegal. No agreement was reached between the two nations. No action, however, was taken by President Wilson.

Unrestricted Submarine Warfare. All through 1915 and 1916, torpedoing of vessels continued, and several Americans were drowned. The President steadily asserted our rights in note after note, the German government evading the fundamental principles involved, trying to confuse the issue by raising irrelevant points.

Finally, on January 31, 1917, Germany proclaimed a policy of unrestricted and ruthless submarine warfare. She announced that beginning the next day, February 1, she would prevent "in a zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included. . . . All ships met within that zone will be sunk." The insulting concession was made that one American passenger ship per week might go to England, if it were first painted in stripes, the breadth of which was indicated, and if it carefully followed a route laid down by Germany. "Give us two months of this kind of warfare," said the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann, to Ambassador Gerard, on January 31, "and we shall end the war and make peace within three months."

There was only one answer possible to such a note as this, unless the people of the United States were willing to hold their rights and liberties subject to the pleasure and interest of Germany. On February 3, the President severed diplomatic relations with Germany, recalled our ambassador and dismissed von Bernstorff. Toward the end of the month Secretary Lansing made public an intercepted despatch from the German Foreign Secretary, Zimmermann, to the German Minister to Mexico, instructing him to propose an alliance with Mexico and Japan and war upon the United States, Mexico's reward to be the acquisition of the states of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona. In other words, the United States was to be dismembered.

The United States Declares War on Germany, April 6, 1917. When, on April 2, 1917, President Wilson appeared before Congress and in an address, which was a scathing arraignment of Germany before the world, recommended a declaration of war against this "natural foe to liberty" he had a predestined and enthusiastic response, for he was but expressing the wishes of the American people, who did not intend to have war made upon them indefinitely without their hitting back at the aggressor with all the force at their command, and who were resolved to share in the enterprise of saving the world from Prussian domination, or, in the words of the President,



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PRESIDENT WILSON BEFORE THE JOINT SESSION OF CONGRESS, SEVERING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GERMANY,

FEBRUARY 3, 1917

"to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world, as against selfish and autocratic power" and "to make the world safe for democracy." On April 6, Congress passed a resolu-

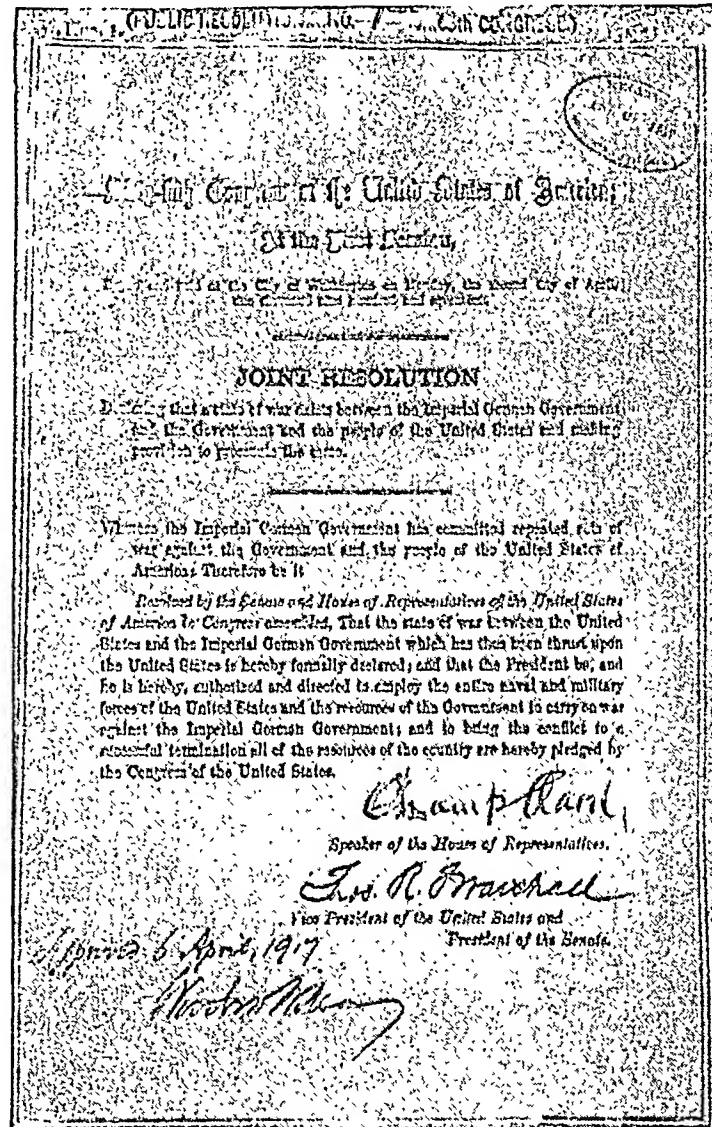


Photo by Harris & Ewing.

AMERICA'S DECLARATION OF WAR

tion to the effect "that the state of war between the United States and the Imperial German Government which has thus been thrust upon the United States is hereby formally declared," and it shortly

proceeded to pass a series of important military, financial, and economic measures designed to enable the country to play a worthy part in the great struggle. The United States did not declare war upon Austria-Hungary until December 7, nor did it then or later declare war upon Bulgaria and Turkey. With the two latter diplomatic relations only were broken.

Other States Enter the War. Thus a war, begun with incredible lightness of heart by Austria-Hungary and Germany upon the banks of the Danube, had expanded to include not only most of Europe, but Asia and Africa and now all of North America. Canada had been in the war since its beginning and had greatly distinguished herself on many fields. Now came the United States, unprepared, save for her navy, which at once began to prove its mettle and its value to our Allies, but potentially an immense addition to the fighting ranks, should its enormous and varied resources be developed and properly applied. The entrance of the United States into the war was followed by the entrance of the republics of Cuba and Panama on the following day (April 7). In June, 1917, King Constantine of Greece was deposed and Greece joined the Allies July 2. Siam declared war on Germany July 22, Liberia on August 4, China on August 14, Brazil on October 26, and in the same year several Central and South American states broke off diplomatic relations with Germany.

Of more immediate and direct influence upon the course of the war than this intervention of the United States, which could only make itself greatly felt after a period of preparation, was a series of far-reaching and startling occurrences in another quarter.

The Russian Revolution (March, 1917). The most important event of 1917 was the collapse of Russia and its withdrawal from the war. This meant an enormous increase of Germany's power and at the same time imposed a new and mighty burden upon the Allies, a burden which threatened to be too great for them to bear.

Russia had been badly defeated by Hindenburg in 1915, and Brusiloff's campaign of 1916, after important initial successes, had been brought to a standstill. The result of these events was to arouse criticism of the government. The belief spread that the old familiar "dark forces" were in control once more, that they were using the distresses of the nation for their individual advantage, that the court was pro-German, that the Tsar was meditating a separate peace with

Germany. Charges of incompetence and dishonesty were made against certain officials. The leading members of the Duma demanded that a responsible ministry be created, a demand supported by the army and the people, and that radical changes be made in the government in the direction of greater efficiency, such as were being made in France and England. In February, 1917, 100,000 workingmen went on strike in Petrograd, and 25,000 in Moscow. An acute food crisis developed and lawless raids on bakeries occurred. When ordered to fire on the mobs some of the soldiers refused to do so, an ominous sign. On March 11 the Tsar dissolved the Duma, wishing to get rid of it. But the Duma refused to dissolve. A revolution was in full swing. The Duma now effected a *coup d'état*, voting to establish a Provisional Government. The Tsar was informed of this change and required to abdicate. This he did on March 15. Thus ended the reign of Nicholas II, the last of the Romanoffs, a family which had ruled in Russia for three hundred years and more.

The Provisional Government. The Provisional Government was a coalition representing the three different parties which had had most to do with bringing about the Tsar's overthrow. Prince Lvoff, the head of the ministry, represented the business men and landowners of a liberal type, Paul Milyukoff, Minister of Foreign Affairs, long associated with Russian reform movements, represented the Constitutional Democratic party, and Kerensky was a Revolutionary Socialist. The ministry proceeded to give back to Finland her constitution, to promise self-government and unity to Poland, to endow the Jews with equal political, civil, and military rights. A general amnesty was proclaimed and exiles in large numbers returned from Siberia and were greeted with frenzied enthusiasm. The public mood was optimistic and excited.

The period of reasoned liberalism, of ordered reform, did not last long. The Socialists entered aggressively upon the scene, organizing *soviets* or councils of workingmen and soldiers. These *soviets*, particularly the one in Petrograd, began to oppose the Provisional Government as much as they dared and to impose their views. By July the more moderate members of the Provisional Government had been driven from office and Kerensky had become its head.

Kerensky. Kerensky was a Socialist and was strongly opposed to a separate peace with Germany, but was in favor of a revision of

peace terms by the Allies, in the direction of the formula, "no annexations, no indemnities." The breakdown of discipline in the army which had been going on for some time continued to increase portentously. Generals found that they were obliged to discuss their orders with numerous committees of soldiers, and to secure their consent, before those orders could be executed. Officers were in some cases shot by their soldiers. Large numbers of troops retreated without making any resistance, so thoroughly pacifistic had they become as a result of the Socialistic propaganda carried on among them. Kerensky publicly characterized these acts as shameful, and labored incessantly and with great energy to stop the growing anarchy and to restore the army as a fighting force, necessary even for the defense of the country, for the country was again threatened. His efforts were unavailing, and conditions steadily grew worse. The Germans took the important city of Riga on September 2, with practically no opposition. The shame and impotence of a great state were being demonstrated every day anew.

The Bolshevik Revolution (November, 1917). On November 7, 1917, the Bolsheviks succeeded by violence in overthrowing Kerensky and in seizing control of the government, under the leadership of Lenin and Trotzky. Several of the ministers were arrested, and army headquarters were captured. Kerensky managed to escape, and was not heard of again for several months, when he finally appeared in London. Lenin became Prime Minister and Trotzky Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The new government announced its policy at once: an immediate peace, the confiscation of all landed property, the recognition of the supreme authority of the *soviets* or workingmen's and soldiers' councils, the election of a constitutional convention. The Bolsheviks were extreme Socialists, resolved to effect a Socialistic revolution at once, to establish, for this purpose, what they called the "dictatorship of the proletariat," which meant in reality the dictatorship of a few leaders ruling in the name of two or three hundred thousand workingmen. A new autocracy had supplanted the old autocracy of the Tsar and his hundred and forty thousand landowners. The Bolsheviks were unwilling to fight Germans or Austrians. They were willing to fight their own fellow-citizens for the purpose of robbing them of their property. They cared nothing about national honor. "Honor" was not a word in their vocabulary; it was only a

conception of hypocritical capitalists interested solely in feathering their own nests and exploiting the downtrodden. The Bolsheviki cared nothing for the good faith of Russia, for they wished and intended to desert Russia's allies and to make a separate peace with her enemies despite the fact that Russia had signed a treaty promising not to make a separate peace. Their moral standards were not above considering a treaty a scrap of paper, were not, therefore, superior to the standards of the Germans, in whose pay they were accused of being. As destroyers of a great nation, as ruthless murderers of fellow-Russians, they were to prove a great success.

It was evident that with such men in power Russia's participation in the war was over and that the burden imposed upon the Western Allies would be far greater than ever. The Bolsheviki immediately started peace negotiations with the Germans, concluding with them an armistice at Brest-Litovsk (December 15), where three months later they supinely signed what were probably the most disgraceful and disastrous treaties known in the history of any European nation.

In December the Constituent Assembly, called by the Bolsheviki, met in Petrograd. Not proving satisfactory to the latter at its first session they sent a body of sailors into the chamber to disperse it. That ended the Constituent Assembly and gave a further illustration of the meaning of the Bolshevik formula about the self-determination of peoples.

The revolution in Russia in its immediate effects and the intervention of the United States in its possible ultimate effects were the two most outstanding events in the history of 1917. But, also, during that year military events of importance occurred.

Military Events in 1917. In the early months of 1917 the effects of the Battle of the Somme of the previous year were shown to be more important than had been supposed, for when the English and the French renewed their campaign in the same region they encountered a weakened resistance, the enemy withdrawing before them. Then ensued, in March and April, a retreat of the Germans to the famous "Hindenburg Line," called by their leaders a "strategical retreat." The Germans retired along a hundred-mile front, from Arras to the neighborhood of Noyon, evacuating more than a thousand square miles of French territory which had formerly contained over three hundred towns and villages. But, compelled to abandon this territory, they committed deeds which only deepened

the odium in which German military practices were held in Allied and neutral countries. They devastated the country as no country in Europe had ever been devastated before, and they did it with scientific thoroughness and wanton satisfaction. France recovered only a scene of indescribable desolation. Buildings, public and private, schools and churches, works of art, historical monuments

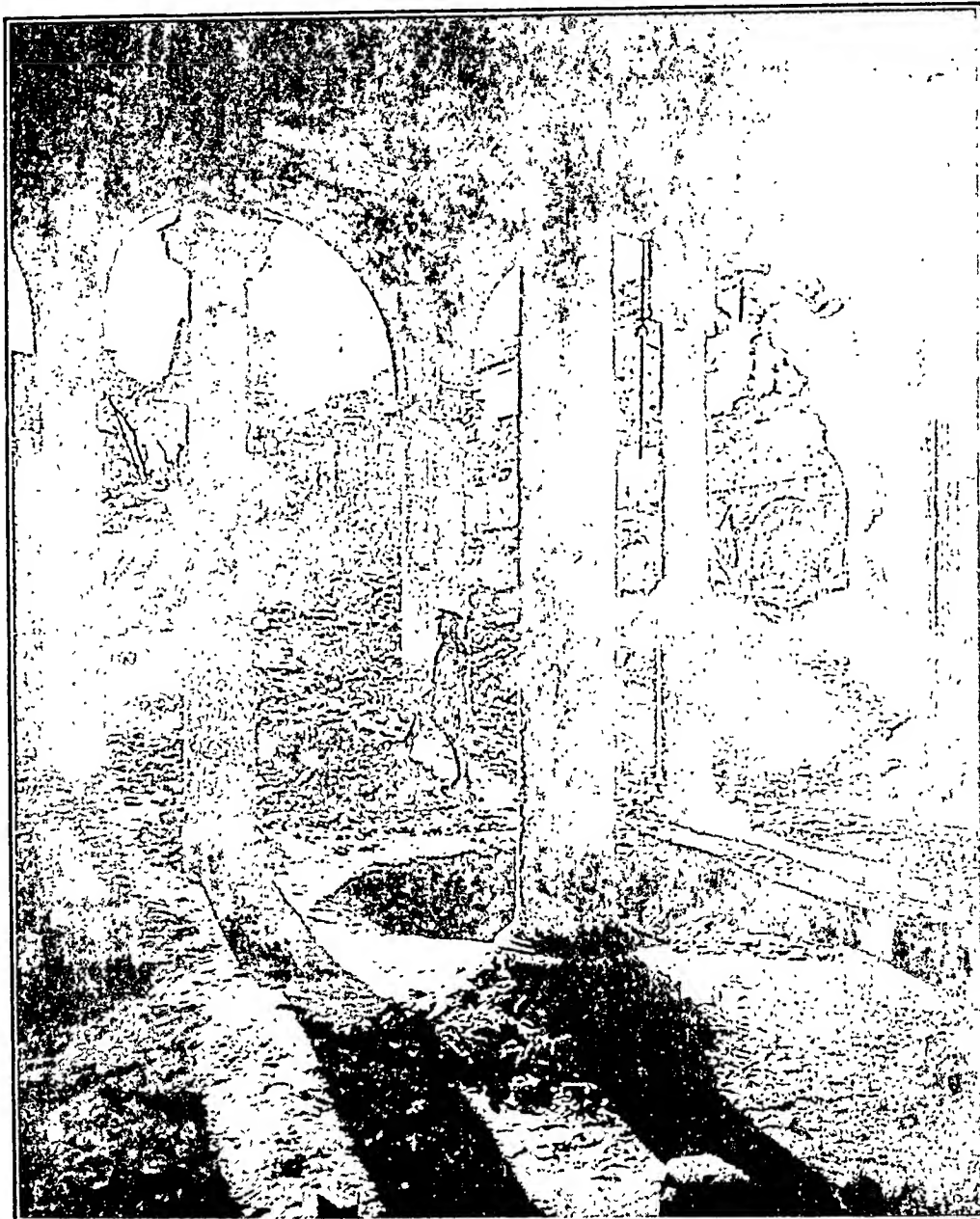


Photo by Central News Photo Service, N. Y.

ARRAS CATHEDRAL, AFTER THE WAR

and priceless historical records were ruthlessly destroyed; private homes were stripped clean of furniture, which was carted away by the Germans, wells were filled with dung, orchards were cut down, roads and bridges and railways were blown up. If they must retire, the Germans were resolved to leave a region, hitherto one of the most fertile in France, ruined and blasted for years and perhaps for decades to come.

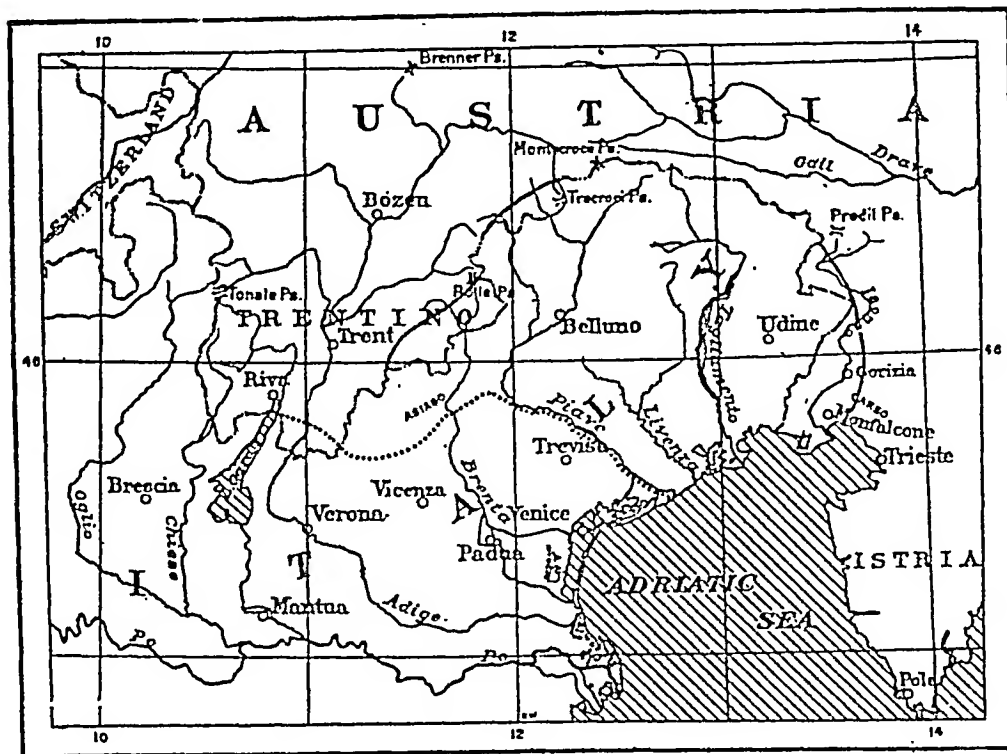
The Invasion of Italy. While on the French front the Allies made considerable gains, in another region they sustained a serious



THE RUINS OF LENS

reverse, in Italy. With the breakdown of Russia and the spread of pacifism in the Russian armies the Germans were able to send large bodies of troops and a great quantity of heavy artillery to the aid of their ally, Austria. The result was that the Italians were rapidly driven back to the Piave, having lost all they had gained the year before, and having been badly beaten at Caporetto (Oct., 1917). For days the Allied world held its breath, fearing that what had happened to Serbia in 1915, to Roumania in 1916, was now in 1917 to happen to Italy, and that she would be conquered and eliminated from the war. But the Piave held, and the invasion was halted.

French and English troops were rushed to the aid of Italy and their arrival greatly helped and encouraged the Italians. But the world had had a bad shock and was apprehensive still, lest the Italian line should be broken. The Germans announced that the campaign had netted them 300,000 prisoners and nearly 3000 guns. Whether this was true or not, certain it was that they had freed Austria of the enemy and that they now themselves occupied four thousand



— Farthest Italian Advance. Austrian Invasion, October, 1917.

ITALIAN FRONT

square miles of Italian territory and that they were in a position to threaten the richest section of Italy, which contained, among other things, the great munition plants.

The year 1917, therefore, closed in gloom in the Allied camp, relieved somewhat by news that came from a remote theater of war. The English, under General Maude, had conquered Mesopotamia and had entered Bagdad, thus wiping out the effects of previous defeats in that region. They also, under General Allenby, had conquered part of Palestine, and had entered Jerusalem itself in triumph on December 10, 1917. Great was the rejoicing throughout the Chris-



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GENERAL ALLENBY ENTERING JERUSALEM

tian world at this recovery of its sacred city after seven centuries of Mohammedan control. The achievement of the medieval Crusaders was being repeated. Would the new victory of the Christian over the Infidel prove ephemeral, as had the earlier one?

The Germans were not downcast over the turn of events in these remote theaters of war. Nor had they any reason to be. On the

whole they were holding the western front, and the eastern front had disappeared under the terrific blows which they had delivered to Russia and which had laid her low. On the 22d of December the German Emperor was undoubtedly expressing the prevalent German opinion of the general situation when he said to the army in France: "The year 1917 with its great battles has proved that the German people has, in the Lord of Creation above, an unconditional and avowed ally on whom it can absolutely depend. . . . If the enemy does not want peace, then we must bring peace to the world by battering in with the iron fist and shining sword the doors of those who will not have peace. . . . But our enemies still hope, with the assistance of new allies, to defeat you and then to destroy forever the world position won by Germany in hard endeavor. They will not succeed. Trusting in our righteous cause and in our strength, we face the year 1918 with firm confidence and iron will. Therefore, forward with God to fresh deeds and fresh victories!"

The first of the fresh victories were to be achieved on the diplomatic field and were to be supremely satisfactory to the Germans. They consisted of the treaties of peace imposed by them upon Russia and Roumania.

The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Bolsheviki had, as we have seen, signed an armistice at Brest-Litovsk, the German army headquarters, on December 15, 1917. Three months later they signed on March 3, 1918, the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. Its principal provisions were: Russia surrendered all claims to Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia; she also renounced all claims to Finland and the Ukraine and agreed to recognize their independence and to make peace with them; she surrendered Batum, Erivan, and Kars in the Caucasus to Turkey, and she promised to cease all revolutionary propaganda in the ceded regions and in the countries of the Central Alliance.

By this treaty Russia lost an enormous territory, about half a million square miles, a territory more than twice as large as the German Empire. She lost a population of about 65,000,000, which was about that of the German Empire. A year or less of Bolshevism had sufficed to undo the work of all the Russian Emperors from Peter the Great to Nicholas II. So complete a mutilation of a great country Europe had never seen. Russia was thrust back into the condition in which she had been in the seventeenth century and which

even then was found intolerable. Never in modern times has a great power surrendered such vast territories by a single stroke of the pen. Pacifism and internationalism had borne their natural fruit with unexpected swiftness. It has been estimated that this treaty robbed Russia of 37 per cent of her manufacturing industries, 75 per cent of her coal, and 73 per cent of her iron.

A few weeks later the Central Powers dictated a pitiless treaty to Roumania, forcing large cessions of territory and minutely and ingeniously squeezing her of her economic resources for their advantage (Treaty of Bucharest).

THE WAR IN 1918



GENERAL PERSHING

The German Drive of March, 1918. Having arranged matters in the West to her satisfaction, and no longer threatened or preoccupied in that quarter, Germany now turned practically her entire attention to the western front, confident that, by concentrated energy of attack, she could at last conquer there and snatch the victory which had so long eluded her and which would end the war. Transferring thither her large east-

ern armies she was confident that now she could compel a decision and could force a settlement to her taste. One more campaign in France and all would be well. The spring drive was to be begun early, the intention being to separate the French and English armies



and then defeat each in turn swiftly — before the Americans should arrive in any such numbers as to be able to influence the course of events.

The drive opened on March 21, 1918. The mood in which it was begun was expressed by the Kaiser the day before: "The prize of

victory," said he, "must not and will not fail us. No soft peace, but one corresponding to Germany's interests." A month later the German financial secretary added an appendant to this Imperial thought when he said in the Reichstag on April 23. "We do not yet know the amount of the indemnity which we shall win."



Central News Photo Service, N. Y.

MARSHAL FOCH

This great offensive, the greatest of the war, opened auspiciously, and for three months proceeded according to the heart's desire. It was ushered in by the greatest gas attack Europe had ever known; also by a long-distance bombardment of Paris by a new gun of greater range than any previous gun had possessed. The ensuing attack was one of terrific force

and was designed to spring the French and English armies apart at their point of juncture. The objective was Amiens. As a matter of fact the English left was, in the next few days, driven back toward Arras and the English center driven beyond the Somme. This actually made an opening. The English front was broken and a great disaster might have easily resulted, for the Germans now tried to turn the English right by cavalry. They were, however, met and checked by French cavalry just in the nick of time. But between March 21 and March 28, the Germans made great

progress. Town after town fell into their hands, Péronne, Bapaume, Ham, Albert, Noyon, Montdidier. It was at this critical moment that General Pershing placed all the forces under his command absolutely at the disposal of Marshal Foch, to be used as he might see fit. Foch had, so great was the danger, the greatest since the Battle of the Marne, been appointed Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies on the Western Front on March 28. At last the Allies had achieved unity of command.

After a slight pause the Germans attacked the English in the north, in Flanders at the point where their army and the Portuguese were joined. By April 12 the English had been forced to make a considerable retreat. But French reinforcements came and the Germans were checked.

Renewed Attacks of the Germans. The Germans had suffered very severe losses in making these attacks and gains. They needed time to reorganize their exhausted divisions. Suddenly, on May 27, Ludendorff launched a new attack in an unexpected quarter on a forty-mile front, from Soissons to Rheims. On the 29th Soissons fell. The



GENERAL HAIG

Germans advanced rapidly. By May 31 they were at the Marne once more after four years. In four days they had taken 45,000 prisoners and an enormous amount of war material. They were held at Château-Thierry on June 2 by French reserves which were rushed to the scene. The Germans were within forty miles of Paris and had gained nearly a thousand square miles of territory.

The Americans were beginning to count. On May 28 they captured Cantigny and two hundred and twenty-five prisoners. Later they helped the French check the Germans at Château-Thierry (shä tō'-tyâr-rē). They also foiled an attack in Neuilly Wood, advanced two-thirds of a mile, and took two hundred and seventy prisoners.

On June 6 and 7 the Marines advanced two miles on a front of six miles and seized Torcy and Bouresches. A little later they occupied a part of Belleau Wood. These were details, but useful and auspicious.

On July 15 the Germans began their final drive in this remarkably successful campaign. Attacking on a sixty-mile front east and west of Rheims they pushed forward, crossed the Marne at several points,



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RUINS OF CHÂTEAU-THIERRY

and were evidently aiming at Châlons. They seized Château-Thierry.

From March 21 to July 18, 1918, the Germans had carried on a colossal offensive and had taken many prisoners, much territory, and enormous booty. They were astride the rivers that lead down to Paris, itself not far away. Might not one or two more pushes give them the coveted capital of France and seal the doom of the Allied cause? Elated by four months of victories, which had brought them nearer and nearer the intended prey, inflamed by visions of imminent and unparalleled success, they were eager for the final spring. Then all would be over and a peace could be imposed upon the West similar to that imposed upon the East at Brest-Litovsk. The world would recognize its master, would be re-shaped according

to Hohenzollern ideas, and would henceforth receive its marching orders from Berlin.

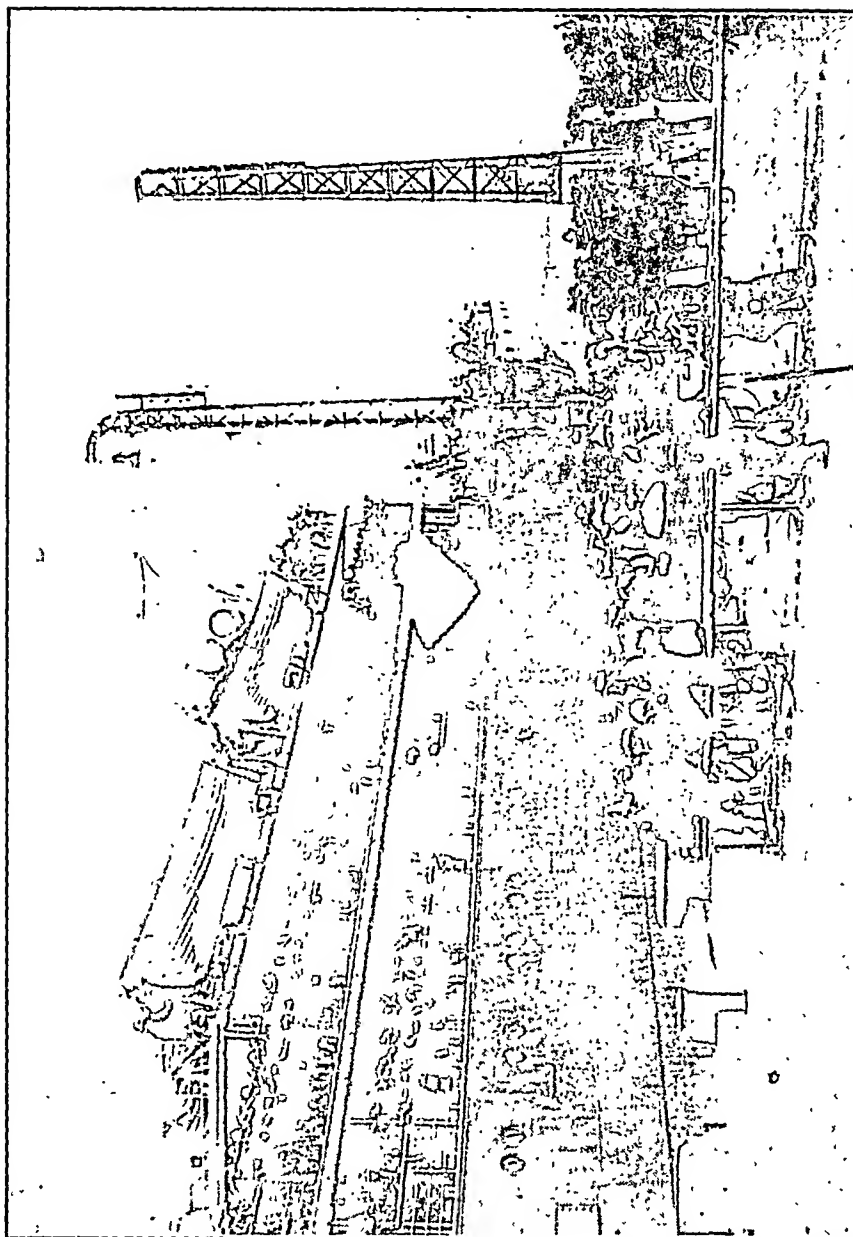
The Americans in Action. A new factor was beginning to count. In urging the adoption of unrestricted submarine warfare a prominent party leader of Germany had declared that the United States could not land "three soldiers upon the continent of Europe." A considerable miscalculation! By the end of 1917 we had 200,000 soldiers upon that continent; by July, 1918, a million; by November over two million. In the campaign just described Americans had encountered Germans and had distinguished themselves. They were now about to distinguish themselves still more and on a large scale.

The Second Battle of the Marne. So desperate seemed the situation in mid-summer, 1918; that the French government was prepared at any moment to leave Paris, as it had done in 1914.

But this moment was never to come. For Marshal Foch now struck a blow which freed Paris from danger, and which inaugurated a new and, as we now see, the final phase of the war. On July 18 he assumed the offensive, attacking the enemy on the flank from Château-Thierry on the Marne to the river Aisne. With French and American troops he took the Germans by surprise, and achieved a brilliant success. His entire line advanced from four to six miles, reclaiming twenty villages. Thousands of prisoners were taken, the Americans alone capturing over four thousand. A large number of guns were also seized. On the following days, the counter-offensive continued. Each day it achieved successes; each day it gained additional momentum. The Allied world passed through a new experience. An uninterrupted series of triumphs for the armies of Marshal Foch filled the days and then the weeks and months, after he had seized the initiative on July 18.

The Foch Offensive. By July 21 the Germans, threatened on the flank, were forced to withdraw the troops which had crossed the Marne. The Second Battle of the Marne was over and took its place in history, alongside the First Battle of the Marne, having accomplished the same deliverance of Paris and having begun the deliverance of France. In that battle Americans had taken an important part, but seventy per cent of the troops participating in it were French. } Forced to recross the Marne, the Germans next took their stand on the river Vesle. Bitter fighting occurred there. Again they were compelled to retreat and their next stand was at the Aisne.

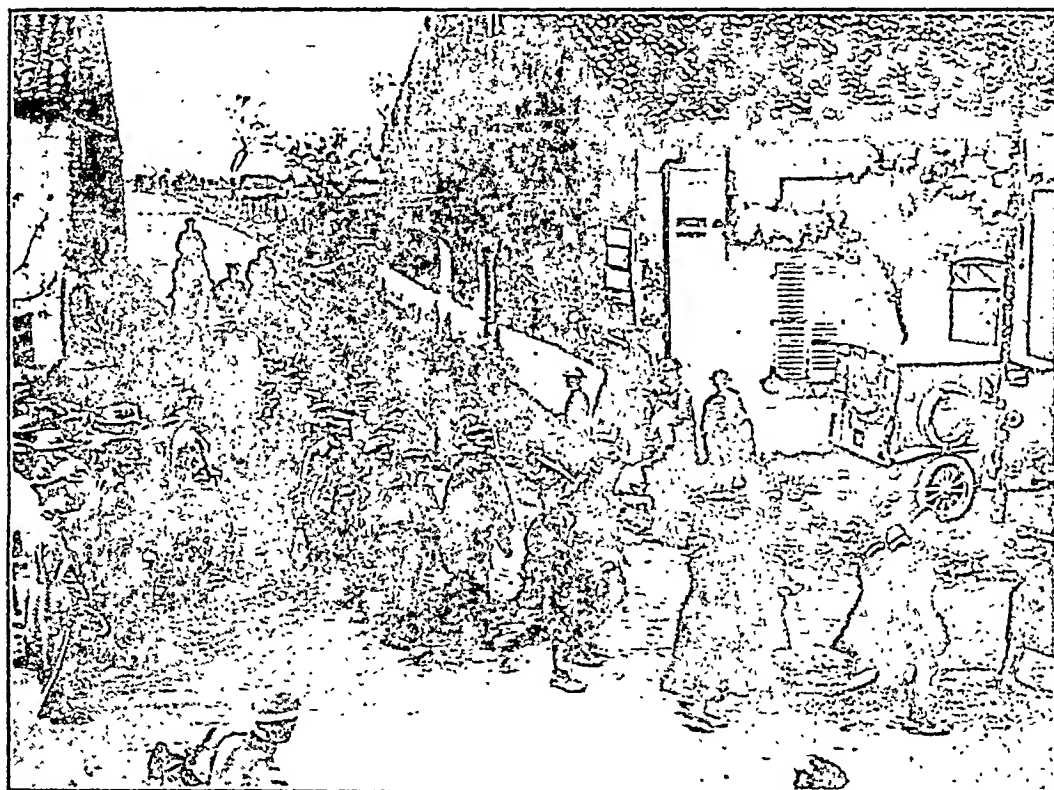
THE WORLD WAR



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ARRIVAL OF FIRST AMERICAN TROOPS IN FRANCE, JUNE 26, 1917

Week after week their backward movement continued, stubbornly yet unsuccessfully contested. Foch's counter-offensive widened out far to the east of Rheims, far to the north of Soissons. Between the Argonne Forest and the river Meuse the main American army, intrusted with a formidable and extremely difficult task, fought desperately day after day, pushing steadily but slowly and at great

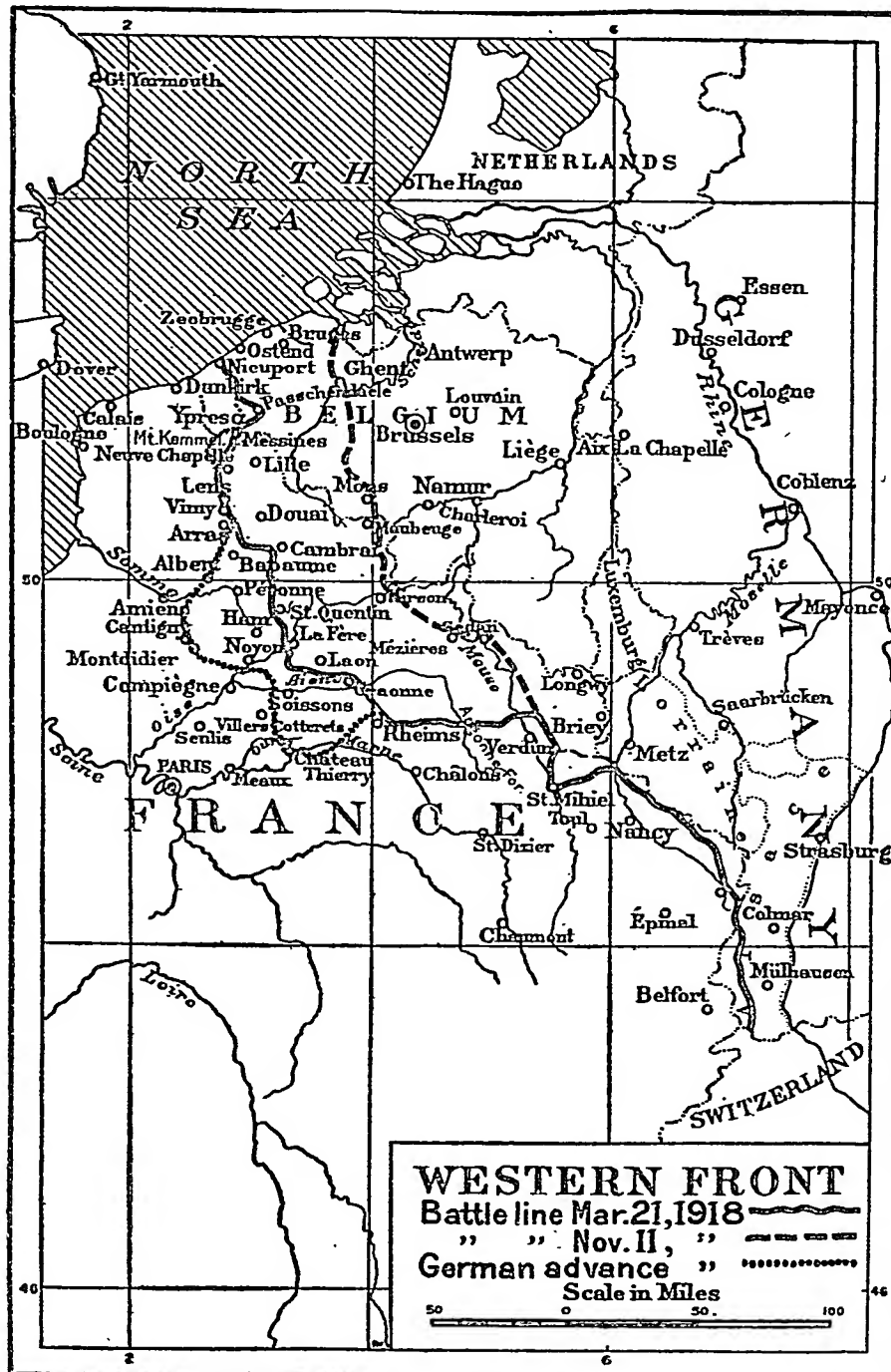


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THE FIRST GERMAN PRISONERS CAPTURED BY THE AMERICANS IN THE SAINT-MIHIEL SALIENT

cost farther and farther north. West of the Argonne the French were driving the Germans back.

At the same time, the French and the British, with contingents of the other Allies, Italians, Belgians, Portuguese, Americans, interspersed, were attacking various points in the long line from Soissons to the English Channel. All these scattered attacks, carefully coördinated, were but parts of a comprehensive plan elaborated by Marshal Foch, who was now revealing himself to the world as one of the master-intellects of the war. One does not know which to admire the more, the incomparable conception of this campaign or



the marvelous execution. Unremitting pressure everywhere, damaging thrusts here and there, such was the evident policy, the purpose being to maintain in Allied hands the initiative and the offensive which had been seized on the fateful July 18. Without haste, without rest, all through August and September and October the gigantic assault continued. The Allies steadily advanced as victors over ground which a short time before they had been compelled to abandon. Verdun was freed from the German menace, so was Rheims, so was Ypres. It would be impossible in any brief space, or, indeed, at length, even to catalogue the long list of incidents and events, in themselves often of great importance and interest, in this vast and complicated movement. Many towns and villages, some of them in possession of the Germans since 1914, were recovered. All that the Germans had won in their drive from March 21 to July 18 was lost, and the Allies then pressed on to conquer the rest of the territory of France, held so long by the Germans, to smash their retreating lines, wherever established, and to hurl them out of France and out of Belgium.

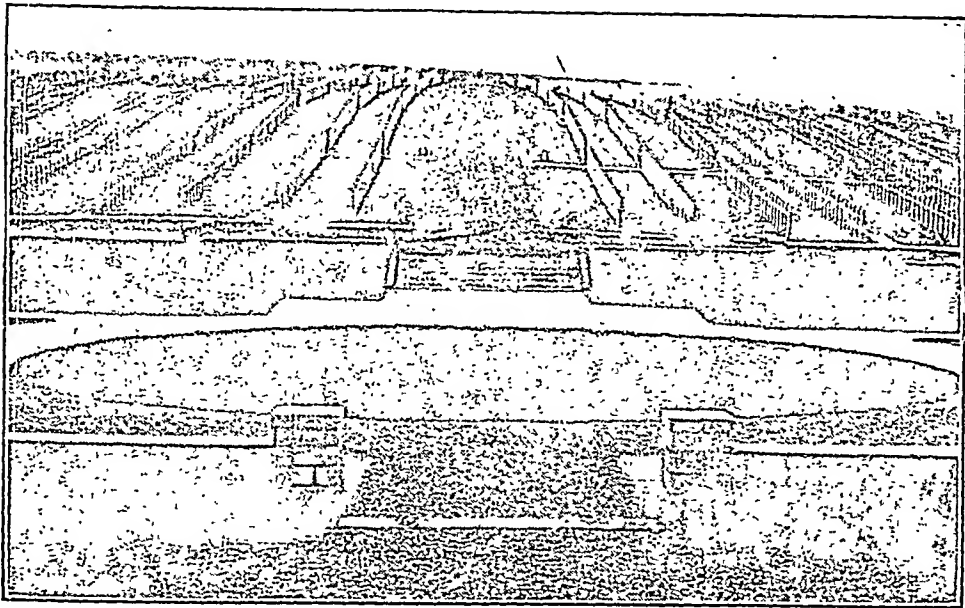
One detail of importance and of great interest to Americans in this general campaign was the elimination of the Saint-Mihiel (san-mē-yel') salient by Pershing's troops on September 12-13.

By the end of September, after paying a heavy price for their retreat, the Germans were back on the famous Hindenburg Line, an intricate and powerful system of defenses which they had for years been building. Here they planned to hold, and then to institute an aggressive peace propaganda among the nations supposed to be tired of war. The only way to block this purpose was to smash the Hindenburg Line and to compel the enemy to hurry on incessantly toward Germany. Could this be done?

The Final Campaign on the Western Front. The new struggle opened on September 26, with attacks on the two widely separated flanks. On that day the first American army under General Liggett in conjunction with a French army under Gouraud moved against the Germans on the German left. The Americans fought between the Argonne Forest and the Meuse and at first advanced swiftly, taking many villages. Gouraud on the other side of the Argonne pushed forward. The Franco-American drive was not halted but rendered slower when German reserves were rushed to the scene.

Meanwhile Belgian and British troops had attacked the German right flank far to the north in Belgium and had been successful in driving a wedge between the Germans on the Belgian coast and those in the region of Lille. Again reserves were rushed by Ludendorff to meet this danger. But neither here in Flanders nor at the other extremity in the Argonne was the Allied pressure relaxed.

Finally Foch was ready for his chief blow. On October 8 he attacked the enemy, anxious about both flanks, in the center. The



THE AMERICAN CEMETERY AT ARGONNE, FRANCE, CONTAINING
25,000 GRAVES

attack was made between Cambrai and Saint-Quentin (sañ-kon-tan') by three British armies under Byng, Rawlinson, and Horne, aided by the French under Debeney. In three days the British drove straight through the Hindenburg Line on a front of twelve miles, and where it was strongest, and then pushed on into the open country. That boasted defense was no longer invincible. Saint-Quentin fell, and so, shortly, did Cambrai.

The consequences of this breaking of the Hindenburg Line were enormous. The British pushed on toward Valenciennes. Activity was redoubled along the two flanks, and soon advances were made

pretty much along the whole line from the English Channel to Verdun. It was a wonderful coöperative movement with glory enough for all the Allies, and to spare. Laon, a tremendous stronghold, was soon evacuated. By October 16 the Germans had had to give up the Belgian coast, Ostend, Zeebrugge. Then Lille, Roubaix, and Turcoing were evacuated. In three weeks an amazing victory had been won over positions selected and long prepared by the Germans themselves. The Americans pushed steadily down the Meuse. After October 16 it was merely a question of time when the Germans would inevitably be driven back into their own country. Each subsequent day continued the tale of territory recovered, of towns captured, of a growing demoralization of the German army. The greatest battle of the war had been decisively won. At its close the Americans had reached Sedan.

Meanwhile in other theaters of this far-flung war momentous events were occurring, contributing powerfully to the gathering culmination. From every front and with each new day came news of victories so decisive and attended with consequences so immediate and far-reaching that it was evident that the hour of supreme triumph was rapidly approaching, that a terrible chapter in the history of humanity was drawing to a close.

Allenby's Campaign in Palestine. From Palestine came the news that Allenby, who had taken Jerusalem in December, 1917 was on the go again. With an army of 125,000 men, among whom was a small French contingent, he carried out a brilliant campaign against the Turks. Beginning in the middle of September, and making a rapid and consummate use of cavalry, he was able to get around them and in their rear, enveloping them, and delivering a staggering blow in the plains of Samaria. In the course of a few days Allenby captured 70,000 prisoners and 700 guns and practically all the supplies of the Turkish army. Following up this victory he pushed up to Damascus, which he entered on October 1, 1918, taking 7,000 prisoners. On October 6 a French squadron seized Beirut, the chief seaport of Syria. Then began a rapid drive toward Aleppo, the object being to cut the Bagdad railway and thus isolate the Turks who were fighting in Mesopotamia. On October 15, Homs, halfway between Damascus and Aleppo, fell, and also the port of Tripoli on the coast. A few days later Aleppo was taken. The fate of Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia was decided. Those regions,

which for centuries had been under the blight of Turkish rule, were now freed. The Turkish Empire in that quarter of the world was a thing of the past. Also the dream of a German road from Berlin to Bagdad was now shattered.

Surrender of Bulgaria (September 29, 1918). While the Turkish Empire was being amputated in the East, it was being effectively isolated in the West. Bulgaria, which bordered Turkey in Europe, was being eliminated from the war. Almost at the very time that Allenby began his attack in Samaria, Franchet d'Esperey, a hero of the first Battle of the Marne, and now commander of the Allied army in the Balkans, an army consisting of French, British, Greek, Serbian, and Italian troops, attacked the Bulgarians between the Vardar and the Cerna rivers, and broke their lines in two, rendering their position highly critical. Ten days later, on September 29, Bulgaria signed an armistice which meant nothing less than unconditional surrender. Bulgaria was thus out of the war. The Berlin-Bagdad dream was twice dead. Railroad communication between Turkey and Germany was cut. The grandiose German plan of a Middle Europe, of which the world had heard so much, was rapidly being pushed into the lumber-room of damaged and discarded gimcracks. Turkey was verging swiftly toward her fate. Serbia was quickly reconquered by the Serbians and for the Serbians, and it could only be a question of a short time before Roumania would be able to rise again, and denounce the Treaty of Bucharest which Germany and Austria-Hungary had imposed upon her less than five months before, on May 7, 1918, a treaty which had practically robbed her of her independence, both economic and political.

Revolution in Bulgaria. It was a matter of detail, though pleasing in itself, when on October 3, the self-styled Tsar of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, who had ruled for thirty-one years, abdicated in favor of his son, Crown Prince Boris, twenty-four years of age. Ferdinand was the second of the Balkan kings to lose his throne as a result of his conduct in the World War, Constantine of Greece having preceded him into exile in June, 1917. The new King Boris III was shortly forced to abdicate and a republic was proclaimed. The republic, however, was short-lived, having failed to gain the necessary support, and the abdication was withdrawn.

Victorious Italy. While such shattering events were occurring in the East, in the Balkans and in France, the war flamed up once

more in Italy. It was in October, 1917, that Italy had suffered her great and dangerous reverse. It was then that she was thrown out of Austria, across the Isonzo and that she herself was invaded as far as the Piave. She had experienced colossal losses in men and in equipment. A year from that date, October, 1918, restored in morale and reinvigorated in every way, Italy assumed the offensive against the Austrians. Her attack was successful from the start and in the succeeding days grew portentously until she achieved an amazing triumph which largely effaced the memories of the previous year. The hostile line was broken and the Austrians were compelled to withdraw pell-mell toward their own country. It was a rout, and resulted in the loss of hundreds of thousands of prisoners and thousands of big guns.

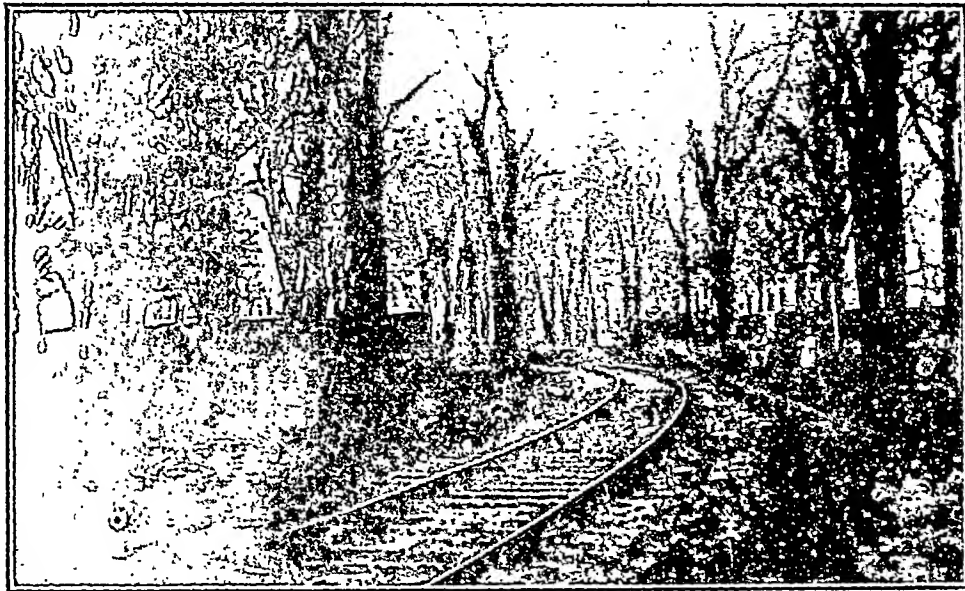
The Surrender of Turkey and Austria-Hungary. The atmosphere was clearing rapidly owing to these decisive events. Both Turkey and Austria were ready to quit the war. Both asked an armistice. On October 31 the Allied Powers granted an armistice to Turkey on terms that amounted to unconditional surrender.

On November 3 Austria was granted an armistice. This, too, amounted to unconditional surrender. The disaffected nationalities were to determine their own future.

The Disruption of Austria-Hungary. Austria-Hungary was, indeed, already in rapid process of dissolution. Every despatch brought news of popular outbreaks from all parts of the Dual Monarchy. The Czecho-Slovaks declared their independence, dethroned the monarch and proclaimed a republic. Hungary declared her independence and apparently prepared to become a republic. It was rumored that Emperor Karl had fled, had abdicated, had been deposed. The truth was hard to discover, reports being so fragmentary and conflicting. The ancient empire was breaking up and several new states were rapidly evolving. What the ultimate outcome would be no man could tell. Whether the House of Hapsburg still existed was uncertain. That it was doomed to vanish completely and that, too, very soon, seemed assured, if, indeed, it had not already vanished. No one knew what the next day or hour would bring forth in this maelstrom of fermentation, in this confusion worse confounded.

The curtain was rapidly descending, the fifth act of the fearful tragedy of our times was closing with unexpected abruptness. Bulgaria, Turkey, and Austria-Hungary were out of the war. There re-

mained the German Empire. Deserted by her Allies, and herself being rapidly driven from France and Belgium, and with the invasion of her own country not only probable but actually impending, what would this arch-conspirator of the age, this "natural foe to liberty," at home and everywhere, what would she do, what could she do, in a world so strangely altered since Brest-Litovsk, since Château-Thierry? The handwriting on the wall was becoming larger and more legible and more terrifying. The evil days were drawing nigh



COMPIÈGNE FOREST, FRANCE

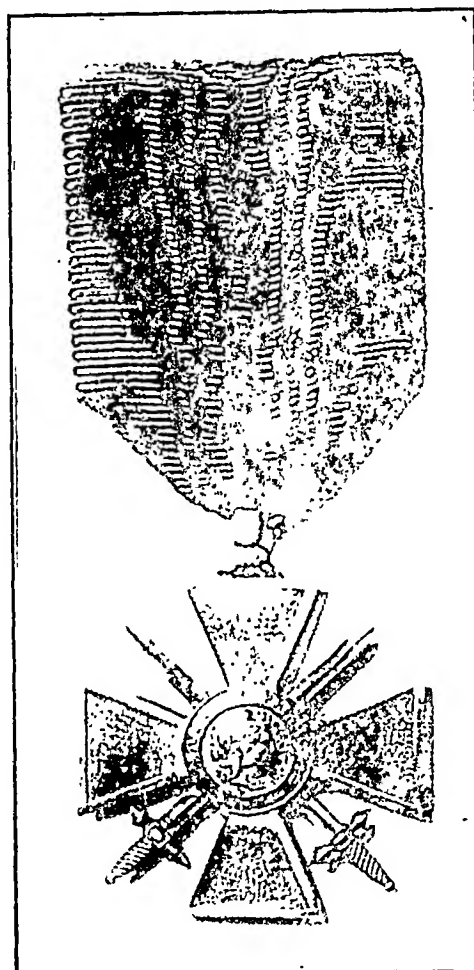
Showing headquarters train of Marshal Foch in which the Armistice was signed by the German envoy. November 11, 1918.

for a dread accounting. What would the proud and mighty German Empire do?

Germany Seeks Peace. What Germany now did was to make a frantic effort for peace, appealing to President Wilson to bring about a peace conference, pretending to accept the various terms he had indicated in his speeches of the year as a proper basis for the new age, reforming her government rapidly in order to meet the more obvious criticisms which foreigners had made against it as autocratic and militaristic. The outcome of these manoeuvres was the elaboration by the Allies and the United States at Versailles of the terms on

which they would grant an armistice. These terms were to be communicated by Marshal Foch to such a delegation as the German government should send to receive them at a place to be indicated by the Generalissimo. On Friday morning, November 8, Marshal Foch received the German armistice delegation in a railroad car at Senlis, near Compiègne, and read to them the terms agreed upon for a cessation of hostilities. They were allowed seventy-two hours in which to consult their superiors and in which to sign or reject the armistice.

Meanwhile revolution had begun in Germany. On Thursday, November 7, mutiny broke out at Kiel. Several of the German warships were seized by the mutineers and the red flag was hoisted over them. On that and succeeding days similar movements occurred in various cities and states, and revolutionary governments, local or regional, generally headed by socialists, were announced from various localities, with what exactness one could not tell, from Hamburg, Bremen, Tilsit, Chemnitz, Stuttgart, Brunswick, Bavaria, finally from Berlin. Reports circulated like wild-fire that reigning princes were abdicating or being dethroned, that workmen's and soldiers' councils or soviets were being formed in various centers and were seizing power. Demands were being made that the Kaiser abdicate. There were all the phenomena of a breaking up of the great deep. German society was being torn by alarming dissensions, the practical unanimity of the past four years was pounding to pieces upon the jagged reefs of defeat, and defeat with discredit and dishonor. The hour of retribution had struck.



CROIX DE GUERRE

Abdication of William II. On Saturday, November 9, a wireless message picked up by Paris and by London announced, to the stupefaction of the world, that the Emperor of Germany, William II, had abdicated, and that his son, the Crown Prince Frederick William, had renounced his rights to the throne, that a socialist, Ebert, had been made Chancellor, and that a German National Assembly would be speedily elected by universal suffrage and that that Assembly would "settle finally the future form of government of the German nation and of those peoples which might be desirous of coming within the empire."

On the following day, Sunday, the world heard that the revolution was still spreading, that Cologne cathedral was flying a red flag, that Hanover, Oldenburg, Magdeburg, Saxony, and other towns and states were seething with rebellion.

On Monday Americans awoke to the screeching of whistles and the din of bells which signified that the armistice terms had been accepted by the German government and that "the war was over," hostilities to cease at eleven o'clock that morning, Paris time. Rushing for their morning papers they ascertained this further fact that William II, Emperor of Germany, who for thirty years had been the most powerful monarch in the world, had fled for refuge in an automobile to Holland. Thus the Last of the Hohenzollerns made his sorry exit from the scene, having plunged the world into turmoil and tribulation indescribable, the memory of which would haunt mankind with nameless horror for decades to come, the heartless, crushing cost of which would afflict and sadden generations yet unborn.

QUESTIONS

I. Describe the events that led to the outbreak of war in 1914. Why did Germany attack Belgium? What were the chief events of the war on the western front in 1914? on the eastern front in 1914?

II. Why did Turkey enter the war? Why did Japan? Why did Italy? Describe the war on the western front in 1915. Give an account of the German invasion of Russia in 1915. What was the Gallipoli campaign designed to accomplish? Why did it fail?

III. Why did the Germans make the attack upon Verdun and what did they accomplish by it? What was the significance of the Battle of the Somme? What part did Roumania take in the war?

IV. What reasons influenced the United States to participate in the war? What contribution did the United States actually make to the success of the Allies?

V. Who were the Bolsheviks and how did they get control of the Russian state? What were the main features of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk? What part did Italy take in the war? What military events of importance in the war occurred within the territory of the Turkish Empire?

VI. Describe the German drive of 1918. Give an account of the Foch offensive of 1918. How and when were the Central Powers eliminated from the war?

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CHAPTER XXXVI

EUROPE SINCE THE WORLD WAR

The Armistice. For four years, three months, and more the world had been passing through the hideous ordeal by fire. The end had come suddenly, unexpectedly, as had the beginning in 1914. But while the worst was over in the appalling tragedy of our times, the clearing away of the colossal wreckage of the war, the new ordering of the world after a convulsion that had affected every part of it, would, it was obvious, require much time and patience. The work of reconstruction began with the armistices granted the defeated powers, and has continued ever since. An armistice is a mere suspension of hostilities. It is the first step toward peace, yet it does not always lead to peace. By the armistice of November 11, 1918, Germany was required to evacuate within fourteen days Belgium, France, Luxemburg, and Alsace-Lorraine, to hand over a large amount of war material, to surrender her fleet for internment in British waters. Had she later refused to accept the terms of peace, war would have been renewed under conditions very unfavorable for her. It was undoubtedly this fact that prompted her to accept those terms when they were finally presented in treaty form.

The Peace Conference of Paris. The place chosen for the Peace Conference was appropriately Paris, which had been the nerve-center of the Allied cause, the throbbing heart of the coalition, from the first day to the last of the racking struggle. The first session of the Conference of Paris was held on January 18, 1919, the number of representatives from each state having been previously determined by the five Great Powers. The United States, the British Empire, France, Italy, and Japan were to have five delegates apiece, and the British Dominions and India were also to be represented, two delegates each from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and India, and one delegate from New Zealand; Brazil was given three delegates; Belgium, China, Greece, Poland, Portugal, the Czecho-Slovak Re-

public, Roumania, and Serbia two delegates each; Montenegro, Siam, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Liberia, Nicaragua, Panama, Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, and Uruguay one delegate each. This would make an assembly of about seventy members. While the larger states were given a larger representation, each state was to have but a single vote. This preliminary distribution of delegates was almost immediately altered, owing to the protests of Belgium and Serbia which had fought and suffered from the first day of the war to the last and which now found themselves allotted only two representatives, whereas Brazil, which had not actually fought at all, had three. Belgium and Serbia were forthwith given three apiece and the new Kingdom of the Hedjaz was given two.

President Wilson had decided to attend the Conference in person, thus departing from the previous practice of this government. He had appointed as associates on the American delegation, Secretary of State Lansing, Colonel Edward M. House, Mr. Henry White, and General Tasker

H. Bliss. The Prime Ministers and Foreign Secretaries of England, France, Italy attended: namely, Lloyd George, Balfour, Clemenceau, Pichon, Orlando, Sonnino. The Prime Ministers of several British Dominions also attended, as did those of Serbia and Greece and Roumania, Pachitch and Venizelos and Bratiano. Belgium sent her Minister of Foreign Affairs, Hymans; Czecho-Slovakia sent Kramar; Poland, Dmowski; and many other men of importance and distinction were among the delegates.

The Conference was opened on January 18, 1919, the forty-eighth



PREMIER CLEMENCEAU



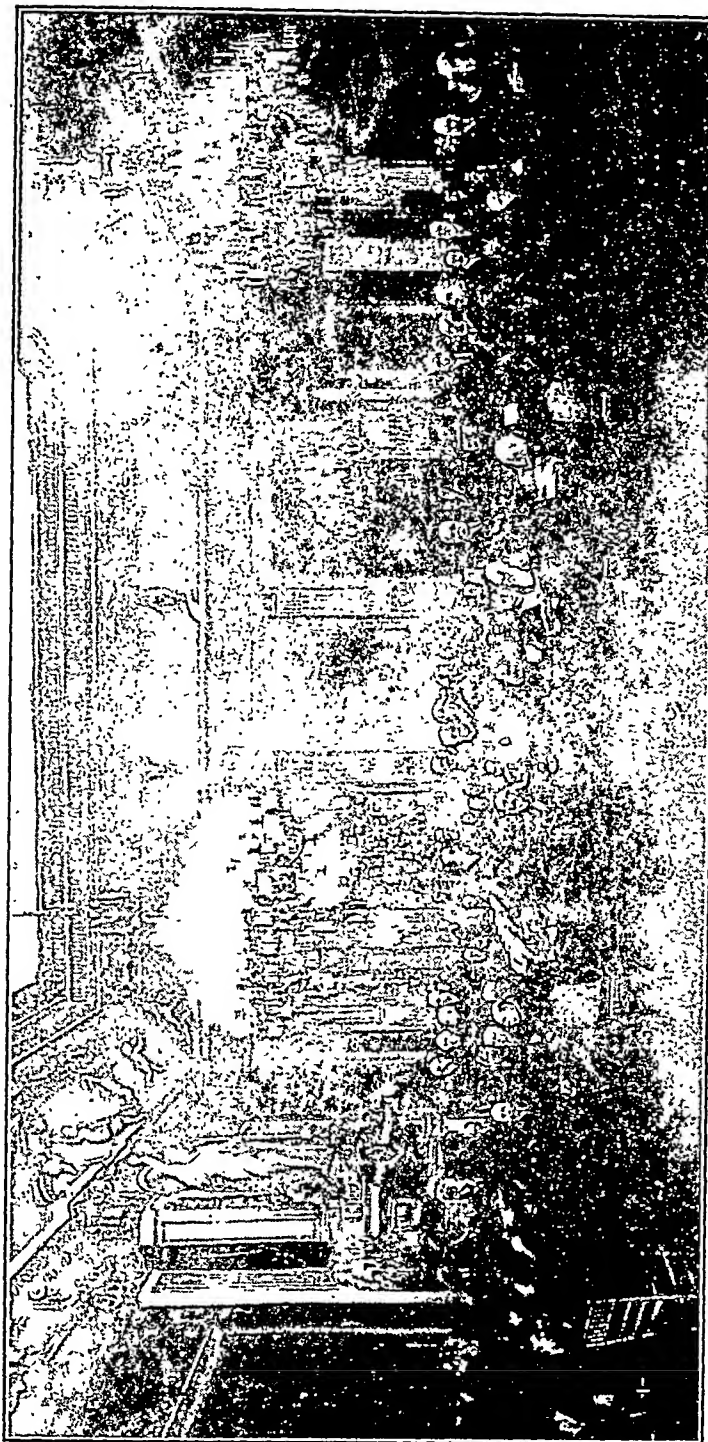
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PRESIDENT POINCARE OPENING THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS

anniversary of the proclamation, in the Palace of Versailles, of the German Empire. M. Clemenceau, the great war minister of France, was unanimously elected president. Committees were constituted to investigate the great subjects which would require settlement and to report; committees on Responsibility for the War, on Reparations, on International Labor Legislation, on Regulation of Ports, Waterways and Railroads, and on a League of Nations. Of the last of these President Wilson was made chairman, he having announced that his main interest in the work of the Conference was centered in the League.

The Conference of Paris, thus formally opened on January 18, 1919, continued in session throughout the year. Its procedure recalled in certain features the Congress of Vienna. To be sure, the Conference of Paris had several plenary sessions to which the press was admitted, whereas the Congress of Vienna had no general sessions. But the public meetings of the Conference were merely full-dress parades or, at best, only formally ratified decisions reached elsewhere. The real work of the Conference, as of the Congress, was done in numerous committees, in informal conversations, and in the secret sessions of the representatives of the Great Powers, the "Big Five," or the "Big Four" with Japan left out, or the "Big Three" with both Japan and Italy missing. The great decisions were really made by Premiers Lloyd George and Clemenceau and President Wilson.

The Fourteen Points. The function of the Conference was, of course, to draw up the terms of peace which were to be offered Germany, but did its members approach their task with any definite ideas as to what that peace ought to be? Had they any program, any body of principles, any chart or compass, to guide them in their work? In a way and to a certain extent they had. The Germans in asking for an armistice had accepted the terms laid down by President Wilson in his addresses delivered in 1918. These, accepted with certain reservations by the Allies, were, it was understood, to form the basis of negotiations. Some of the more important of these pronouncements were that henceforth there should be no secret understandings or treaties, but that the diplomacy of the future should be open and in the public view, that there should be a reduction of national armaments, that there should be an impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, that Belgian, French, and Russian

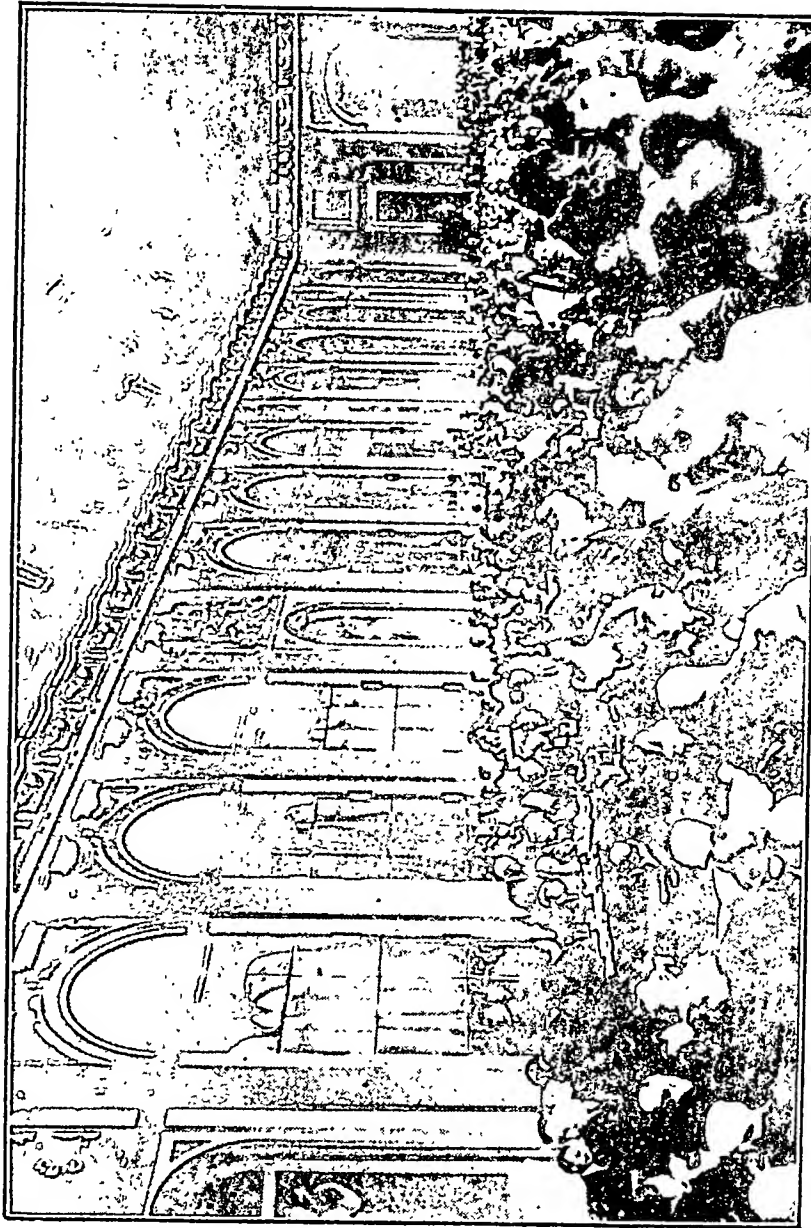


A PLENARY SESSION OF THE CONFERENCE OF PARIS

From a drawing by J. Simont in *L'Illustration*.

territories should be evacuated, that the wrong done to France by Germany in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted, that Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated and Serbia assured access to the sea, that the frontiers of Italy should be drawn along lines of nationality, that the nationalities of the Turkish Empire should receive autonomy, that an independent Poland should be created, with access to the sea, and that there should be formed a general association of nations for the purpose of securing the independence and territorial integrity of great and small states alike.

The Making of the Treaty of Versailles. After several months of investigation and discussion the Conference succeeded in completing the draft of a treaty, the longest on record, a treaty which would fill a volume about half the size of the present one. This was submitted, on May 7, 1919, the fourth anniversary of the sinking of the *Lusitania*, to the representatives of the German government, sent to Versailles to receive it. There was to be no direct and oral negotiation between the German delegates and the members of the Conference, but the former were given a certain length of time in which to study the document and to make in writing whatever suggestions they might care to. In due course they submitted arguments and counter-propositions which filled a volume not much smaller than the original draft. Most of these propositions were rejected by the Conferees, a few changes were made to meet the German objections, and the amended treaty was then returned to the Germans on June 16. Acceptance was required by June 23, under threat of a renewal of war and the invasion of Germany. On the last day of this stated period the German National Assembly at Weimar passed, by a vote of 237 to 138, a resolution to the effect that "the National Assembly agrees to the signature of peace." On June 28 the Treaty of Versailles was signed by Dr. Hermann Müller, German Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Dr. Johannes Bell, and by the representatives of the Allied and Associated Powers, the Chinese delegation refusing to sign as a protest against the award of Shantung to Japan. This historic event occurred in the same Hall of Mirrors in the Palace of Versailles where forty-eight years before the German Empire had been proclaimed. Time had brought its complete revenge. By an appropriate coincidence the Treaty of Versailles was signed on the 28th of June, the fifth



THE SIGNING OF THE TREATY OF VERSAILLES IN THE HALL OF MIRRORS, JUNE 28, 1919
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anniversary of the assassination of the Austrian Archduke, Francis Ferdinand, at Sarajevo, which had been made to have such amazing and lamentable consequences.

¹ **Treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey.** Before the era of peace could fully dawn upon a weary world, many other negotiations had to be brought to a head, many other treaties made and ratified. The treaty with Germany, no doubt the most important of the series, was but one, nor could it stand alone, as others were needed to complete it. The making of the latter filled months and even years, for the final one was not drawn up and signed until the midsummer of 1923. The series consists of the treaty of Saint-Germain with Austria (signed September, 1919), of Neuilly with Bulgaria (November, 1919), of the Trianon with Hungary (June, 1920), of Lausanne with Turkey (July, 1923). These elaborate and detailed documents cannot be analyzed here, but their chief contents will appear as we proceed. Suffice it to say that collectively these treaties constitute the basis of the new Europe that has issued from the war, that exists to-day.

Remaking the Map of Europe. Long before the close of the war it had become apparent that one of the first and most contentious matters that would confront the peace-makers would be the drawing of a new map of Europe and of Europe's possessions. From the Atlantic Ocean to the Ural Mountains, from Archangel to Salonica, changes in political frontiers had been effected by events and must be recognized in practice. A few nations might emerge unaltered from the alchemy of the war and a few did, Spain and Portugal, Switzerland, Holland and Luxemburg, Norway and Sweden. But the boundaries of the British Empire, of France, of Germany, of Austria and Hungary, of Italy and Russia, of Serbia and Greece and Roumania and Bulgaria, of Albania and the Turkish Empire, all these must be drawn anew. One thing was certain. The map of Europe on which the world had been brought up had passed forever into the limbo of discarded things, and men must begin forthwith to familiarize themselves with the features of a new strange map.

And they must become familiar, not only with a new Europe but with a new Africa and a new Asia and a changed Pacific Ocean as well, for German colonies and large parts of the Turkish Empire were destined to pass into other hands.

The territorial problems confronting the world in 1919 had a

far wider sweep than those that had existed a century earlier upon the downfall of Napoleon. They arose in large measure from the fact that a war begun for the extinction of one small state, Serbia, had resulted, not in that extinction, but in the destruction or dilapidation of three great empires, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey, and in the defeat of a fourth, Germany, and the overthrow of its twenty-two monarchs. Meanwhile, Serbia had emerged from the colossal wreckage covered with glory, stronger than ever in its national integrity, and destined to a great enlargement of its territory. It is doubtful if the history of the world contains a more ironical page.

The boundaries of the past had been burned away in the consuming heat of the fray. The boundaries of the future would necessarily be drawn by the makers of the peace. Each treaty, as it appeared, contributed important lines to the new political geography. Step by step the new chart was fashioned.

One thing the victors of the war were committed to, namely the recognition of two new states, Czecho-Slovakia and Jugo-Slavia, and the restoration of an old state, Poland. This alone would necessitate an extensive shifting of frontiers for where, in Europe, were new states to come from unless from the dismemberment of old ones?

The New Map. Looking at the new map which has been gradually delineated since 1919, what are the conspicuous changes that strike the eye? Germany has lost Alsace-Lorraine, which has reverted to France. She has had to abandon Eupen and Malmédy to Belgium. As a result of a plebiscite she has had to yield northern Schleswig to Denmark, while the province of Posen, most of West Prussia, and a part of Upper Silesia have passed to Poland. The Saar Basin, rich in coal, has for at least fifteen years passed from German control and is being governed by a commission appointed and supervised by the League of Nations — as compensation to the French for the destruction by the Germans of the coal mines in northern France. Germany has been compelled to renounce Danzig, which is now a Free City under the League of Nations and in which the Poles have important rights, and also Memel, which has been given to the new state of Lithuania, a part of former Russia. Thus Germany has lost four or five million of her population, but, in the main she has only lost those peoples conquered by force and belonging to other nationalities, her French and Danish and Polish subjects. Germany has also lost all her colonies, Togoland and Kam-

erun, Southwest Africa, East Africa, the Pacific islands, which have gone to enlarge the British, French, and Japanese empires.

Germany, though pared about the edges, still, however, continues a great power. But the Dual Monarchy has ceased to exist. Where formerly the map showed Austria-Hungary there are at present the names of various states. Austria and Hungary still exist but now as entirely separate states, Austria one-fourth its former size, Hungary one-third. Bohemia, Moravia, and the northern part of Hungary now form the new republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Galicia has been attributed to Poland, and the former Austrian and Hungarian provinces of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia have gone to the enlarged Serbia, or Jugo-Slavia. Large areas of former Austria have been incorporated in Italy and a large section of former Hungary has been annexed to Roumania. Austria-Hungary had no colonies or, it is quite safe to say, she would have lost them also. Where formerly Russia connected with the rest of Europe we now find several intervening states, buffers more or less important, between present Russia and her former neighbors, — Finland, Esthonia, and Latvia, as well as Lithuania, independent republics carved entirely out of Russian territory, and Poland in large part so carved. In the southwest Bessarabia has become Roumanian.

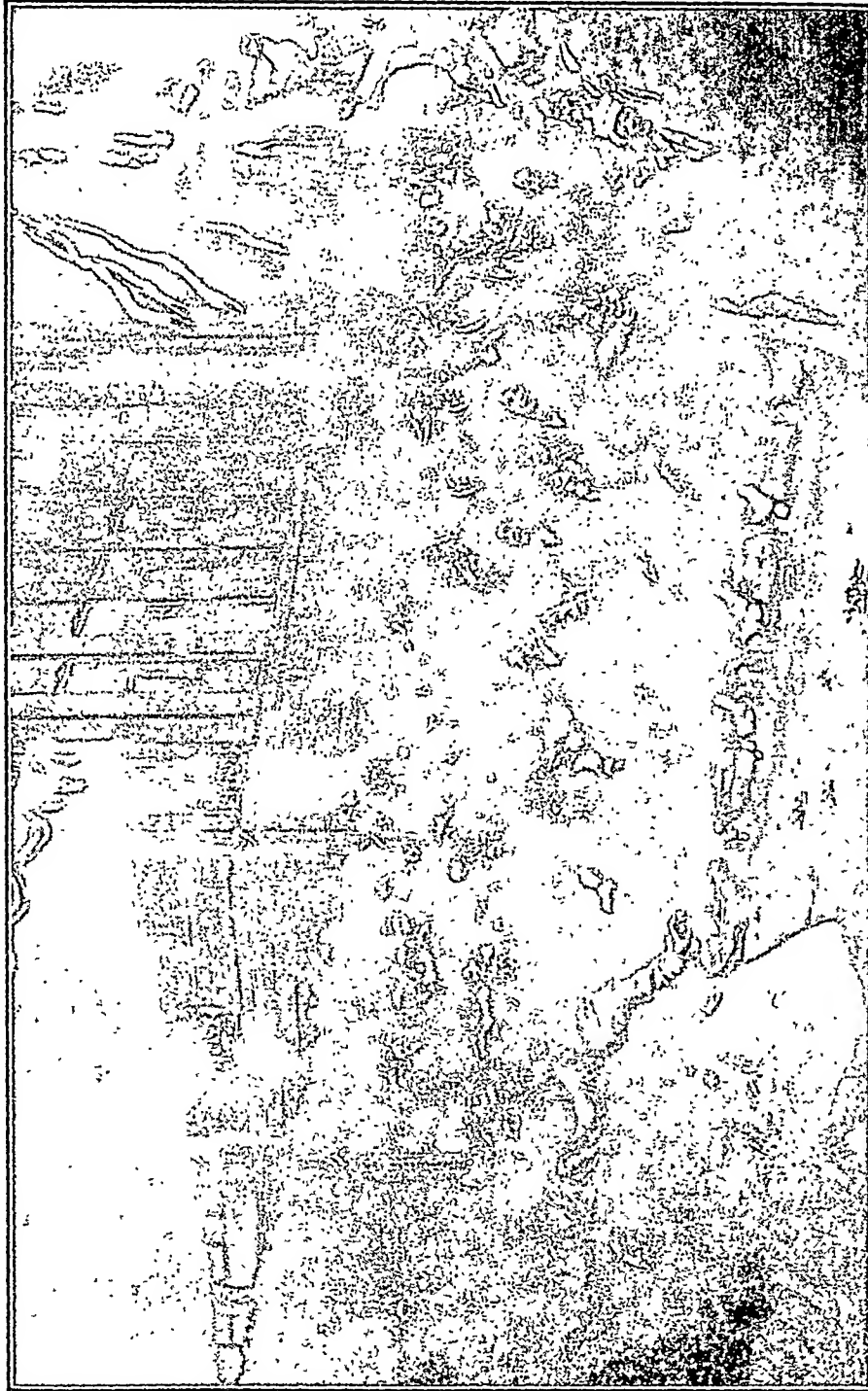
The Turkish Empire is also noticeably altered. Retaining Constantinople and a part of Thrace in Europe, Turkey is now limited, across the Dardanelles, to Asia Minor. The vast region beyond Asia Minor has been lost, France being in Syria, Great Britain in Palestine and Mesopotamia, under mandate, and the independent kingdom of the Hedjaz being planted along the shores of western Arabia.

Such are the outstanding changes in the map. What the defeated powers have lost others have gained, either England and France and Italy, the victors, or Latvia, Esthonia, Lithuania, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania, newly created states, or old states resuscitated or greatly enlarged. Surely a veritable transformation in the appearance of the continent and its African and Asiatic annexes.

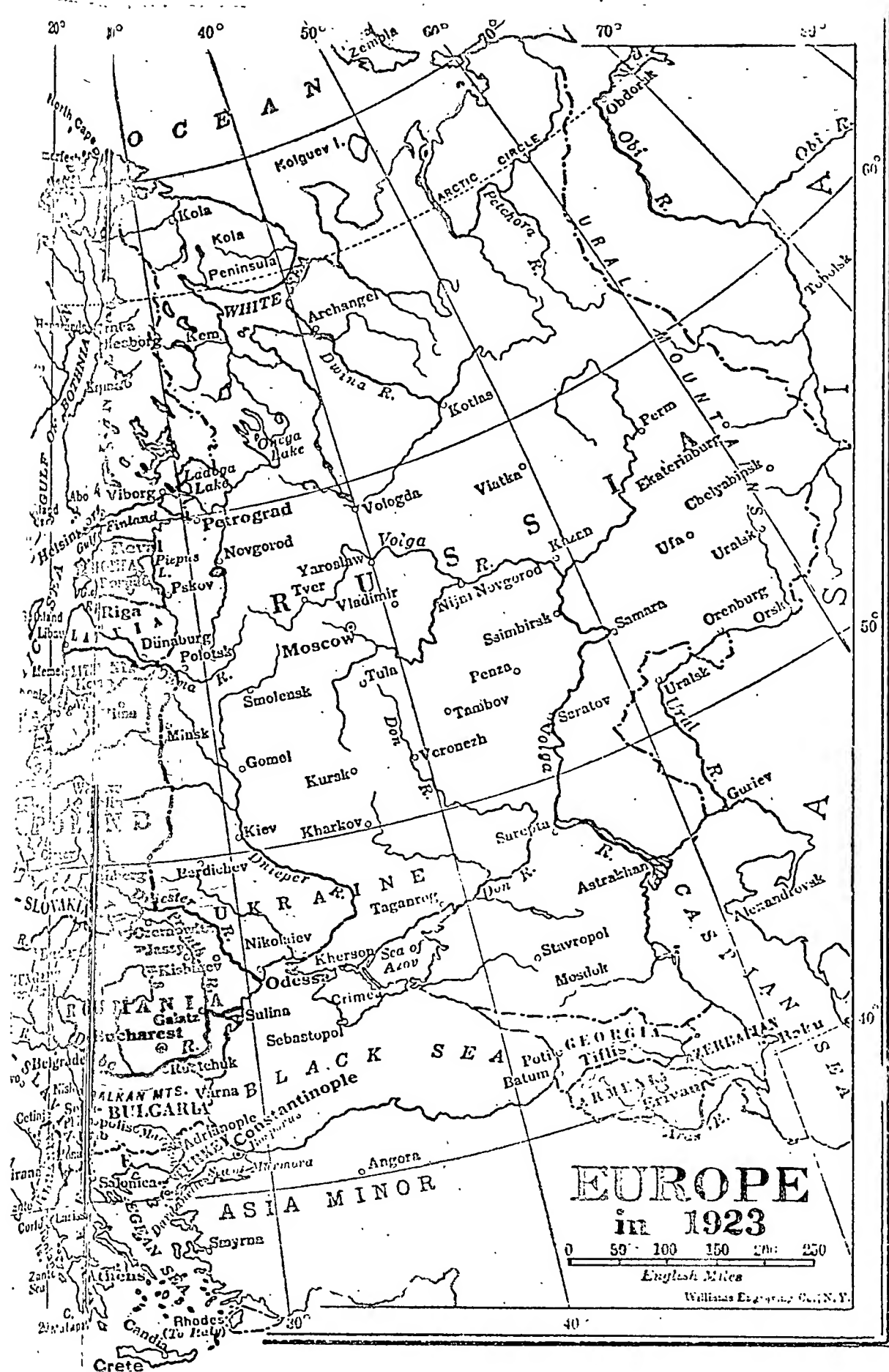
Destruction of German Militarism. Such are the chief territorial changes as set forth in the various treaties that terminated the war. Another important section of several of those treaties seeks to assure the permanence of these arrangements and to render unlikely

a reopening of the conflict by the defeated states, by imposing severe limitations upon their future military power. The treaties with Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria forbid those countries to possess more than a very small number of troops and a very restricted armament. In the case of Austria, for instance, her army must not exceed thirty thousand men, her navy is henceforth to consist of three patrol boats on the Danube, and she is to have no military or naval air forces. But the great precautions are taken, not with Austria, Hungary, or Bulgaria, states of very secondary rank, but with the arch-representative of modern militarism, Germany, a great power, and the most populous on the continent, save Russia. German militarism was generally considered one of the chief causes of the war, and to abolish it was one of the avowed aims of the Allies. If the terms of a treaty can prevent Germany from again becoming a great military and naval power, able to menace the world, prevented she will be. In great detail the Treaty of Versailles determines just what forces she may have in the various war services, just what equipment. In a general way these clauses reduce the armed power of Germany to a standard hitherto reached and exceeded by many a small state. If these clauses are enforced Germany will no longer be able, by rattling her shining sabre, to alarm or terrify her neighbors. Henceforth her army may not exceed one hundred thousand men, including not more than four thousand officers. Universal compulsory military service is abolished and the German army may only be constituted and recruited by voluntary enlistment, and the period of service is made so long as to act as a deterrent. The amount of munitions and equipment that she may produce is carefully laid down in tables printed in the treaty. Germany may have no military or naval aircraft whatever, nor may she manufacture or import asphyxiating, poisonous, or other gases, or armored cars or tanks.

The Treaty of Versailles requires that the entire German navy, already interned in British waters under the provisions of the armistice, be surrendered to the Allies. As a matter of fact, however, just before the treaty was signed the Germans themselves, rather than surrender their fleet, scuttled it and sent it to the bottom of the sea. Thus the second naval power of the world, the proud creation of William II and of modern Germany, had ceased to be. Naval history records no overthrow so complete as this. For the future the German navy is restricted to six battleships, to six light cruisers,



THE PEOPLE OF STRASBOURG CELEBRATING THEIR REUNION WITH FRANCE
From a drawing by J. Simont in *L'Illustration*.



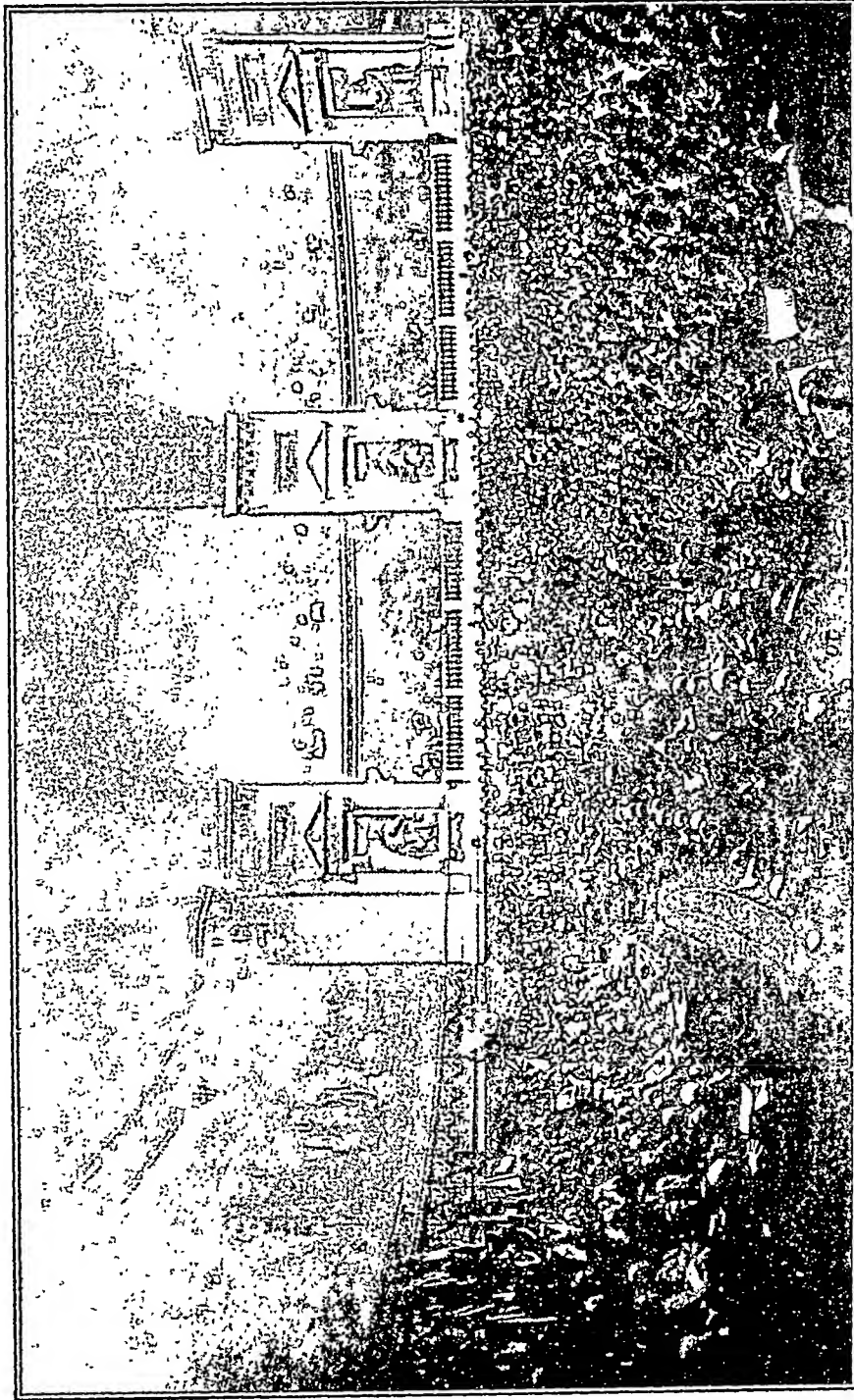
to twelve torpedo boats, and to twelve destroyers. Germany is forbidden henceforth to have any submarines, even for commercial purposes.

Such are the drastic provisions of the Treaty of Versailles which, if executed, will destroy that German militarism which has cost the world so intolerable a price.

The League of Nations. Incorporated in each of that group of treaties which registered the settlement of the war and which form the basis of the new Europe are the twenty-six articles that constitute the charter of a new international organization intended to assure the maintenance of peace. During the long war the feeling became widespread that the old order of the world was utterly discredited, that men must not be allowed again to relapse into their former habits and methods. The phrase that this was "a war to end war" became current, as did also the words, "never again."

This indignant and passionate resolve to find a better way to settle international difficulties in the future than had ever been found in the past, enlisted the support of many men in France and England and America. Societies were formed in those countries for the purpose of arousing public opinion to the feasibility as well as the desirability of a new organization of human society which should serve the interests of mankind, should express the conscience of mankind. In the United States the League to Enforce Peace was founded in Independence Hall in Philadelphia in June, 1915, with Ex-President Taft as president. In the following year President Wilson gave it as his opinion that, "When the great present war is over, it will be the duty of America to join with the other nations of the world in some kind of a league for the maintenance of peace." This thought seemed quite in line with long-existing aspirations of the American people, as shown in their enthusiastic advocacy, at the Hague Conferences, of peaceful methods in adjusting international contentions and in the approval they had often given to the principle of arbitration.

The chief concern of President Wilson at the Conference of Paris was to secure the creation of some international organization for the maintenance of peace, and it was largely through his efforts that the League of Nations came into existence. Its membership was to consist, at the outset, of all the powers that had fought against Germany in the war and of most of the neutrals, if they should ac-



EXPRESSING THE NATIONAL GRATITUDE FOR VICTORY IN THE MAGNIFICENT AMPHITHEATER OF THE SORBONNE,

AUGUST 2, 1919

From *L'Illustration*.

cept the invitation to join. Germany, Austria, Hungary, Turkey, Russia, Mexico, and a few other states were not to be included at the start, but they might later be admitted under certain conditions. The hope of the framers of the "Covenant," or constitution of the League, was that ultimately all nations would belong to the new association.

The chief bodies created by this Covenant for the accomplishment of the purposes of the League are an Assembly and a Council, the latter being the more important. Every member of the League is to be represented in the Assembly and may have three representatives, or fewer if it desires. Each state has, however, but one vote. There is thus equality of voting power among all the members, whether large or small. It should be noted that in the Assembly the British Empire has collectively six votes, for, in addition to the single vote allotted to the empire as a whole, five of the constituent members of that empire have each a separate vote, namely Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, and India.

The Council was to be a small body of nine, and five of the nine should always be the British Empire, the United States, France, Italy, and Japan. In addition to these five there were to be four others selected by the Assembly.

The Covenant also establishes a Secretariat, designed to preserve the archives, conduct the correspondence and discharge the clerical work of the League, and to perform such services as may be required of it by the Assembly and the Council. The seat of the League is Geneva.

The Prevention of War. As the motive force behind the creation of the League was the desire to find some method of preventing war and maintaining peace, as this is, indeed, the avowed purpose of the organization, the clauses of the Covenant bearing upon this matter are the supreme features of this document, are, in fact, its very pith and marrow.

The Council is to formulate plans for the reduction of armaments; also plans for the creation of a permanent court of international justice. Article X, destined to great fame, declares that, "The members of the League undertake to respect and preserve as against external aggression the territorial integrity and political independence of the League." Any war or threat of war is declared a matter of concern to the League and, on the request of any member, the Council

may take any action it may deem wise to preserve the peace. If any dispute arises between the members of the League likely to lead to a rupture, they agree to submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they promise that in no case will they resort to war until three months after the award. Should any member disregard its obligations and begin hostilities in the good old way, summarily, it will be deemed to be making war not only against its enemy but against all the other members of the League, which will thereupon sever all intercourse and trade with the covenant-breaking state, and in addition the Council shall recommend to the members what military aid they shall make to protect the covenants of the League. If in any arbitration the award is unanimous the members agree not to go to war with the party complying. Henceforth all treaties must be registered with the Secretary of the League and published or they shall not be binding, — an article designed to prevent secret agreements and alliances, secret diplomacy.

A System of Mandates. As territorial greed and colonial rivalries have been prolific causes of war in the past the Covenant sets up a new system for disposing of the lands that have fallen into the hands of the Allies as a result of the war, such as the German colonies and Turkish territories. These are not to be divided up among the victors as spoils, but are to be regarded as held in trust for the benefit of the peoples concerned. The various areas are to be intrusted by the League to various members of the League under mandates setting forth the degree and kind of authority that they may exercise, guaranteeing certain rights to the natives, and requiring annual reports from the mandatories. The mandates may vary according to the community. But these vast stretches of the earth are not to be annexed to the colonial empire of any state. They are to be held in tutelage by the League of Nations until such time as they may be able to stand alone. The conduct of any mandatory in the administration of the territory assigned to it is subject to the supervision of the League, that is, supposedly to the enlightened opinion of the world.

Such are the main provisions of the Covenant. It will be seen that a prominent position in the League was assured the United States, if it should join, as it was assumed it would. But the assumption proved ill-founded. The first twenty-six articles of the Treaty of Versailles, those concerning the League of Nations, precipitated

a long and bitter debate both in the Senate and among the people, and in the end the Senate refused to ratify the Treaty. As therefore the United States did not accept the treaty of peace with Germany which had been drawn up at Paris, it was obliged to make a separate treaty with that power, as also with Austria and Hungary. This was done in the early months of President Harding's administration (October, 1921).

Reparations. There was another and extremely important section of the Treaty of Versailles, that concerning the reparations which Germany must make for the economic injury she had inflicted upon her enemies and the responsibility for which she was compelled to admit. But how much would this be? The Treaty provided that the amount of the damage for which compensation should be made should be determined by May 1, 1921, by an interallied Reparations Commission. But the problem thus stated was not to be quickly or easily solved. Either because disinclined or because unable to discharge the obligations thus assumed, Germany has proved a difficult debtor. This extraordinarily complicated problem of reparations has dominated the years since the war and still dominates. It has been the cause of much contention and negotiation between Germany and the Allies, occasioning a long series of conferences which have thus far yielded no solution. Reparations constitute the great unfinished business of the post-war period.

Revolution Follows War. The very recent history of Europe is the record of the varied, extremely varied, effects of the war, of the new direction given to the political and social development of several countries. This is history in the very making, the most difficult and risky history to write, because unfinished, uncertain, changing or likely to change from year to year, from month to month, almost from day to day. Some survey of this shifting scene is necessary if we would understand the present hour and how it came to be. But only a few of the more outstanding features can be noticed here. Our sole attempt will be to gain some understanding of the most conspicuous factors active in the world to-day.

Defeat, particularly after a long and exhausting struggle, is apt to bring revolutionary changes in its wake because it arouses criticism of the existing order, sharpens discontent, discredits those who have led the nation to disaster, inflames passions. This seems almost like a law of nature. At any rate it has proved conspicuously

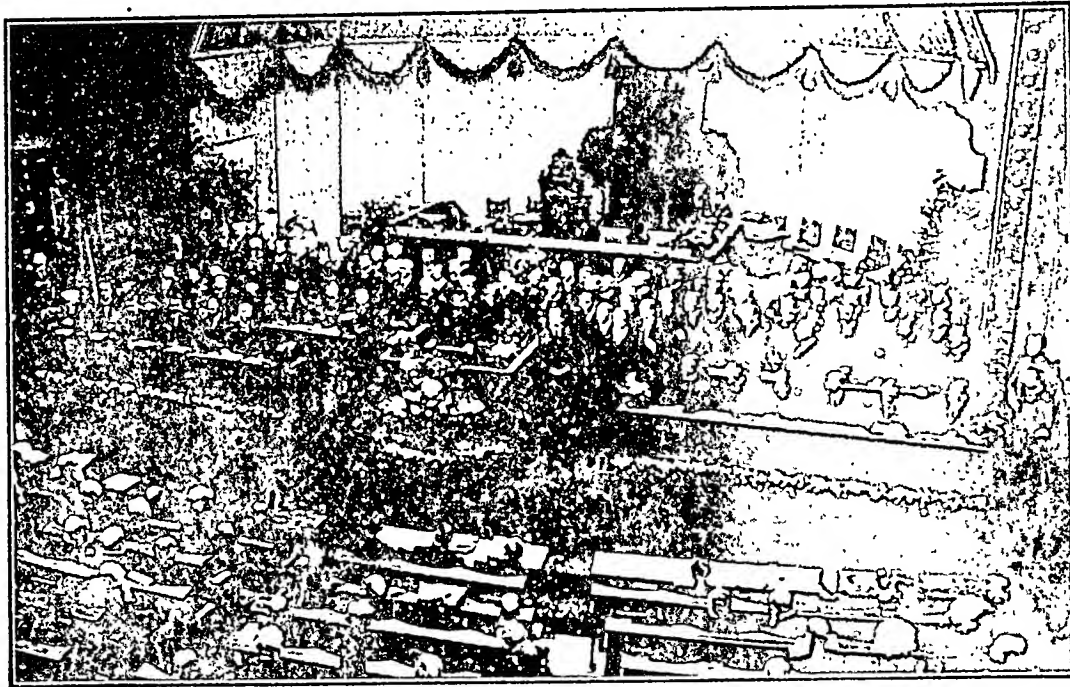
the case in the present instance. For the defeated countries the World War brought revolution as an aftermath, or changes so sweeping as practically to amount to revolution. We shall now examine briefly in turn the fate of those countries which were on the losing side.

Revolution in Germany. On November 9, 1918, two days before the armistice was signed, Germany swept her kings and princes from their thrones and thronelets and proclaimed the republic. A miracle had happened, the sudden and complete collapse of a proud and mighty empire which had for nearly half a century exulted in its strength and which had imposed with singular force upon the imagination of the world. No change so astounding had occurred within the memory of living men. Twenty-two thrones had almost instantaneously become vacant, hastily abandoned by their occupants, who, preferring personal safety to the risks of a struggle for their retention, had decamped, each as best he could, to some place of refuge, their leader, William of Hohenzollern, to Holland and their next greatest, of the House of Wittelsbach, to some castle in the mountains of Bavaria.

The German Revolution of 1918 cannot be compared with the French Revolution of 1789. It was no outgrowth of active, sustained and bitter criticism of existing institutions, no indignant protest against a long-continued denial of political liberty. It had no background of preparation. It was a storm that had suddenly blown up, not the explosion of a slowly gathering hurricane. Yet this brief and sudden crisis, born of military disaster, swept away the supposedly strongest monarchy in Europe, set up a republic in its stead, and greatly changed the face of Germany. Not only did the Emperor disappear from the scene which he had dominated for thirty years, but the Bundesrat, the organ of the princes, vanished necessarily when they vanished, and the Reichstag, in the whole affair, gave no sign of life. The conservative political parties which had controlled the Reichstag since the founding of the Empire, collapsed with the collapse of the royal power. The former radical parties, particularly the Socialists, now occupied the center of the scene. A Socialist, Ebert, a workingman, a former saddler, became President.

There was for a few months in Germany considerable popular disturbance and some violence, but gradually a certain settled order

was evolved out of what might easily have become chaos. The improvised and provisional government proceeded to liquidate the war and ultimately signed the peace whose provisions we have examined. Not only had Germany lost her thrones, but she had lost her navy; her military strength was henceforth to be strictly limited; her territory and her population had been cut, and she had assumed the duty of paying for the damage she had done.



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THE WEIMAR ASSEMBLY

Frederick Ebert delivering his address of acceptance as President of Germany.

The Constitution of Germany. The next step in the reconstruction of Germany was the framing of a constitution. A National Constituent Assembly had been elected on January 19, 1919, by the most democratic suffrage that had ever been invoked for such a purpose, perhaps the most democratic then ever known. Every German, man or woman, over twenty years of age, had the right to vote, and every voter was eligible to election. The result was an assembly of 423 members, 39 of whom were women. The assembly met on February 6, 1919, in Weimar, a small and sleepy town associated in German history with liberal and literary memories. Berlin was wisely avoided as offering too many opportunities for the organizers of riots and insurrections.

After several months of deliberation a constitution was adopted on July 31 and became effective on August 11. Under this constitution the former name of the German national state, Deutsches Reich, is preserved, but that state is declared a republic, based upon the sovereignty of the people. The national flag is changed from the black-white-red tricolor of the Empire to black-red-gold, the colors of the liberal students' clubs of 1815. It is provided that every state of Germany must also have a republican constitution. The old states are preserved, so that Germany constitutes a Federal Republic like that of the United States, not a unitary one like that of France. It is highly significant that a proposal earnestly urged in the Constituent Assembly to split up the large states like Prussia into a number of small ones and to unite a number of the petty states into larger units so that the average state might number about two or three million people and all states might be approximately equal, was rejected. The inveterate particularism, or states-rights feeling, which we encounter all through a thousand years of German history, thus showed itself still vigorous. And in the new Germany, as in the old, Prussia will be larger than all the other states combined, and will exercise, consequently, a preponderant and decisive influence.

The executive head of the state is to be a president chosen by the whole German people, women as well as men. This strictly universal suffrage, indeed, is to prevail not only in national elections, but also in state elections. The president is chosen for seven years; but may be reelected, how often the constitution does not say, or may be deposed before the expiration of his term, by a referendum. Should the referendum, however, result in his favor, it is to count as a new election. Under the president are the chancellor and other ministers, who are declared responsible to the Reichstag. Any of the ministers may be compelled to resign by an explicit vote of that body.

The old Bundesrat is succeeded by a Reichsrat, or National Council, a body that represents the states. In it every state shall have at least one vote. In the case of the larger states one vote will be accorded to every million inhabitants, but no state shall have more than two-fifths of all the votes. The new council, like the old, represents, not the people of the several states, but their governments, indeed, is to consist of members of their respective governments.

The Reichstag is chosen by universal and secret suffrage, and in accordance with the principle of proportional representation. It is elected for four years. Unlike its position under the previous system, the popular chamber is more important than the other. It possesses larger legislative functions, and in addition it has the power to make and unmake ministries, for the German republic, like the French, is parliamentary. The chancellor and the ministers are responsible to the Reichstag.

Such are some of the features of the Constitution of Weimar. The constitution was not submitted to the people for ratification, but was declared in force on the day of its publication.

Germany in 1924. A constitution is a framework within which the life of a people may more or less express itself. It will take color, and to some extent even form, from the play of the various forces, political, economic, social, that move the people, that determine the people's actions. The Germany of to-day is a mirror that is blurred, not a clear, sharp picture easily described. The revolution of 1918 was only a half-revolution, which means that the past is still warring with the present for the control of the future. This we see in whichever direction we turn. As no political party possesses a majority either in the Reichstag or in most of the local legislatures, the government is carried on by coalitions whose constituent elements change from time to time. The various parties, those of the right and the left, tend to neutralize each other, and the political education of the German people, so long delayed, is being carried on under difficult conditions. Within the economic sphere the same opposition of interests, the same struggle of contradictory forces for supremacy, show themselves. The organization of German agriculture has not appreciably changed. Large estates have not been cut up into small, as in several other countries. But in the industrial sphere we observe a remarkable development since the armistice, namely an extraordinary growth of colossal industrial combinations, of which those organized by the late Hugo Stinnes (d. 1924) are the most notable, and a rapid extension of trade-unionism. The concentration of industry and the concentration of labor have thus gone on side by side. But there can be no doubt that up to the present the former has been the more successful. At the very moment that the old feudal nobility was swept from its posts of influence by the Revolution, a new financial aristocracy leaped into its place and is

the dominating force in Germany to-day. These financial magnates these big business men, are, generally speaking, supporters of the old régime, potential supporters at least, if not for the moment actively reactionary. The trade-unionists constitute one of the chief mainstays of the new régime and have on one or two occasions shown their power decisively, bringing for instance to a speedy and inglorious end the Kapp-Lüttwitz attempt to overthrow the Republic in 1920, an attempt that forced the government to flee precipitately, first to Dresden, then to Stuttgart, and which then rapidly collapsed owing to the aggressive resistance of the Socialists and trade-unionists. Whether the tendency represented by the trade-unions or that represented by the trust-building capitalists will win control of Germany is one of the absorbing issues of to-day.

Foreign Policy of the Republic. Germany's foreign relations are now largely determined by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. Some of the obligations imposed upon her by that treaty have been discharged; others have been the cause of contention and negotiation between her and the Allies, particularly those concerning reparations. A long series of conferences has been held since the summer of 1919 to consider ways and means of carrying out the stipulations of the treaty, nor is the end yet. In the hope of breaking the treaty Germany has tried to get the support of this state or that, England, Italy, the United States, against the others, but thus far in vain. More and more has she been looking toward Russia as furnishing the most likely ally. Merchants and manufacturers see markets and profits there, whereas military and political reactionaries see the creation of a means of extinguishing Poland, odious to both classes alike. As a beginning in this direction Germany and Russia made a treaty with each other at Rapallo, near Genoa, April 12, 1922, providing for a resumption of relations between them. Each nation agreed to give the other "most-favored-nation" privileges. It is too early to say what the effects of this treaty will be, but it can be safely prophesied that the relations of Germany and Russia, the two most populous states in Europe, will be attentively watched for many years to come by the supporters of the work of the conferences of Paris which both those powers would like to demolish.

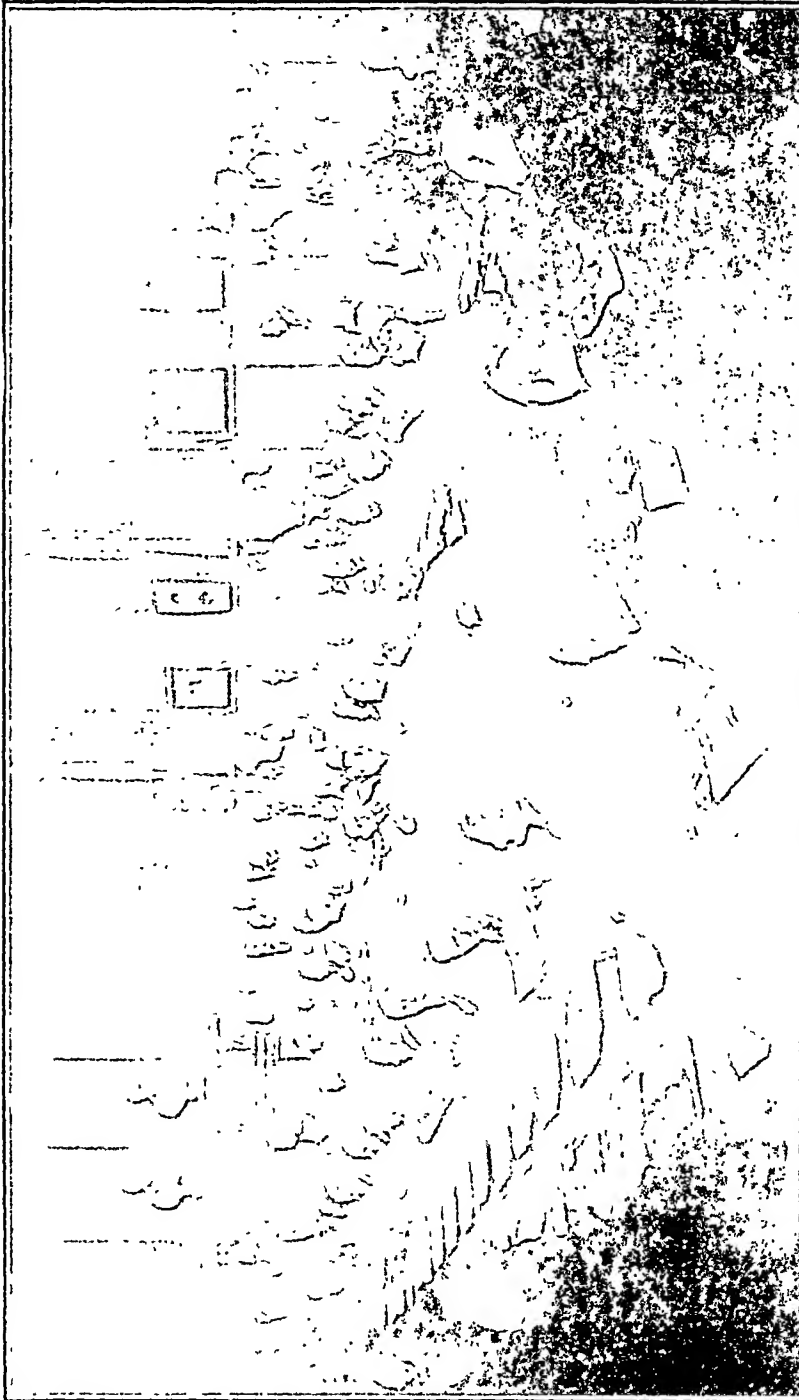
The Political Parties. There are many political parties in Germany, no one of which has a majority. Of these the most impor-

tant are the Nationalists and the Socialists, each with allies or sympathizers in the other groups. The Nationalists form the chief center of reaction in the German Reich. They are the representatives of the old régime in the new Germany. They aim to restore the monarchy and the former military and political power of Germany. They are bitterly opposed to democracy, to Socialism in any of its forms, to the Republic, to the Jews. They denounce the French and the Treaty of Versailles unceasingly and are opposed to those Germans who recommend a conciliatory foreign policy. They seek in every way to discredit the present form of government and constantly contrast the splendor of the Empire with the poverty and misery of the Republic, the good old times with the difficult new times. They seek in every way to prepare the military rehabilitation of Germany, to stimulate the determination to recover the lost provinces, particularly Alsace-Lorraine and Upper Silesia. This party has been increasingly successful in the elections, particularly in those of April, 1924. Should it ever become a majority party the peace of Europe would be menaced.

At the other extreme are the Communists who wish the complete overthrow of the existing political and social and economic order and the establishment of a new world fashioned in the new Russian style. They, too, have gained greatly in the Reichstag elections of April, 1924.

Between the two extreme parties are many others. Of these the Socialists, the Democrats, and the Center, or Catholic, party, have proved vigorous and thus far successful supporters of the Republic, of the new régime. The fundamental problem in Germany to-day is which will win, the Monarchists or the Republicans? The outlook is uncertain, and this fact is shown by the difficulty that is being experienced in forming ministries and by their instability, when formed.

Austria Since the War. Another of the powers defeated in the war was Austria-Hungary. Indeed defeat there attained its maximum, and revolution did the rest. The Dual Monarchy utterly disappeared from the face of the earth and where it once was arose several "succession states," as they are called. Czecho-Slovakia was one, composed of the Slavs of northern Austria and northern Hungary. The southern Slavs of both Austria and Hungary went to swell the Greater Serbia that was rapidly expanding into what



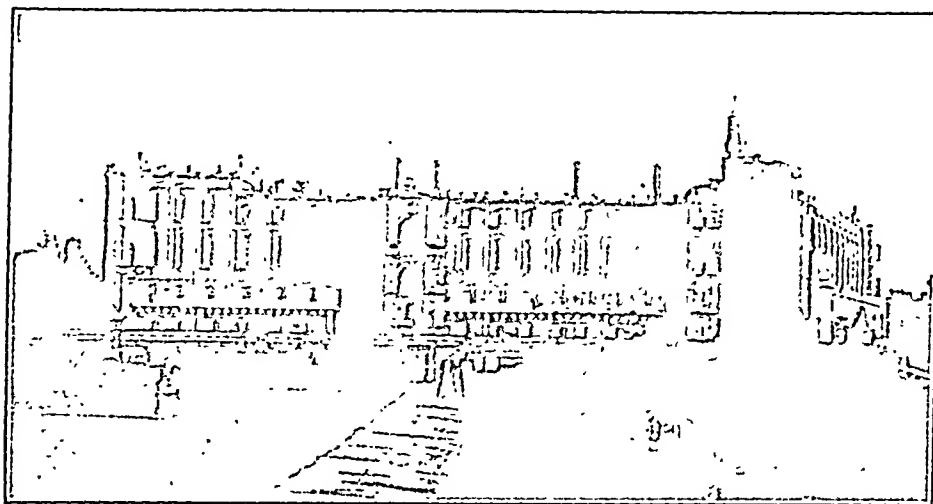
DELIVERING OF THE PEACE TREATY TO THE AUSTRIAN DELEGATES IN THE HALL OF THE STONE AGE IN THE
CHÂTEAU OF SAINT-GERMAIN, JUNE 2, 1919, CLEMENCEAU STANDING IN FRONT OF THE MANTEL
From *L'Illustration*.

is now popularly known as Jugo-Slavia. The Italians of Austria went to enlarge the Kingdom of Italy, the Roumanians of Hungary to enlarge the Kingdom of Roumania, the Poles of Galicia to the new Republic of Poland. What was there left? There were left the German-speaking Austrian duchies, which now became the small Republic of Austria, and the Magyar-speaking people of Hungary, who declared their entire independence of Austria and became a separate and greatly diminished state. This dissolution of the Hapsburg monarchy was spontaneous and rapid and was largely the work of the peoples themselves, who seized the moment of disaster to escape from what the majority of them considered a prison-house. Their action was recognized and regularized by various treaties made in Paris. The last of the Hapsburg rulers, Charles, who had only been on the throne since the death of Francis Joseph in November, 1916, fled to Switzerland after a reign of less than two years, and the ground was left free for the new experiments or the new necessities.

The Republic of Austria. The Republic of Austria was proclaimed on November 12, 1918, by the German-speaking deputies of the former parliament. It was confirmed and its boundaries defined by the Treaty of Saint-Germain. Austria was henceforth to consist of eight provinces, namely Vienna, now set apart as a separate province, Lower Austria, Upper Austria, Vorarlberg, Salzburg, Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, the latter three much reduced from what they had been before the war. Austria had shrunk from 116,000 square miles to 32,000 square miles. She was to be a landlocked state, resembling in this Switzerland, Czecho-Slovakia, and Hungary. Her population had shrunk from about twenty-five million to six and a half million. She had entirely lost her composite character and had become a thoroughly national state, consisting only of the German elements of the former Empire. And not even of all these, for when the Austrian delegation was summoned to Paris to receive the draft of the treaty they were expected to sign they found that Northern Tyrol with its 250,000 intensely loyal German Austrians was to go to Italy and that the 3,000,000 Germans of Bohemia, who hated the Czechs like poison, were to be included in Czecho-Slovakia; that while there was to be henceforth an Italy Redeemed there was to be an Austria Irredenta. This was their first disappointment.

Their second was that Austria was forbidden to become a part of

the German Republic, as she desired. Both countries were required to renounce their plan for union, and the reason was that the Allies had no intention of permitting Germany to come out of the war larger than ever, and more preponderant in Europe. Was she to maintain and even increase her crushing numerical superiority over each of the great Western powers? Germany might lose Alsace-Lorraine and her Danish and Polish provinces but if she could annex Austria she would be more populous than ever and would sit astride central Europe from Hamburg and Bremen nearly to the Adriatic,



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THE CHÂTEAU OF SAINT-GERMAIN

and would be master of the Danube as well as of the rivers flowing north. An exchange of Strasbourg and Posen for the imperial city of Vienna would be willingly accepted as a piece of incredible good luck. This scheme was peremptorily forbidden by the Allies in Paris. Their decision was that Austria should not be allowed to join Germany except with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations whose decision must be unanimous, including, therefore, necessarily the vote of France, which naturally has no interest in seeing her neighbor magnified.

The Constitution of Austria. The political structure of the Republic of Austria is laid down in the new constitution, which went into force on October 1, 1920. It provides for a parliament of two houses, for universal suffrage, women as well as men having the vote

at the age of twenty-one. The two houses combined elect the president of the republic, whose term is for four years and may be once renewed. Members of reigning or formerly reigning houses are not eligible to the presidency. The first president elected under this constitution was Dr. Michael Hainisch, by profession a lawyer, a man who had held many offices under the old Empire and was the author of many books on sociology and politics.

Since December, 1920, Austria has been a member of the League of Nations and it is the League which to-day is gradually effecting, with apparent success, the financial and economic rehabilitation of this reduced and impoverished state.

Hungary Since the War. Hungary, another of the defeated states, issued from the revolutionary hurricane that closed the war a republic, entirely separated from Austria. It, too, was compelled to make peace with its enemies, and the result was the Treaty of the Trianon (1920). To Roumania, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Austria it was forced to yield important territories. Through the loss of these territories Hungary has become one of the smallest states in central Europe. Instead of an area of 125,000 square miles, it now has one of 35,000 square miles; instead of a population of about twenty-one million, it now has one of about eight.

Count Michael Karolyi. Hungary's history since the war has been troubled. Proclaimed a People's Republic on November 16, 1918, power passed immediately from the hands of the old governing classes into those representing the democracy. Count Michael Karolyi became president and his government lasted about four months, until March 22, 1919, when it gave way to a Communist régime. Count Karolyi belonged by birth and fortune to the great Magyar nobility but, a radical in politics, he was regarded as a traitor to his class, and was consequently bitterly hated by it, for he, a great landowner, a born aristocrat, had for years advocated the emancipation of the peasants, the division of the big estates, and universal suffrage, things utterly odious to the reigning oligarchy. He now added to his enormities, in their eyes, by proposing the recognition of the non-Magyar nationalities and the transformation of Hungary into a federation which would assure those nationalities their rights. Denounced as a conscienceless demagogue and popularity-hunter by his fellow-nobles, as a man without honor or principles, willing to sacrifice his country for personal advantage, he appears to the out-

sider as a man of generous ideas, ideas which ought in large part to have been adopted long before for the well-being of Hungary. But he was not a man of sufficient force to dominate a crisis and to lay the foundations of a new society in a time of turmoil, and he soon disappeared from the scene, having accomplished little.

The Reign of the Communists. Karolyi was succeeded by Béla Kun and his cohorts of "Reds" or Communists. A soviet system in the Russian style was soon set up and although it lasted only from the end of March to the first of August, 1919, it wrote a sorry and an ugly chapter of Hungarian history. Born in 1886 of a Jewish family named Cohen, Kun had, after a somewhat shady past, finally become a journalist. Enrolled in the Hungarian army during the war he had been taken prisoner by the Russians. While in Russia he had become indoctrinated with Bolshevistic theories. He now leaped into power as the result of an insurrection which he organized. He did not become the official head of the state, — a stone-mason named Garbai was made President of the Republic, — but Kun took control of the Foreign Office and was the real director of the government. Measures were taken to destroy the existing political and economic system and to set up a communistic one, with the dictatorship of the proletariat. All private property was declared to be the property of the state. This experiment could only be made if accompanied by a reign of terror, and "terror troops" were accordingly organized under Szamuely, one of the most repulsive figures thrown up by this convulsion. This Communist régime was a fiasco, but it disorganized the industrial life of the nation, with consequent widespread suffering. Many people were ruined, many were executed. This odious and vulgar tyranny was overthrown after four months of crimes, Béla Kun escaping to Russia, Szamuely committing suicide.

End of the Hungarian Republic. The evil of unbridled radicalism is that it is apt to generate an excessive movement in the opposite direction. This happened in this instance. The Red Terror was shortly succeeded by the White Terror. The former governing classes recovered their control, declared that Hungary was a monarchy and elected Admiral Horthy regent (March, 1920). Thus ended the Hungarian Republic. The monarch Charles IV was, to be sure, living in exile in Switzerland. But he had not abdicated.

Death of Charles IV. One reason why Charles was not living in the massive palace that crowns the hill of Buda was that the powers in Paris had declared that they would not tolerate a restoration of the Hapsburgs, and another was that the Little Entente, consisting of Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, and Roumania, had signified the same resolution. Charles, however, made two attempts in the course of the year 1921 to recover his throne. Both failed and, after the second one, he was taken prisoner and was sent to the island of Madeira, where on April 1, 1922, he suddenly died of pneumonia at the age of thirty-five, leaving as his heir and claimant an eight-year-old boy, Prince Otto.

Hungary a Monarchy. Hungary is therefore a kingdom once more, but without a king. The old governing forces are back in power again, more bitter than ever because of their recent experiences. Resenting bitterly the humiliation of her present position, the sight of her former vassals, Slovaks, Roumanians, Southern Slavs, victorious and elated, who have risen as she has fallen, intensely conscious of departed glories, of a history of a thousand years of independence always practically within the same spacious boundaries, now torn and shattered, Hungary has bent before the storm which has passed over her, but is only biding her time. Surrounded by states which have rapidly grown great at her expense, she refuses to accept her fate, is overwhelmingly monarchical in sentiment and is, it may quite safely be said, resolved to reopen the case and reverse the decision whenever a favorable opportunity arises. Hungary is one of the danger spots of Europe.

Bulgaria Since the War. Two other states that threw in their lot with the Central Powers during the war experienced the unpleasant consequences of defeat, Bulgaria and Turkey. The King of Bulgaria, Ferdinand, a German prince, plunged his country into the conflict because he thought he saw an excellent chance to take revenge upon his neighbors for the humiliation of the Second Balkan War of 1913, and to make his state predominant in the peninsula. But before Ferdinand took the step which was to prove so fatal to his extravagant hopes and so costly for his people, he was obliged to listen for a few moments to a man who was unafraid and who drew a very different horoscope. Alexander Stambulisky, a peasant by birth, an able leader of the peasants' party, told the King to his face that the people were still suffering from the catastrophe of 1913 which

he had caused, that they had lost all confidence in him, and that, should he repeat his criminal act of plunging them into war, he would lose his throne, if not his head. For this freedom of utterance Stambulisky was immediately sentenced to imprisonment for life and was kept in close and painful confinement for three years, only finally to be released by events which he had foreseen with such clear vision. The honors in prophecy ultimately went to the bold, blunt peasant rather than to the self-complacent and vain-glorious King.

Bulgaria Sues for Peace. When the turn of the tide in the great world conflict occurred in the autumn of 1918, Bulgaria was the first of the Central Powers to sue for peace. Her King, who had played for high stakes, having lost them, abdicated and left his capital, amid the complete indifference of his people, who expressed neither joy nor sorrow. The ministers fled. Stambulisky was released from his prison and became prime minister. As such he signed the Treaty of Neuilly which obliged Bulgaria to make certain cessions of territory to Roumania, Serbia, and Greece, to pay reparations for the damage she had done, and to limit her army henceforth to 33,000 men.

Accession of Boris III. The defeat of Bulgaria brought with it the overthrow of the old régime and the beginning of a new one. The abdication of Ferdinand was followed shortly by the accession of his son, Boris III, a youth of nineteen who saw that he could retain his throne only by conforming his conduct to the wishes of his people, by being a democratic sovereign, a king of peasants. For the overwhelming mass of Bulgarians were owners and tillers of the soil. Agriculture is the chief occupation of the people. Bulgaria is a land of farms, most of which are small.

The Peasantry in Power. A new direction was now given to public policy by the advent of the peasant's party to power. Bulgaria became the typical peasant government of Europe. Its prime minister, Stambulisky, was a peasant by birth, and other ministers were also peasants and the program of reconstruction and national development which was now adopted revolved about the peasant and his problems. The peasants of Bulgaria hated Russian Communism, they believed intensely in private property, being themselves property owners. They wished to raise the masses, who in several countries are agricultural, not industrial masses, materially, intellectually, spiritually. They aspired to make their movement,

often called "Green Socialism," international, as the interests of the peasants everywhere were, they said, fundamentally the same.

This was a movement of undeniable interest. From 1919 to 1923 Stambulisky was its leader, its driving force. For that reason he was bitterly opposed by the former governing classes, by the bourgeoisie who regarded his rule as arbitrary and oppressive, and was particularly hated by all who had been responsible for Bulgaria's entrance into, and her conduct during, the war, and upon whom heavy punishments were imposed by the party now in power. Stambulisky was the storm center of all these passions, and he was marked for destruction.

This interesting experiment in peasant statecraft and social ordering was destined to a sudden end. At three o'clock in the morning of June 9, 1923, the Bulgarian Government was overthrown by a *coup d'état*. All the ministers, with the exception of the premier, who was absent from the capital, were arrested by army officers and a new set of ministers was installed in their places. Professor H. Zankoff, of the University of Sofia, became prime minister and was surrounded and supported by a coalition of all the parties except the Agrarian and the Communist. Stambulisky, head of the late government, was killed on June 14, as an incident of a fight between some of his adherents and the troops of the new government. This is the official statement, but it is by no means certain that he was not simply assassinated. Thus the peasantry of Bulgaria lost the ablest leader they had ever had. Power passed from the hands of those who had dominated the country since the war into the hands of those who were their bitter enemies, who had been, and were apparently to continue to be, their chief victims, the bourgeois. For the Stambulisky régime had ignored the bourgeois, except as tax-payers. If the latter, who now seized control by the dark and desperate device of a *coup d'état*, should show a similar narrowness and intolerance, they might find that, after all, authority so gained is ephemeral. For a government, to be stable, must recognize that a nation is composed of many and various elements, a fact which victorious parties, the world over, are too little inclined to remember, often to their own ultimate undoing.

Turkey Since the War. While the victorious Allies were able, after the armistice, to make peace with reasonable celerity with most of their late enemies, while the new boundaries of the nations

were set up generally and the new institutions attained a certain fixity, in one quarter of the much-distracted globe conditions long remained largely fluid and uncertain, peace hung fire. For various reasons peace was not made with Turkey for nearly five years after the close of the war. Into this complicated chapter of history, full of surprises as it is, of revolutions within revolutions, we cannot go. We can only summarize the situation when peace was finally signed and sealed in the Treaty of Lausanne, July 24, 1923. By that treaty Turkey retains Constantinople, which at one time she seemed about to lose, and Eastern Thrace up to the Maritza River. On the other hand her participation in the war had cost her the vast stretches of the Arabic portion of her empire, Syria, now a French mandate under the League of Nations, Palestine, a British mandate under the same, likewise Mesopotamia, which, though transformed into the Kingdom of Irak, still remained under British influence, and the independent Kingdom of the Hedjaz in the Arabian peninsula. In other words, Turkey had lost about a third of the population and about half the area she had possessed in 1914. She was now limited to Asia Minor and to Constantinople and a little strip of European soil, Eastern Thrace.

This greatly reduced and impoverished and backward state has not only lost much territory, but she has undergone a sweeping internal revolution. The historic Turkish state has disappeared. The House of Osman has ceased to rule, as have the Houses of Hapsburg, Hohenzollern, and Romanoff. The Sultanate has been abolished, the last Sultan dethroned and driven into exile. The Califate has been suppressed. The very name "Ottoman Empire" has been discarded in favor of the designation "Turkey." Turkey is now a republic and its capital is Angora, a wretched village in the heart of Asia Minor, not Constantinople, an imperial city, richly historic and far-famed. All power, executive as well as legislative, is vested in a Grand National Assembly, elected by the voters. This is now the unique authority in Turkey, choosing the members of the cabinet, one of whom is president. This strangely altered state is seeking to eliminate all traces of foreign control and has already gone far in that direction. It is also seeking to modernize itself by the adoption of certain European customs and institutions. What the outcome will be no man can tell. But here at any rate is another illustration of the power of transformation that lies in a long, exhausting, and disastrous war.

The Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. We have thus far been considering only those states which have experienced the destructive or revolutionary effects of defeat. But the war, while for them destructive, was for others creative. Three new states of importance sprang into existence as a result of the overthrow of the Central Powers, Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Jugo-Slavia, and must henceforth be reckoned with. All three were composed of Slavic peoples long held in subjection or in restraint. For many millions of Slavs, indeed, the World War proved a war of liberation. From its outcome they drew their independence. One of the most significant and promising of these is the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, and also one of the least known. Even its very name is new. Men had long known of the Kingdom of Bohemia, of its geographical situation, of its history. Why was not this historic and famous name retained when the time came to give this country once more the independence it had long possessed and which it had lost four centuries earlier? It was not retained because the new republic was to be no mere restoration of former Bohemia but was to be something very different. Bohemia was to be not only the kernel but a large part of the new state, but it was not to be all of it. There was to be added to it Slovakia, a region in northern Hungary, which the Magyars had conquered and held since the tenth century, as the Hapsburgs had held Bohemia since 1526. The Czechs of Bohemia and the Slovaks of Hungary had not for a thousand years been united with each other, yet they were sister races, speaking practically the same language, although with variations. Each of these two closely related branches of the Slavic family saw in the World War the opportunity for liberation, the one from the control of the Austrians, the other from the control of the Magyars. But each saw that, without the other, it would be numerically so weak and geographically so exposed to attack that it would be unable long to maintain its independence, even if acquired. The fusion of the two was essential to both. Self-interest of the most obvious sort prompted their union and will prove the strongest force in perpetuating it, capable of counteracting, in all probability, the friction that may arise between two peoples which, though related, have had different histories and been subjected to different formative influences.

The Boundaries of Czecho-Slovakia. The boundaries of the new state were determined by the peace treaties of Versailles, Saint-

Germain, Trianon. The Czecho-Slovak Republic, as thus delineated, has a population of about 14,000,000 and an area about the size of the state of New York, or of England and Wales. It is about six hundred miles long from west to east and at its maximum breadth about a hundred and eighty miles wide. Like the former Austria, to which it is one of the successors, it is a polyglot state. Of its fourteen million inhabitants, thirty-five per cent are neither Czechs nor Slovaks. About three million are Germans, about 750,000 are Magyars (in Slovakia), and nearly half a million are Ruthenians or Little Russians. Thus the new state confronted from the outset one of the most contentious and difficult problems within the field of government, the problem, that is, of making peoples of different race and different speech, each with its history of wrongs inflicted or endured, coöperate together harmoniously in the building up of the commonwealth. Austria had failed to solve this problem and had gone to smash, in some measure because of that very failure. Would Czecho-Slovakia be wiser in its methods and happier in its achievements than had its predecessor, or would the issue be the same, bitter racial and nationalistic hatreds and rivalries culminating at the propitious moment in convulsions and collapse?

The Constitution. The constitution of Czecho-Slovakia bears the date of February 29, 1920. It shows conspicuously the influence of French and American example. The American principle of the division of powers into the legislative, the executive, and the judicial is applied. The organs of government are a president and a parliament consisting of two houses, a Senate and a Chamber of Deputies. The constitution may be revised by a majority of two-thirds of the total membership in each of the two chambers.

The President of the Republic is chosen for seven years by the two chambers meeting together as a National Assembly. He may be reëlected for a second term, but he may not be chosen for a third until after an interval of at least seven years. This restriction does not apply to the first president, Masaryk, for whom a special exception is made because of the high regard in which he is universally held.

The Chamber of Deputies consists of 300 members elected for six years; the Senate of 150 members elected for eight years. Women may vote and may be chosen to either chamber under the same conditions as men. Universal suffrage exists, and voting is not only direct and secret but is also obligatory.

Czecho-Slovak Foreign Policy. A tree is judged by its fruits. Thus far this new state has given an excellent account of itself. Both in foreign and domestic affairs it has been prudent and circumspect. The consolidation of the new European order, born of the war and defined by the treaties that ended it, has necessarily been the basic principle of its foreign policy. A child of Allied victory it can only continue to live if the treaties that define that victory are observed. Czecho-Slovakia is therefore the enemy of all those who would revise or destroy what are, in fact, her title deeds. Also, as a member of the Little Entente, she is pledged to help prevent a restoration of the House of Hapsburg to the throne of Hungary, as, once restored, that House would be driven to attempt to recover its other lost possessions. Thus Czecho-Slovakia will always be found co-operating with those who wish to maintain the post-war treaties and opposed to those who may seek to upset the rearrangement of Central Europe which rests upon them.

Domestic Policy. Within the sphere of domestic politics much has been achieved since 1918 and much is in process of being achieved. The statesmen of Czecho-Slovakia are engaged in making a modern democratic nation. The treatment of minority races, Germans, Magyars, Little Russians, is liberal. Schools have been established in large numbers, particularly in Slovakia where for forty years under Magyar rule there was not a single secondary school using the Slovak language and where consequently the condition of popular education was deplorable. Land reforms are being carried through, based upon the division of large estates and aiming at the increase of the number and prosperity of peasant proprietors. Much other legislation of a social and economic nature has been passed since the revolution of 1918, laws establishing the eight-hour day for those engaged in industry and agriculture (with certain exceptions), social insurance laws, laws concerning housing problems, laws concerning railroads and canals.

Of all the states that have inherited all or part of their territory from the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Czecho-Slovakia is from the economic point of view the richest and most progressive. Her activity, about equally divided between industry and agriculture, has made her the most prosperous of the Austrian lands, a prosperity she is bent upon increasing, now that independence has given her the charge of her own destinies.

President Masaryk. Like the United States, Czecho-Slovakia is extremely fortunate in the character and ability of her first president, Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, the man who, by universal acclaim was made the head of the state when she became independent, a person exceptionally equipped for the position to which he was called. For Masaryk was a man of the widest cultivation, knowing



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PRESIDENT MASARYK

England and Germany from long periods of residence in them and from deep study, thoroughly familiar with the history of French thought and with current French ideas, the author of an important book on *The Spirit of Russia*, a study of the history and philosophy and religion and politics of a country for which he had always felt the liveliest interest, thoroughly conversant with Austro-Hungarian and Balkan problems, and well acquainted with the New World through his marriage to an American lady. Masaryk, as another has said, was, when the crisis of his life came; "better prepared than perhaps any statesman of his time to grapple with the great

European problems which the war had raised." Respected for his absolute honesty and sincerity, personifying the highest qualities and ideals of his race, a man of Spartan tastes, indifferent to popularity, he had this additional title to the regard of his countrymen that in 1916 he had been condemned to death by the Austrian government and that as a method of intimidating him, he being safe abroad, his daughter, Dr. Alice Masaryk, had been imprisoned, and had remained without trial in solitary confinement for nearly a year, only released finally as a consequence of the indignant protests of certain women's societies of America. It is no occasion for surprise that since Czecho-

Slovakia has achieved her independence she has named her loftiest mountain peak, and also her university at Brunn, after her first president.

The Republic of Poland. The appearance of Poland at the Conference of Paris as a sovereign state was one of the most impressive and spirit-stirring events of our age. A nation which had had a great and memorable history and which had then undergone vivisection at the hands of its neighbors came to life again. Time has, now and then, its revenges, and this was one of the strangest. It had taken a century and a quarter for the wheel of fortune to make a complete revolution. The wonder is that it was able to make it at all.

The Poles and the World War. The declaration of war in August, 1914, opened up for the Poles a gloomy and an agonizing prospect. After a century and more of grievous oppression, they saw themselves herded together in the ranks of the German, Austrian, and Russian armies, about to be hurled in fratricidal strife, brother pitted against brother, and both against their mother country. What hope was there for the Poles in such a war? If the Central Powers should win, Russia might be compelled to give up her Poles, but who would get them, if not the Austrians and Germans? If Austria and Germany should lose, would not the outcome be merely the reverse, subjection to Russia instead of to Austria and Germany?

The only hope for the Poles in the war was that both sides, Russia on the one hand, and Germany and Austria on the other, should come out of it defeated. And such a hope could not reasonably be entertained, so preposterous it seemed. Nevertheless, the preposterous happened. Russia was defeated by the Central Powers and compelled to sign the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The Central Powers were defeated by the Allies and compelled to sign the Versailles and other treaties. The ground was cleared for a new structure, and one more substantial and more comfortable for its occupants than that whose uncertain and shadowy plans had, during the war, been dangled before them by their oppressors.

Joseph Pilsudski. Poland's independence was proclaimed on November 9, 1918, the day when William II was fleeing in an automobile to Holland and when the thrones of Germany were falling "in cascades." Five days later General Joseph Pilsudski, freed from

Magdeburg prison where he had been confined by the Germans for more than fifteen months, assumed, in response to the practically unanimous voice of the Polish people, the leadership in the state. Though quite unknown outside of Poland, Pilsudski was known to every Pole because of his services in creating, against great odds, the Polish army, and he was regarded as the natural and predestined chief, the first President of the Republic of Poland. This was not the first time, as, for instance, was shown by the history of America, when a trusted military leader had become the chief political factor in the state. One of Pilsudski's early acts in his new position was the appointment as prime minister of the man who was in the opinion of the world Poland's most widely-known and most distinguished citizen, Ignace Paderewski, a great musician, an intense patriot, and, as events were now to show, a diplomat and statesman of worth. These two men were greatly instrumental in launching the new craft and then, for various reasons, were succeeded by others in the work of navigating it.

The Boundaries of Poland. The determination of the boundaries of the new Poland was a long-drawn-out and extremely complicated task. Begun at the Conference of Paris in 1919, it was not ended until the spring of 1923. This involved chapter cannot be narrated here. It was characterized by recurrent crises, one of which took the form of a war with Bolshevist Russia in 1920, when the Russians advanced to within twelve miles of Warsaw and when it seemed as if the republic was about to collapse, a fate that was averted by the high spirit of the Poles, assisted by the French.

Importance of Poland. The new Poland may become, under favoring conditions, almost a Great Power. In area it is the sixth state of contemporary Europe and covers about 150,000 square miles. Only Russia, Germany, France, Great Britain, and Spain are larger in territory. Poland's population, as shown by the first census (1921) taken since independence was achieved, exceeds 27,000,000, placing her fifth among the states of the Continent, outranking Spain. Her natural resources are rich and varied. Her forests are extensive and her soil is naturally fertile. Important deposits of coal and oil, of zinc and lead, of salt and potash render possible a large industrial development, which, indeed, had successfully begun under Russian and Prussian rule. Warsaw in 1921 had a population of over 900,000 and Lodz, the chief manufacturing

center, of nearly half a million. Animated by the stirring and poignant memories of a great and tragic past, stubborn and unshaken in devotion to the national ideals, Poland has awakened from the long period of subjection, and, elate with the newly acquired freedom and independence, presses forward with eagerness and hopefulness to her new destinies, whatever they may be.

The Problems Confronting Poland. Poland confronts many difficult problems and certain serious dangers. Called into renewed existence by the victory of the Allies, that existence will be threatened by anything that may undermine the harmony of the Allies in their determination to preserve the new European order which their victory has brought forth and which is embodied in the various treaties. Created at the expense of Germany and Russia and Austria, out of territories long ruled by them, Poland has, in those three powers, the possible and even probable enemies of the future. The enmity of Austria may be disregarded because of the utter collapse and impotence of that state. But a reorganized and ambitious Russia would constitute a formidable danger toward the east, and Germany, it may be affirmed with practical certitude, is and will remain the sworn enemy of Poland, hating her very existence, and resolved, when conditions favor it, to end it. Should either neighbor attack her or, more serious still, should both combine, they might repeat in the twentieth century the notorious achievement of the eighteenth and a new partition might result. Poland's independence could only be safeguarded by outside assistance.

Internal Complications. There are complications, also, of an internal nature, which throw many a shadow before her. One of these is the difficulty of welding together into a firm and homogeneous unity three very dissimilar sections, each of which has had a different history and been long subjected to different formative influences, which had left a distinct trace behind. Before the war there had been three Polands, Russian Poland, the largest, with Warsaw as its center, Austrian Poland, or Galicia, with its capital at Cracow, and Prussian Poland, revolving about the city of Posen. Each section had lived under a different régime for well over a hundred years and the impress of so long a period could not fail to be profound. The laws, the institutions, the economic conditions, the policies of each of the three partitioning powers had differed, and the three groups of the same family had lived a different

life. The result was a more or less different mentality and outlook and competence characterizing each group.

The three sections were unlike each other socially, politically, economically. They had lived side by side but more or less as strangers to each other. Could they be fused into a single family, with a single individuality?

The Task of Reconstruction. Many and insistent were the problems confronting Poland at the outset of her new career, the problem of the land, the problem of racial minorities, particularly a serious Jewish problem. Everything had to be created and that, too, quickly. The state itself, the army, the educational system, systems of taxation, of law, of administration, measures of relief for a people that had suffered desperately from the war, all must be improvised, and improvisation means haste and waste. The vast work of reconstruction must be begun forthwith by a people that was utterly impoverished, whose fields had been ravaged, whose industries had been destroyed, whose tools and machines had been stolen or wrecked, whose factories had in many cases been burned or blown up by the Germans, whose railroads and highways had gone, for long stretches, to rack and ruin. How to build a habitable home for the new nation when most of the means were lacking, how to restore the agencies of an ordered and efficient economic and social life in a land whose people were very poor and very hungry, that was the problem.

But the Poles went at it undismayed. The clearing away of the colossal wreckage, the building up of the new social fabric would require years and years, but the labor was begun on the morrow of the armistice and is being prosecuted with energy and courage.

The Rise of Jugo-Slavia. Another astonishing result of this epochal war was the creation in the Balkans of a great state composed of most of the Southern Slavs, "the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes," for such is the awkward but official title of this new member of the family of nations. The name by which the busy world, with less accuracy but with more speed, calls this new community is Jugo-Slavia, land of the Southern Slavs, Jugo meaning southern. Northern Slavs are those who live in Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia. Southern are those who live in the Balkans and in the southern sections of former Austria and Hungary.

The Attainment of Independence. The story of the attainment of independence and unity by the Poles and by the Czechoslovaks, complicated enough, is simple in comparison with that of the Jugo-Slavs. Here we have confusion worse confounded, wheels within wheels, most admired disorder, a riot of forces working at cross purposes. The Southern Slavs had never lived together, had never constituted a state but had been split and shivered into many fragments, by natural processes and by artificial, and had been treated very variously, and generally very badly, in the rough and tumble of existence.

Into this jungle of history we will not seek to enter. Suffice it to say that with the collapse of Austria-Hungary came the liberation of perhaps eight million Southern Slavs who then proceeded to unite with the Slavs of the Kingdom of Serbia, whose growth through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries we have traced. Thus was formed what is practically a new state, recognized by the powers assembled at Paris. A new constitution was, after much labor, drawn up and went into force on June 28, 1921. The state thus created consists of two former independent kingdoms, Serbia and Montenegro, and of Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, of three or four small sections of western Bulgaria, acquired on the ground of necessary frontier rectification, and of a part of the Banat of Temesvar, a region of former Hungary, now divided with Roumania. The new state has a population of about 12,000,000, whereas Serbia at the outbreak of the war had one of about 4,000,000. Jugo-Slavia does not include all the Southern Slavs, though it does include a large majority. Five or six hundred thousand Slavs are now subject to the House of Savoy, and about 5,000,000 form the independent state of Bulgaria. Nor does Jugo-Slavia include only Southern Slavs. Within the new state are perhaps 450,000 Germans, about the same number of Magyars, 150,000 Roumanians, and 250,000 Albanians. These racial minorities, though not relatively large, may give trouble in the future, as may also the small Bulgarian districts on the eastern border, taken for strategic reasons.

Dangers Confronting Jugo-Slavia. Whether the unity of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes is as strong and deep as the leaders of the Jugo-Slav movement have assured the world, whether it can stand the strain of the acute party and local conflicts which have hitherto been customary in the Balkans and to which it will in-

evitably be exposed, whether the fusion of the constituent elements is increasing in completeness and will continue to increase, are questions as difficult to answer as they are vital in character. Certain it is that there is a lively demand in Croatia and Slovenia for a larger measure of autonomy than that provided by the constitution. This demand may prove strong enough to force a revision of the constitution in the direction of a looser federalism; it may conceivably lead to civil dissension and even to the disruption of the state; or the disaffection may prove but temporary and may be assuaged by some less extreme adjustment. All that can be done here is to indicate the cloud upon the horizon, without attempting to say whether it will expand or disappear.

The foreign policy of Jugo-Slavia is that represented by the Little Entente, one of whose members she is. She has also signed with Italy an agreement for common action in case any attempt should be made to restore the Hapsburgs to the throne of Austria or of Hungary.

Jugo-Slavia a Land of Peasants. Jugo-Slavia is largely an agricultural country and in most sections the land is held in small properties by the peasants. In her forests and her mines she has immense resources, as yet largely undeveloped. She is poorly provided with railroads. Illiteracy is very high. That the work of economic exploitation may proceed capital is necessary and capital is very difficult for a small, partially devastated, and newly founded country to secure. Jugo-Slavia confronts many and serious difficulties. But she has in the past confronted difficulties even more serious and has conquered them.

Other Creations of the War. We have thus passed in review the fortunes of the powers that were defeated in the late war and of the more important new states that were the by-products of that war. It has seemed wise to treat these matters somewhat at length, as they constitute the most sweeping changes caused by that epochal struggle, and as an understanding of those changes is essential to any one desirous of following intelligently the events of the world as they unroll from day to day. Other matters, in themselves often of great importance, must not of course be ignored, but can only be treated briefly. As we look around the horizon of Europe we see significant changes everywhere but in a book of this scope only a few of these can be indicated. Other states than those already mentioned

have been created or have been greatly enlarged as a result of the World War, and still others have experienced the shock of revolution and present a very different appearance from that which they presented in the year 1914, that great turning-point in modern history. Thus out of the disintegration of Russia have arisen the Republic of Finland, a state now independent after a century's subjection to the House of Romanoff, a state of about three and a half million inhabitants; the Republic of Latvia, a little larger than Vermont, with a population of about two million; the Republic of Esthonia, about twice as large as Massachusetts and with a population of somewhat more than a million; the Republic of Lithuania, about the size of our state of Georgia and with a population of two million and a quarter. Among the states that have been enlarged is Roumania, more than doubled in size and in population since 1914, by the acquisition of Transylvania from Hungary and Bessarabia from Russia. Roumania is to-day nearly as large as New Mexico and has a population of over seventeen million. In acquiring these extensive territories she has acquired about 3,750,000 non-Roumanians, namely about 1,500,000 Magyars, 400,000 Germans, and 750,000 Jews. In annexing these racial minorities she has annexed a perplexing problem. Among the states that have experienced internal revolution is Greece which after several years of very troubled history, marked by extraordinary vicissitudes and sensational reverses, has finally, after banishing her royal house, become a republic (1924).

Soviet Russia. No country in Europe has in our day experienced so complete a revolution, has broken so violently with the past as has Russia. We have already traced the events of the fateful year 1917, the forced abdication of the Emperor Nicholas II in March, the party struggles that ensued, and the seizure of control by the Bolsheviki before the year was out. Since November, 1917, the Bolsheviki have ruled Russia with an iron hand. The Emperor and all his family were put to death in July, 1918. Opponents of whatever kind have been ruthlessly suppressed. Having seized power by a military *coup d'état*, the Bolshevist or Communist party, which on its own showing has never numbered more than 600,000 members, only a fraction of them active, has since 1917 maintained a dictatorship over more than 130,000,000 people. It has gradually developed agencies of self-protection, a highly centralized administrative system with an immense number of officials under its control, a Red

Army, and a secret police and espionage system, carried out by a body known as the Extraordinary Commission, or Che-ka, a sort of revolutionary tribunal with indefinite powers of inquisition, with its agents everywhere, its torture chambers and its prisons, its summary processes. Established "to combat counter-revolution" the Che-ka counts its victims by the tens of thousands. The Secret Police under the rule of the Tsars was not so sinister or so irresponsible a body.

The Bolshevik Reign of Terror. Using such instruments a small minority has been able to establish a tyranny which has never been surpassed in thoroughness or in scope in the history of the world. Having seized power by force that minority has used its power ruthlessly in order to preserve its acquired position. Organized terror has been its method, frankly admitted by the authors of the policy, though often denied by their foreign sympathizers. "No dictatorship of the proletariat is to be thought of without terror and violence," is one of Lenin's illuminating utterances, and another is, 'We are firmly for the Red Terror against the capitalist class.'

These utterances indicate the thought behind the system. The Bolsheviks, men of a theory, intended to carry out that theory at once, cost what it might. The theory was Communism, that is, the destruction of the existing economic system of private property and private enterprise and the erection in its place of a socialistic system. As the immense majority of the people did not yet believe in Communism this work must be done by the enlightened minority. There must be a dictatorship by the few for the sake of the proletariat. The Bolsheviks rejected democracy and parliamentary institutions, as superstitions of the middle classes, classes which must be swept aside, with all their works, as it was they who were the employers, that is, the "exploiters," of the masses.

Destruction of the Middle Classes. The Bolsheviks have effectively destroyed the upper and middle classes, by taking away their property, by reducing them to starvation or to exile, by denying them any share in the state, by depriving them not only of the suffrage, but of all positive political or civil rights, and by numberless acts of great or petty tyranny. Announcing in the first article of the constitution that private property in land was abolished without compensation, that the entire land of Russia was national property, that "all forests, treasures of the earth, and waters of general public

utility, all implements whether animate or inanimate" belonged to the nation, the new government indicated sufficiently its program of "socialization," that is, the seizure of all private property and the vesting of it all henceforth in the nation, not only land, but factories, mills, mines, railways, banks, as well. Such was the ideal, the goal to be reached as quickly as possible. The "parasitic strata" of society must be eliminated. Only thus could "the liberation of the toiling masses from the yoke of capital" be achieved.

Confiscation of Private Property. The work of "liberation" had already begun before the Bolshevik seizure of power. The estates of the great landowners had been seized by the peasants on the morrow of the overthrow of the Tsar, and had been divided up among themselves. The result was the transfer to a new set of people of probably 135,000,000 acres of land. The aristocracy was ruined. The land was later officially declared nationalized.

The nationalization of industries was a more complicated matter, but on June 28, 1918, all factories were declared "nationalized," that is, confiscated. As a matter of fact the state took over only those factories which were large and well equipped, leaving the smaller ones in the hands of the owners. Thus was the ruin of the middle classes accomplished. Henceforth state ownership and control of the principal means of production, of distribution and exchange — such was the economic system set up by the Soviet Government.

Commerce was also nationalized. The commercial fleet was declared national property. All stores, big and little, were closed and their contents confiscated by the state. Private trading was made punishable with heavy fines and imprisonment, and in this domain, as in the domain of agriculture and industry, terror was the order of the day.

Agricultural, industrial, and commercial nationalization led Russia straight to disaster. The economic life of the country was utterly demoralized and distress became general and intense. Production of food supplies, of manufactured articles fell off alarmingly, and a people which needed more of these things had less. Famine came and was relieved somewhat only by foreign charity. In view of these unwelcome facts the Bolshevik authorities adopted what they called a New Economic Policy. This represented a limited compromise with the enemy, that is, with capitalism, a restricted concession to the principle of private property and private gain. But

even this concession was in part to be withdrawn after the death, in 1924, of Lenin, the master machinist of the socialistic "system" of production, and socialistic theories were to be more rigorously applied. Although during the seven years that have elapsed since 1917 there have been many variations in the policy of the Communist dictators, in fundamentals there has been no change, no renunciation of Bolshevik ideals, no cessation of Bolshevik propaganda in other countries. The political and economic system of Communism, based upon the denial of democracy and of private property, still continues.

Russia, having repudiated her debts, has tried and is now trying to borrow of those who in other countries possess capital, the thing against which she has waged such successful war at home. Thus far foreign capitalists have proved quite cold to such requests.

The Present Situation in Russia. Russia is to-day a very different country from what she was in 1914. Her area is much reduced. Her population has shrunk from a hundred and eighty million to about a hundred and thirty. No country has in modern times experienced so violent or so complete a break with its past. The Romanoffs are gone, the nobility is ruined and killed or scattered. The elements of a monarchical reaction are few and apparently impotent. The land has been divided quite beyond recall, it is reasonably safe to say. The bourgeoisie has been crushed and perhaps half of its members are eating the bitter bread of exile. This colossal emigration of the bourgeoisie is a very serious matter as robbing the country of the ability, the training, the technical equipment, the enterprise of an educated class, never very large in Russia, a class which will be sorely needed in the work of future national restoration. The class of industrialists, which had sprung up only during the last two or three decades of the Empire, has been swept away by the destruction of industry. The industrial working classes have lost the gains they so painfully acquired in the Factory Acts of the closing nineteenth and opening twentieth centuries, and have been frightfully worn down by the present misgovernment. The men of the liberal professions have been decimated, the intellectual, literary, and scientific world has been bereft of many, if not of most, of its men of achievement and promise. Russia, which will need leaders in the future as never before, will have increased difficulty in finding them.

Meanwhile the peasantry, the overwhelming mass of the people,

have benefited from the revolution, in one respect. They have more land and instead of regarding it as nationalized, they treat it as private property. Bolshevik policy is not applied actually to the land.

The old régime in Russia has disappeared forever. What the new regime will be is wrapped in obscurity. That it will be a peasant democracy seems as likely a prophecy as any. But when? At the present moment the government of Russia is the very negation of democracy and of all that democracy implies.

England Since the War. We have thus treated at some length the recent history of those states which have undergone a large and, in certain cases, a sweeping transformation as a consequence, direct or indirect, of the war. But with the victors, also, the five Great Powers, Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and the United States, significant changes have occurred though they have not been catastrophic, as with the defeated powers, or basic, as with the newly-created. In their case a briefer treatment will suffice.

Enlargement of the Empire. The cost to Great Britain of her participation in the war was 800,000 men killed and more than six million pounds of additional debt. As a result of the victory her colonial possessions were greatly augmented either directly, or in a roundabout way through the new mechanism of mandates. German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, now called Tanganyika Colony, a part of Togoland, a part of Kamerun now came under British control, as did Kaiser Wilhelm's Land and the Bismarck Archipelago and other scattered islands. Great Britain also received mandates for Mesopotamia and for Palestine. Egypt had, at the beginning of the war, been formally declared a British protectorate.

General Unrest. The post-war period was one of great unrest not only throughout the British Isles but also throughout the Empire. Within the former labor troubles were almost incessant and unemployment on a large scale was the result of the disturbed and difficult economic conditions prevailing everywhere, cutting down England's markets, which were her life blood. For England the basic problem of reconstruction was the reconstruction of commerce, for France the reconstruction of the devastated regions. Both have bristled with difficulties and in each case much less has been accomplished than had been hoped. Both will need many years, not few, for their achievement.

The Labor Party. Within the political sphere the greatest changes England has seen have consisted in the enlargement of the suffrage and in the growth of the Labor Party. An electoral Reform Bill was passed in 1918 enormously extending the suffrage, by giving the vote for the first time to women of thirty years or more who meet certain other qualifications. Under this law some six million women have been added to the electorate, as well as about two million men, who, under the old system, were without a vote. Many public functions have also been opened to women, and in November, 1919, Lady Astor, an American by birth, a daughter of Virginia, was elected to the House of Commons and was the first woman to take her seat in that body. In the general elections of 1923 the electorate divided into three main groups, the Conservative, the Liberal, and the Labor. No party had a majority, but the Conservatives stood first and Labor stood second. Consequently when the former was, a little later, overthrown in the House of Commons, the latter for the first time in its history was called upon to form a ministry, which it did under J. Ramsay Macdonald. With no party possessing a majority the life of the ministry was very precarious, as it might be terminated at any moment by a combination of the other two parties.

Changes within the Empire. Several notable changes have also recently occurred in the constitutional framework of the Empire. The political status of various of its members has been rapidly and radically altered. Local dissatisfaction with existing relations showed itself more or less everywhere after the cessation of the war in India, where the British government was forced to make certain concessions in the direction of a restricted participation of a fraction of the people in legislation; in Egypt, where the announcement of the British assumption of a protectorate, that is, of annexation, gave great offense to the nationalists, who carried on a bitter agitation for several years with the result that Great Britain finally decided to turn a sharp corner and to grant Egypt her independence (March 16, 1922), under certain restrictions which have not yet been worked out; in Mesopotamia, where England's mandate is now carried out through a supervision of the Kingdom of Irak which she has erected and over which she exercises great influence.

Proclamation of an Irish Republic. One of the most notable changes effected since the war is the one that has occurred in Ireland. We have seen that after an agitation of forty years a Home Rule Bill

was finally passed by Parliament in 1914 but was immediately suspended, England then being involved in the World War. A period of turmoil is always propitious for the enterprises of extremists and the extremists of Ireland were numerous enough to force the pace of Irish evolution. Irish agitators had for forty years been demanding Home Rule, but now the more advanced of them passed far beyond and demanded absolute independence. These extremists rose in rebellion in Dublin in 1916 and proclaimed Ireland an independent republic. The rebellion was suppressed without much difficulty, prevalent Irish opinion itself condemning the insurrection in indignant terms. But the action of the British government in executing fifteen of the ring-leaders and in sentencing hundreds to imprisonment caused a complete revulsion of feeling. Sinn Fein, as the independence party was called, now had its "martyrs" who were far more powerful in death than they had ever been in life. The Home Rulers were practically wiped out and the great mass of Irishmen, except the Ulsterites, flocked over to the Sinn Feiners who elected De Valera president.

War in Ireland. For three years, from 1918 to 1921, what was practically a war went on between the Irish Republicans on the one hand and England and the Ulsterites on the other, not a war between regular armies but an irregular, guerilla war, incessant, harassing, violent. Finally in 1921 England decided to yield, in large measure, and a compromise was worked out which was a very great, but not a complete, victory for the Sinn Feiners. The latter were compelled to give up their idea of an independent republic and they must recognize the right of Ulster to go a separate way, if it desired. The "Irish Free State," established by this agreement, was to be a part of the British Empire but was to have the same constitutional status within it as the Dominion of Canada or the Commonwealth of Australia, that is, practically complete self-government, with its own parliament, its own executive, its own army. De Valera, "President of the Republic," denounced this arrangement because it abandoned the republic and independence, as the members of the new Irish parliament must take the oath of allegiance to the British King. But the arrangement was accepted by the majority of the Irish national assembly, though a vigorous minority, De Valera at the head, is still opposing the solution reached, is still seeking to reopen the whole question.

The Present Status of Ireland. The Irish Free State, inaugurated in 1922, does not include all of Ireland. Northern Ireland, that is Ulster, is not a part, as it prefers a separate existence. Northern Ireland has a parliament of its own, possessing extensive powers. It is represented in the Parliament in London by 13 members, while the Free State has no representatives in that body. Thus divided, Ireland is only a geographical expression. Ireland has achieved self-government, the fullest measure of Home Rule. She has not achieved national unity.

The Irish Free State has a population of over three million; Northern Ireland of a million and a quarter.

France Since the War. The close of the war left France in a position of preeminence on the continent of Europe. Her government, long considered by many as the embodiment of the weakness of democracy, had proved itself rather the embodiment of its strength. For half a century overshadowed in the mind of the world by the power and prestige of the German Empire, France had been regarded not only as an inferior state, but as one whose inferiority to her neighbor was constantly increasing and was destined inevitably to continue to increase. The reasons for this gloomy outlook were commonly considered to lie in the nature of her government and in the character of her people. But both had given a good account of themselves and the superficiality of the criticism was apparent. France had been, from the beginning to the end, the heart of the Entente. Her valor, abundantly attested upon the battlefields of Europe from the time of Julius Cæsar to that of Napoleon Bonaparte, had suffered no diminution and was universally recognized. The genius of her commanders was unsurpassed. The will of her people was made of iron. The pluck, the vigor, the bull-dog tenacity, the mastery of self, shown by the French democracy during the interminable struggle had brilliantly demonstrated the essential soundness of the national life. The men of Verdun were not the products of chance but of long training and a rich inheritance, both of mind and character.

The National "Bloc." After the signing of the Treaty of Versailles, and after its acceptance by the French parliament, it was possible to turn to other matters. A new parliament was elected in 1919 and it was composed in large majority of the moderate and conservative classes, the *National Bloc* so called. The radical

parties had suffered great losses. It was this parliament which was to rule France until the early summer of 1924, when new elections resulted in a victory of the radical parties, and Poincaré, latterly leader of the *Bloc*, gave way to Herriot, recognized as the leader of the new majority.

After the parliamentary elections of 1919 came the presidential elections of 1920. Poincaré, whose seven-year term expired on February 18, was succeeded by Paul Deschanel, ninth President of France, who, owing to a serious physical breakdown, was compelled to resign on September 20, 1920. He was succeeded by Alexander Millerand, who was to remain in office until June, 1924, when the radical majority of the new parliament of that year forced him to resign, by refusing to cooperate with him in any way, thus threatening to bring government to a standstill. Under this pressure Millerand withdrew and was succeeded by Gaston Doumergue, the first Protestant ever elected to the presidency of France.

Reconstruction and Reparations. Since the conclusion of the war two great and insistent problems have been of commanding, almost exclusive, importance in the political life of France, the one the problem of reconstruction, the other concerned with the practical application of the Treaty of Versailles, largely the problem of reparations. The two problems were most closely connected and each presented a multitude of aspects. Reparations are the contributions which, according to the treaty, Germany must make toward the reconstruction of the countries which she had invaded or injured.

The Cost of the War to France. The injuries Germany had done to France were appalling. There was, first, the loss in manpower, 1,364,000 killed, 740,000 mutilated. Besides these, 3,000,000 men had been wounded, and this number represented a grave diminution in the labor resources of the country. Nearly 500,000 had been taken prisoners and nearly all of these returned from Germany ill or weakened in health. The most serious aspect of the matter was that fifty-seven per cent of the soldiers between the ages of eighteen and thirty-two had been killed, that is to say, more than half of the young generation, a loss that would be felt for many decades. "In order to grasp the full significance of these figures," says M. Tardieu, "apply them to the population of the United States. Had American losses been on the French scale, it would have meant the

raising by Americans of about twenty-six and a half million soldiers, of whom four millions would have died."

The decline in man-power went hand in hand with a decline in financial power, says the same author, who estimates that the net cost of the war, deducting all that Germany had to reimburse, was 150 billions of francs, and this enormous burden was accompanied with an enormous decrease in the nation's resources in capital, owing to the destruction of the war.

There was also, of course, enormous destruction of property, part of it unnecessary but intentional, representing a deliberate purpose on the part of the invaders to weaken France so thoroughly that, long after the peace, she would not be able to compete in the markets of the world. Over 4000 towns or villages had been either occupied by the Germans or necessarily evacuated by the French, and in these nearly 300,000 dwellings had been utterly destroyed and more than 10,000 public buildings destroyed or damaged, and many of these were among the architectural or historical glories of France. Along with the destruction of towns, dwellings, and public buildings there had gone also the destruction of mills, factories, mines, machinery, equipment of every kind, railways, highways, stations, tunnels, bridges, forests. Also more than 1,350,000 oxen, cows, sheep, goats, horses, and mules had been carried away by the Germans.

The Problem of Reparations. The amount of reparation for damages done to France and other Allies was difficult to fix, and its determination was entrusted to a Commission of Reparation established by the treaty. But pending its decision and pending the collection, France went to work on her own account to restore her devastated regions and she has accomplished much in this direction. But in so doing she has borrowed heavily, expecting to be reimbursed. And reimbursement has not come. Lloyd George stated in 1922 in the House of Commons that not a penny of German money had yet gone to the restoration of the land she had ravaged on so vast a scale. Later in that year Germany stated that she could not pay and demanded a moratorium for a number of years. The result was that in January, 1923, France entered the Ruhr Valley, a rich industrial district, in order to bring pressure on Germany and to secure a "productive guarantee" of payment. England condemned this separate action on the part of her ally, and Germany spent money lavishly to combat it. The outcome was that Germany's

finances and industries became greatly demoralized. It was to restore her economic prosperity and to provide a practical way for the payment of reparations that two special international committees, one under General Charles Dawes, an American, were appointed. Its elaborate report has been accepted by France and Germany (August, 1924), and an influential American member of the mission, Owen Young, has undertaken to supervise its execution. What the outcome will be of this new effort to realize a promise of the Treaty of Versailles remains to be seen.

French Gains. France, as a result of the war, has recovered Alsace-Lorraine. She has been given full rights of ownership in the coal mines of the Saar, which basin is to be administered for fifteen years by the League of Nations, and whose ultimate destiny — whether it shall be German or French or continue under the League — shall be decided by popular vote of the people concerned at the expiration of the period. France has also gained an enlargement of her colonial empire by the acquisition of about four-fifths of Kamerun and Togoland, and that part of the Congo ceded to Germany in 1911. She also has been given a mandate over Syria, and all German claims in Morocco have been quashed. Her international influence is stronger than it has been in a long while.

Italy Since the War. Of those countries of western Europe which had been victors in the World War Italy was the one which was to have the most troubled subsequent history. For several years after 1918 Italy passed through a severe and dangerous crisis in which the existence of the state itself was at stake. Revolutionary parties, Socialists, Communists, Anarchists, saw in the distress of the times a favorable opportunity to push their propaganda and to sow dissension. Labor troubles and the incapacity and weakness of cabinets and parliament developed so alarmingly and continued so long that the political and social dissolution of the country seemed to be impending. The situation favored the restless and subversive elements in the state, and they exploited it to the full. The example of Russia was publicly applauded and imitation of her was urged.

The Rise of Fascism. To counteract the tendencies just described, to combat the lawless factions which were bent upon discrediting or overthrowing existing institutions, certain elements of the population early began to take it upon themselves to fight the

forces of disorder and revolution with whatever weapons were at hand. These were principally ex-soldiers, young men of great energy and coming from all classes of society, men who had saved the country in war and who were now resolved to save it in peace. Intensely nationalistic in feeling, these men indignantly rejected the disintegrating internationalism of the Socialists, their constant depreciation of the national aims, their incessant disparagement of Italy's victories in the war, their criticism and even defamation of those who had won it, their offensive exaltation of individuals who had played a scurvy part in the dark and desperate days through which the country had just passed. This Association of Combatants, joined by committees of citizens, resolved to react with whatever vigor they might against the corrupting and demoralizing influences about them, was the nucleus of a movement, that of the Fascisti, which was destined to a great expansion and ultimately to a most emphatic triumph.

The Growth of the Fascisti. Patriotism was the life-breath of the Fascisti, death to Communism their watchword. At first but a small group in 1919, they grew in strength, and all kinds of people joined their ranks in great numbers, ex-officers, ex-soldiers, university professors and students, the bourgeoisie, many of the working classes, many of the peasants, some even of the moderate Socialists. Standing for order, standing for justice to the men who had fought in the war, standing for the preservation of the national inheritance, the Fascisti developed a compact and coherent military organization, well equipped, well disciplined, well led. This was the army of the "Black Shirts," the dullness of whose costume was relieved by the medals which these young men had honorably won in the Great War. It was reputed to consist of several hundred thousand members, and was subject to the orders of a governing directory, at whose head stood a man of thirty-seven, immensely popular, a natural leader, Benito Mussolini. Round about this army were multitudes of civilian sympathizers, enthusiastic supporters who believed that it alone could pull Italy out of the slough of despond into which its numerous factions and its timid politicians had plunged it.

The Fascisti were a lawless body or a body above the law, bent upon smashing the terrorism of Communists by a counter-terrorism. If they acted in a lawless way, it was, they said, because the law in Italy had broken down, its official representatives having miserably

and shamefully run away from their imperative duties. With their rapid growth in numbers grew their self-confidence and their ambition.

At the end of October, 1922, they imposed themselves upon the country and installed themselves in power, not by force but by the



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"TWO EAGLES," SHOWING MUSSOLINI IN FASCIST UNIFORM

threat of force, which proved sufficient. Their leader, Mussolini, became prime minister, and he immediately announced to the nation that "the Government understands how to govern and will govern."

Benito Mussolini. What kind of a man was this who had thus been raised to the headship of the state by the momentum of a

movement of which he was the driving force, a movement designed primarily to prevent a social revolution in Italy, to reawaken and intensify the patriotic spirit of the country, and to regenerate the national life? The question could be answered only partially and tentatively. The full revelation of Mussolini's personality could only come with time. That he was a born leader of men, that he knew the secret of appealing to the masses, that he was a person capable of prompt decision and of swift action, that he was an animating and magnetic figure, that he possessed in high degree the sense of organization and discipline, had already been sufficiently demonstrated. But whether he possessed the qualities of the statesman, the knowledge, the judgment, the tact, the perseverance and the circumspection required for success in the field of politics, national and international, whether to his undoubted gifts as an agitator were added constructive ability and breadth of view, no one could tell. Mussolini's rise to power aroused widespread curiosity and his courage and audacity suggested promising possibilities. What was definitely known of him was this, that he was the child of working-class parents, his father having been a village smith in a little town in Romagna, that before the war he had been a convinced Socialist and an editor of the leading Socialist newspaper, the *Avanti*, that he had picked up whatever education he could but that it had been limited and unsystematic, that he had passed some time in Switzerland, living the hard life of an émigré and a militant Socialist, not unacquainted with the police, with imprisonment and with expulsion, that, when the Great War had come, he had left his party and had repudiated its cosmopolitan and pacifist ideas, that he had advocated Italy's entrance into the war, that he had fought with gallantry and had been decorated for his exploits, that he had been severely wounded, and, incapacitated for the firing line, had become editor of a strongly nationalist newspaper, nationalism now dominating his every thought and action, that he had organized the Fascisti and had led them, through manifold dangers and vicissitudes, to a stunning triumph, that he had seized the imagination of a people whose imagination had always been easily set aflame, and that the thrill of this new and dashing personality had not been diminished by the report that he had been known to drive his automobile at the rate of a hundred kilometers an hour through the streets of Milan, an exploit not calculated to displease a sporting age.

Evidently a man of action! Also a fighter accustomed to fight openly and above the board. But he was now prime minister of a great European state, a nation of nearly forty million people, and he had had no preparation, properly speaking, for a political career. Would he prove equal to the new and most exacting situation?

Mussolini a Dictator. Mussolini shortly demanded virtually dictatorial powers, which parliament, knowing its own unpopularity and weakness, forthwith granted. Parliament, still permitted to exist, became a distinctly secondary element in the state. But various political parties, though submissive under their new master, were only waiting for the chance to trip him up and topple him over. Up to October, 1924, they had not succeeded.

Enlargement of the National Territories. Italy, which had had nearly half a million soldiers killed in the war, completed by that war her unification, begun by Cavour in 1859 and carried far, but not far enough to include all the Italians. This "Unredeemed Italy" was finally redeemed; at the expense of defeated Austria. The Trentino, and a large area around the head of the Adriatic, now passed to Italy. But in drawing the new northern and northeastern boundaries, many people not Italians were included, about 250,000 Germans and about a half a million Jugo-Slavs. The situation was now reversed and instead of hundreds of thousands of Italians subject to Austrian control, there are at present hundreds of thousands of the former subjects of Austria, resentful of their new status as compulsory subjects of the House of Savoy.

The city of Fiume, whose possession was the subject of bitter contention from 1918 to 1924, was in the latter year finally annexed to Italy as a result of a treaty with Jugo-Slavia which had all that time passionately demanded it for herself.

Italy has also profited by some enlargement of her African colonies, Tripoli, or Libya, and Somaliland. These additions to her colonial possessions were far from being commensurate with her desires.

The Washington Conference. The United States had for various reasons declined, as we have seen, to enter the League of Nations, but the desire to further the cause of peace was as earnest and widespread there as elsewhere. That such was the case was abundantly proved by the interest and enthusiasm aroused when President Harding in 1921 convoked a conference in Washington

to consider the general question of disarmament and specific questions relating to the Pacific and the Far East. The conference was in session from November 12, 1921, until February 6, 1922, and was attended by the United States, England, France, Japan, China, Italy, Holland, and Portugal. It accomplished much useful work. It did not succeed in bringing about any reduction of the armaments of the world but it did succeed in effecting a "naval holiday" of ten years and a limitation of the navies to a certain standard. Henceforth the three principal ones, those of England, the United States and Japan, should, as far as capital ships were concerned, be fixed approximately at the ratio of 5:5:3. The ratio for France and Italy was 1 $\frac{3}{4}$. No restriction was placed upon the number of light cruisers each nation might have, nor upon the number of submarines, but the latter might not be used in the manner employed by Germany in the late war, for the destruction of merchant vessels regardless of the safety of those on board. These arrangements of the Washington Conference tended to reduce the naval rivalry of the powers involved. By another treaty, concluded at the Conference, four powers, the United States, the British Empire, France, and Japan, agreed to respect the rights of each other in their insular possessions in the Pacific, not including the main islands of Japan, and to consult with each other whenever controversies should arise concerning them. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance, unpopular in the United States, thus came to an end, after thirty years, "absorbed" in this larger understanding. Several agreements were also made at Washington concerning China. The powers agreed to respect her sovereignty and to refrain from seeking special rights and privileges. Through the efforts of Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour Japan was brought to withdraw from Kiauchau and the Shantung Peninsula, after China had fulfilled certain obligations. These were the territories which Germany had acquired from China at the close of the nineteenth century and which Japan had seized during the war and which were recognized as hers by the Treaty of Versailles, one of the reasons why that treaty had been so bitterly opposed in the United States. Certain other decisions also were reached concerning Chinese affairs.

The Washington Conference eased the relations of the United States and Japan, encouraged the hope that any controversies that might arise in the future between these Pacific powers might be solved

by consultation, not by war, and promised to be of benefit, real though limited, to China, tending to give greater vitality to the famous policy of the Open Door.

The League of Nations in Operation. Another result or creation of the war, whose operations have been watched with interest during the subsequent period, has been the League of Nations. The first section of the Treaty of Versailles contains in twenty-six articles the constitution of this new instrument of international activity. The League came into existence automatically on the day when the required number of states exchanged their ratifications of the Treaty of Versailles, that is, on January 10, 1920. Its constitution has already been set forth. Let us now examine briefly its operation during the first four years of its history.

The Council and the Assembly. The two chief organs of the League are the Council and the Assembly. Of these the Council is the more important. A small and permanent body, it can be summoned at any time, a few days' notice being sufficient to enable its members to get together. Up to the end of 1924 it had held about thirty meetings. The Treaty originally stated that the Council should consist of nine members, five permanent and four non-permanent. The United States declining to enter the League, the Council started with a membership of eight. In 1922 it was enlarged by the addition of two members to the non-permanent or elective class.

The Assembly, in which all the members of the League are represented, meets once a year, in September, and continues in session for four or five weeks. As unanimity is required for most of its decisions it is not an organ well adapted for action and execution, but is rather a clearing house for the expression of views on international affairs which might not otherwise gain the attention of so large a public. The First Assembly, held in 1920, consisted of the representatives of forty-two states. Since then other states have been admitted, including three ex-enemies, Austria, Hungary, and Bulgaria. The present membership of the League (1924) is fifty-five, the Irish Free State and Santo Domingo being the latest to join.

The League an Agent of the Governments. The relation of the League to the Governments of the states composing it should be clearly understood and always kept in mind. The center of authority in the League is not in the organs of the League itself, but

is in the Governments, that is, speaking generally, in the cabinet of the countries composing the League. There is the supreme power, the real initiator of policy. It is the Governments that appoint the members of the Council and the members of the Assembly. The members of those bodies do not exercise an independent authority but are under instructions, or may be placed under instructions at any moment, from the appointing power. As they are appointed by the Governments they may be removed by them; in other words, they are fundamentally agents of the executives of the different countries, just as are the members of the diplomatic services of those countries, or the special plenipotentiaries sent to individual conferences. It is not the parliaments, much less is it the voters of the different countries, who determine directly the choice of the representatives at Geneva, or the character of the policies which they follow.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. Since its establishment in January, 1920, the League of Nations has accomplished much useful and some important work, perhaps the most important being the division of Upper Silesia between Germany and Poland, a highly involved and contentious matter which the Powers themselves had not been able to solve. The League has established a permanent court of international justice, sitting at the Hague and consisting of eleven judges, selected by the Council and the Assembly. The Court does not possess compulsory jurisdiction over all disputes which may arise between the members of the League, but it is merely there to try those cases which the parties to them may agree, in the individual instance, to refer to it. The members of the League are not required to resort to it at all if they do not wish to. Some states have already agreed to refer certain classes of cases to it, but it should be noted that no one of the Great Powers has bound itself to appear before this court in any case. This lack of compulsory jurisdiction greatly reduces the importance of the Court. It is also much to be regretted that the League rejected the suggestion that an international conference should be held for the purposes of defining, clarifying, improving, and codifying international law.

The Work of the League. The League of Nations has carried on a considerable amount of humanitarian work. It has been the means of settling a number of delicate international problems. It

is discharging certain duties imposed upon it by various clauses of the Treaty of Versailles, such as the organization and administration of the Saar Basin, the supervision of the development of the Free State of Danzig, the bestowal of mandates to former German and Turkish territories and the surveillance of the manner in which those mandates are being executed by the powers to whom they have been given. The League is now engaged in the financial and economic rehabilitation of Austria and Hungary.

The League and the Reduction of Armaments. In another field, and one most intimately associated with the fundamental purpose that prompted its creation, the League has thus far had no success, namely in the reduction of the world's armaments. There have been debates upon this subject in the Assembly and in one of the important commissions of the Assembly. There have been investigations and reports, but this activity has not yet led to any direct result. The only positive achievement in the sphere of the limitation of armaments since the close of the Great War has been accomplished not at Geneva but at Washington, and has affected the navies and not the armies of the world. The Assembly of 1922 recognized the blunt fact that many states, and most conspicuous among them France, will never consent to any extensive reduction in armament, unless they receive in exchange a more definite and substantial guarantee of security than that proffered by the clauses of the Covenant, clauses which inspire at best but a limited confidence. It is quite safe to say that no serious progress will be made in this direction unless a satisfactory guarantee is found, a guarantee more tangible, more obvious, and more solid than any yet forthcoming. The demand for this protection cannot be eluded, nor can it be easily satisfied.

The International Labor Organization. Forming a real part of the League of Nations, yet occupying a semi-autonomous position within it, is the International Labor Organization also established at Geneva. One of its chief functions is to hold an International Labor Conference each year for the purpose of drawing up "draft conventions" or "recommendations" designed to improve the general industrial conditions of the world. Four conferences have thus far been held and have formulated a considerable number of recommendations, some of which have been accepted by several nations or are in process of discussion by them. The character of their

activity is indicated by the subjects treated in these suggestions one limiting the hours of work in industrial undertakings to eight in the day and forty-eight in the week, others concerning the employment of women at night, and before and after childbirth, concerning the employment of children, and still others regulating conditions of labor in agriculture and at sea. Latterly this organization has undertaken the systematic study of problems of emigration and immigration.

QUESTIONS

I. What were the provisions of the armistice with Germany? Describe the organization of the Peace Conference at Paris. How long was the conference in session? What was the importance to the conference of President Wilson's Fourteen Points? What part did the Germans have in making the Treaty of Versailles? What other treaties than that of Versailles were made at the close of the war?

II. Describe the changes made in the map of Europe as a result of the war. What are the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles aiming at the destruction of German militarism? What are the chief provisions of the Covenant of the League of Nations? What are the relations of the United States to the Treaty of Versailles? What are reparations?

III. Describe the German Revolution of 1918. What are the chief provisions of the Constitution of Weimar? What are the main political parties and problems in present-day Germany? What is the foreign policy of the German Republic?

IV. Describe the Republic of Austria. Why has the union of Austria with Germany been forbidden? What are the chief features of the Austrian constitution? What form of government does Hungary now possess? Give an account of the history of Hungary since 1918.

V. What effect did the war have upon Bulgaria? Give an account of the career of Alexander Stambulsky. What is meant by the term, "Green Socialism"? Outline the history of Turkey since 1918.

VI. What Slavic states have been created as a result of the war? What areas are included in the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia? What racial problems exist in Czecho-Slovakia? What are the main provisions of the Czecho-Slovak constitution? Why was Masaryk chosen the first president of the Republic?

VII. What was the relation of the Poles to the World War? What part was played in the making of Poland by Pilsudski? by Paderewski? What are the outstanding problems confronting Poland?

VIII. Who are the Southern Slavs? Who are the Northern Slavs? Of what territories does Jugo-Slavia consist? What is the relation of Jugo-Slavia to Serbia? What independent states have arisen out of the dismemberment of Russia? Who are the Bolsheviki? How did they attain power and what policies have they followed?

VIII. What did the war cost Great Britain and what did she gain by it? What changes have occurred in England since the war? What changes have occurred within the British Empire? Trace the history of Ireland since 1914. What is meant by the phrase that Ireland is a "geographical expression"? What is dominion status?

IX. What did the war cost France and what were her gains from it? Outline the political history of France since 1918. What is the relation of reparations to the reconstruction of France? Why did France enter the basin of the Ruhr?

X. Trace the history of Italy since the war. Explain the rise of the Fascisti and describe their leader. What did Italy gain from the war?

XI. What was the purpose of the Washington Conference and what were its achievements? How many states belong to the League of Nations? What is the relation of the League to the governments of the states that compose it? What has the League accomplished since 1920? What contributions has it made toward the reduction of armaments? What is the International Labor Organization?

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XXXVII

BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS (1919-39)

(Dr. Shanti Prasad Verma)

The Peace Pacts. The period between the two World Wars can be regarded as a period of failures. After a World War lasting four years and the total defeat of those who were named the aggressors, it was natural to expect that at least for a long period to come there would be no World War. But actually the result was that for a period of twenty years there was a state of uneasiness in Europe after which another World War, more ferocious than the previous one, broke out. Whatever may have been the immediate and long-term reasons for this War, it is undeniable that the responsibility for this War will also have to be placed on the Pacts which followed in the wake of World War I. The victorious Allies forced Germany to accept a treaty which actually was an imposition upon it. This was probably the first time when the victorious nations mutually agreed to the terms of a treaty and then called the defeated enemies and ordered them to accept it as it was. The circumstances in which the representatives of Germany were made to sign the armistice were insulting in the extreme. Presenting them, Clemenceau in his brief speech said, "You have prayed for peace and we are prepared to accept your prayer. . . To win the peace all the nations, who are gathered here, had to pay a very heavy price, and we have all unanimously decided to utilise all our resources to get the assurance that we shall receive a satisfactory solution for our just demands." After this brief speech by Clemenceau, Germany's Foreign Minister, Count Rantejo, attempted to stand but could not, and then he read a written statement sitting, "...We are fully aware of the power of hatred which we have to face here and we have

also heard passionate demands that the victorious nations will realise all the indemnities from us, who are defeated, and severely punish us as criminal. It has been demanded from us to confess that we alone bear the responsibility for the war, but any such confession on my part would be a falsehood.¹"

Germany wanted to prove that it could not be made solely responsible for the War, and if her crimes in the course of the War were unpardonable, it is equally true that the responsibility for the death of lacs of people as a result of the blockade after November 11 must be laid on the head of the Allies. Think of that when you speak of guilt and punishment." Criticising numerous clauses of the peace proposals, Germany said that the terms of peace were against the principles enunciated by Wilson on which basis Germany agreed to lay down her arms. But Germany's pleadings were not listened to.² Lloyd George made an attempt to lighten the peace terms but no body gave attention to it because no body wanted that much time be spent for the settlement of the peace terms. In the meantime, the cabinet changed in Germany, and on June 28th the new German Foreign Minister signed the 'Versailles Treaty' unconditionally.

The Paris Peace Conference and the treaty signed there have been very much criticised and many writers have expressed the opinion, that if this treaty had been more reasonable, Europe could have been saved from many immediate troubles. Actually it is not proper to blame the treaty, because it was a product of the War and it cannot be viewed detached from the War. After a war of four years, which cannot be compared with any other previous war, and in which millions of people of different countries and classes gave their lives, very naturally an atmosphere of hatred was created and this feeling was not confined merely to the victorious allies, but was also deep down among the defeated nations. The treaty terms were drawn up in this very atmosphere. The tired and quarrelsome politicians who drafted those terms in haste, were themselves consumed

1. Lord Riddel: *Intimate Diary of the Peace Conference and After*, p. 73.

2. Against this it was said that Germany was never given the assurance that the peace would be based upon the Fourteen Points of Wilson. It was asked whether it was prepared to accept those Fourteen Points and it had replied in the affirmative. The Allies and United States of America had, in fact, entered into an agreement among themselves to implement these Fourteen Points.--D.C. Somervell: *Between Two Wars*, p. 10.

with the fire of hatred, and they looked to the people of their countries who were all full of hatred. Under these circumstances, nothing short of a miracle could have made the treaty terms any better. These terms have been criticised from two points of view. On the one hand, the opinion gained ground in Britain, as also in the United States of America, that the terms were too hard for the defeated nations, and they all held Clemenceau responsible for it. On the other hand, Clemenceau firmly held to the opinion that Germany can only bow before brutal force. Most of the people in Great Britain and the United States of America could not agree with Clemenceau's views. In France, however, from the very beginning the opinion prevailed that the treaty terms were too mild. The French felt that to maintain the very existence of Germany is to always keep alive the danger of war in Europe. Actually, the treaty terms were not so hard—the terms which were comparatively hard were not subsequently implemented—as they were insulting. Nothing could remove the firm conviction of the Germans that they were cheated. Clearly, the principles enunciated by Wilson were impracticable and were never put into practice. It became still more impossible to implement them after the United States of America refused to help in this work and in carrying forward the work of the League of Nations. Some more points were added to the Fourteen Points enunciated by Wilson, and the manner in which they were later explained by his confidant Col. House, and the way in which the Allies understood them further reduced their importance. Under these circumstances, it was natural for Germany to believe that the terms on which it was asked to surrender were subsequently completely changed.¹

The Character of the League of Nations. The failure of the 1919 treaty terms is to a large extent laid at the head of the League of Nations. That the League of Nations did not have an auspicious beginning is an undoubted fact; the United States, mainly responsible for its birth, never became its member. Germany and other defeated nations were not allowed to become its members. Russia, following the Communist Revolution, became neutral. Even in its early years, the League of Nations became merely an organisation of Great Britain,

1. Commenting on the treaty terms, Marshal Foch said, "This is not peace. This is armistice for twenty years." (Churchill: *The Second World War*, vol. I, p. 6.)

the British Colonies, France, Italy, Japan and other victorious nations. Even the big nations had no faith in it. Lloyd George regarded it merely as a toy. In spite of all these, however, the League of Nations could have yet carried on its work if it did not suffer from a fundamental weakness, which actually was the result of current political trends. The League of Nations was a loose organisation of independent and sovereign States which could not compel any nation to take any step against its wishes. Consequently the League failed to make any big nation work in a manner which was against its interests. Generally, it has been accepted that the soldiers won the War and the politicians lost the peace, but this statement can only be partly true. The politicians have to grapple with other politicians and these others, like all politicians, cannot rise much above the viewpoint of their countrymen. Consequently, it becomes impossible for them to undertake any work which is not supported by the people. We thus easily reach the conclusion that the Paris Peace Conference, the peace terms settled by it, and the organisation of the League of Nations—all reflected the soul of the times, and naturally represented all those defects and drawbacks which were the characteristic features of the post-War Europe.

The Democratic Revolution in Germany. The First World War did not merely affect the international relations, it profoundly influenced the internal life of the different countries of Europe as well. Germany was an imperialist country, but there was a powerful socialist trend in its public opinion, and from earlier times it had a class of people which believed in democracy. As the War became more and more ferocious, the view became still more popular among the common people that whoever should be victorious in the War, the common man would suffer more and more. There were repeated strikes in Germany during the War. The communist ideology was also propagated more and more. On the other hand, Germany was faced with military defeats. Kaiser asked Prince Max to form a new ministry and he included in his cabinet two socialists, Ebert and *Skhedemaan*. Max was directed to enter into a treaty with the enemy without accepting defeat which was, of course, an impossible task. After this, there was a Naval Mutiny and then a wide-spread revolution. Kaiser fled to Holland and the old royal dynasty ended. Max resigned. Ebert became the Chancellor and for some time Germany had

a Socialist Government.¹ After this there were elections to the National Assembly in which although the largest number of people were socialists yet the majority belonged to the liberal parties which believed in democracy. The most important work of this National Assembly was to sign the Peace Treaty. After *Skhedemaan* resigned, Bower formed a new Ministry and he signed the Peace Treaty unconditionally.

Fall of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Austro-Hungarian Empire, from its very inception, was a queer conglomeration comprising mainly of Germans and the Magyars, and a number of other smaller nationalities. When Austria-Hungary joined the war, these various nationalities got an opportunity to raise their heads. In the meantime Emperor Francis Joseph died, and was succeeded by Charles VII. He exerted himself to the utmost to bring an early end to the war. The fall of Bulgaria and the possible surrender of Turkey further worsened the position of Austria. Within the Empire the revolt of the nationalities gained momentum. In fact, it would be appropriate to say that the great Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed not because of any outside attack but because of its own internal contradictions.² On October 5, 1919, an independent Polish Government was proclaimed at Warsaw. On October 14, Dr. Benes proclaimed from Paris the creation of the first Czech Government which was immediately recognised by France and the United States of America. Austria attempted to establish a federal government, but now there was hardly any time left for it. On October 21, German-Austria proclaimed its Independence and established a Provisional National Assembly. On October 23, the Croats announced their Independence at Fiume. On October 24, Italy launched its attack. The Emperor sent to President Wilson a communication asking for peace on the basis of Czech and Yugoslav Independence. Soon after a revolution commenced in Hungary. On November 4, the Emperor had to accept the terms laid down by the

1. See International Goodwill Communique No. 130 of April 1912, 140: "The German Revolution."

2. Victor Wallace Germains in his book *Austria of Today* writes: "The Hapsburg rule did not commit as many evil deeds as it revealed its incapacity to do any good thing. From the very beginning it was a negative type of rule which believed in doing nothing. There was little feeling of active revolt against it. If the matter would have been confined merely between the Hapsburg rulers and the people, the administration could have continued for generations." (p. 8)

Allics. During the crisis, the Germans in Austria declared the creation of an Independent Republic, for in their eyes no other way was left open to them. The Czechs and the Yugoslavs were attacking at the borders, Italy had occupied Southern Tyrol and was entering the boundaries of the country. Besides, there existed a real danger of a Communist Revolution. Dr. Karl Rainer was made the Chancellor of the new Austrian Republic and Adler became its Foreign Minister.¹ The Emperor escaped and found an asylum in Switzerland. Despite this great change, however, Austria could not escape the consequences of defeat. According to the Treaty of Saint-Germain, it had to surrender one-third of its German territories to Czechoslovakia and Italy. It was also called upon to pay war indemnity and to accept innumerable economic restrictions. During all this time, the internal conflict and confusion was continuously increasing. In Hungary a Communist Revolution had succeeded, and preparations for a similar revolution in Austria were in full swing.

As a result of the revolution in Hungary, a democratic government was established with Count Karolly as its head. Emperor Charles accepted this change but Karolly could not fulfil his responsibilities. His decision to disband the army resulted in attacks of the Serbian, Czech and Rumanian armies on Hungary. Karolly immediately fell. The economic crisis was deepening every day. On November 19, 1919, there was a Communist Revolution under the leadership of Belakun, and he immediately got control of the State-power. A Soviet type of administration was established, but in actual fact Belakun had all the powers in his hand. Reconstruction of the country on Communist line was quickly undertaken. During all this time, Hungary's war with Rumania continued and the Rumanian armies were continuously pressing forward. On August 4, they occupied Budapest. Belakun fled away to Vienna. The Communist Revolution and occupation of Hungary by Rumania made the condition of this country very pitiable. Under these circumstances there was a counter-revolution under the leadership of Admiral Horthy. And now the Communists began to be crushed. On March 1, 1920, a new government was established under the leadership of Admiral Horthy. On January 25, a National Assembly was convened. The National Assembly

1. Dr. Otto Bauer, *The Austrian Revolution* (English translation published by Leonard Parsons in 1925).

signed the Treaty of Trianon presented by the Allies. As a result of this Treaty, Hungary was deprived of two-thirds of its territory and 60 per cent of its population. A large majority of these were Magyars. Hungary also had to accept responsibility for payment of war indemnity. Her economic conditions really became miserable.

The New States of East Europe. After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, four new states came into being which are generally called the Succession States. These are: Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Austria was not included in the list. These new States were not called upon to pay any indemnity, but they were asked to pay something to the Allies in lieu of their freedom. They were also called upon to treat well their minorities. Of these new States, Poland had the highest claim. Till the 19th century it had an independent existence, after which it was partitioned between Russia, Prussia and Austria. This partition, however, failed to crush the sentiments of Polish Nationalism. During the War this national feeling was further intensified. Pilsdusky rose in this atmosphere and he organised sections of the Polish Army and attacked Russia. He was also always opposed to the domination of Germany. After occupying Russian Poland, Germany announced the creation of an independent Polish State under its hegemony, but the Polish leaders did not accept this situation. After the Communist Revolution in Russia, the Russians accepted the right of Poland to freedom. The Allies also recognised it and President Wilson included it in his Fourteen Points. After the revolution in Germany, Polish independence was declared and Pilsdusky became the first head of the new national government of Poland. The Paris Peace Conference viewed liberally the fixation of Polish boundaries. According to the Versailles Treaty it got the major portion of Posen and the southern parts of Prussia. In order to reach Danzig it was given a corridor in German territory. Poland, however, was not satisfied with these concessions and in years to come it continuously quarrelled with its neighbours for fixation of boundaries. Czechoslovakia was in a way a new State, but in actual fact it was a new edition of old Moravia. There were no differences between Czechs and the Slovaks. The First World War gave them a golden opportunity to liberate themselves from the clutches of Austria. Masaryk and Benes established contacts with the Allies and the Czech soldiers in large numbers deserted Aus-

tria and joined the enemies. There were separate Czech units in the armies of Russia, Italy and France. Britain, America and Japan had recognised its independence from the very beginning. On October 14, 1919, Masaryk announced the creation of an Independent Czech Republic from Washington. On November 16, there was a session of the National Assembly at Prague, which unanimously proclaimed the creation of the Republic of Czechoslovakia. Masaryk became its first President, Kromer the Prime Minister, and Benes the Foreign Minister.

After following opportunist policies for two years, Rumania joined the Allies in the war and it was given the assurance of some territories. But during the War it was badly defeated. With the victory of the Allies, its fate brightened up. Now its boundaries had increased to twice its previous territory. The Great War not only brought a change in its foreign policy but also profoundly influenced its internal life. Many democratic changes were introduced, laws were enacted to give land to the tillers and direct elections on the basis of adult franchise were introduced. Yugoslavia was constituted in the south of Austria by combining the Southern Slavs, Serbs, Croats and the Slovene peoples. When the War commenced, many Yugoslav leaders left the country and established a Yugoslav Committee which kept alive their demand for independence. When Italy entered the War, the Yugoslav Movement received a setback because in the secret London Treaty (27th April, 1916) the Allies promised to give Italy territories where more than 7 lac Yugoslavs lived. At the same time conflicts developed between the three nationalities constituting the Yugoslav nation. Consequently, when the Austro-Hungarian Empire collapsed, the Yugoslavs could not unitedly press their claims. However, determined efforts to remove the internal differences on the one hand, and the principle of national self-determination, enunciated by President Wilson, on the other, strengthened the Yugoslav Movement. But the final fixation of the boundaries of Yugoslavia could not be completed till the Treaty of Rapallo. Thus it was that on November 12, 1920, on the debris of the Austro-Hungarian Empire grew up the four States of Eastern Europe which in subsequent years profoundly influenced international relations.

The question of War Indemnities. The terms of the Peace Treaty had laid down that all war expenses will have to be borne by Germany, but the task of deciding the amount was

left to the future. This work was done in various conferences of the Allied powers. From the very beginning it became obvious that there was a fundamental difference between the approaches of Britain and France. In the eyes of Britain, Germany had been so thoroughly defeated in the War, and had been given such a heavy punishment that it was now meaningless to expect from it any further indemnities. Britain wanted Germany to return to its normal conditions, but it was tied to France, and France could not be satisfied till it received all its War expenses from Germany. France did not in the least wish that Germany should return to its pre-War position because that would be dangerous for France. France knew that Germany could not always be kept crushed, but at the same time it wanted to maintain its hegemony over Europe as long as possible. On the other hand, there was neither any enthusiasm in Germany for the payment of War indemnities, nor did it have any sense of moral responsibility for it, and it was obvious that it would pay only as much amount as could be realised from it by force. In 1921, at Paris, the Allied nations demanded from Germany that it should pay, in the course of the next 42 years, 11 million pounds, and when Germany expressed its inability to do so, it was decided that Dusseldorf and two other big cities situated at the southern bank of the Rhine be occupied. A scheme was prepared to occupy the entire Ruhr Valley, but at another conference held at London following a separate agreement between France and Germany, this proposal was held in abeyance, and in August the payment of indemnities also commenced. For this, however, Germany had to take a loan from England. Another difficulty was presented by the fact that for the payment of the indemnities it was necessary to sell the German Marks in exchange for foreign currencies. But the Mark was continuously falling in price.¹ It is difficult to say whether the Mark went down because of the payment of War indemnities or there were other reasons for it. But a direct consequence of the fall in the value of the Mark was that Germany could not pay the War indemnities. It paid a certain amount, then did not pay anything for a long time, then again paid a minor amount, and then expressed its inability; again in October 1922 it demanded freedom from payment for 3 to 4 years and a reconsideration of the whole situation. In this entire period the price of the Mark was continuously falling;

1. Before the War the price of the Mark was nearly equal to a rupee. In 1923, a rupee could purchase 6,00,000,000 Marks.

it affected other European currencies as well and signs of an economic crisis were visible all over Europe. When France did not get its share of the indemnities at the proper time, it militarily occupied the Ruhr Valley, the biggest industrial centre of Germany. France expected that Germany's industries would continue as usual and it would get the required amount from them but there was general strike in the factories with the moral support of the German Government, and the people adopted a path of peaceful resistance. The British Government was strongly opposed to the occupation of the Ruhr.¹

The question of International Debts. Along with the question of War indemnities was linked the question of international debts. America had started paying loans to the Allies even before entering the War. As a result, when the War ended, England was indebted to the United States for a billion pounds, and France, Italy and other European Allies had to pay an even a higher amount to England. On serious thought, this question of international debts would appear to be meaningless, because it was the responsibility of all the Allies who gave their everything in order to win the War, and each one had paid a heavy price for the War in some form or the other. France had shed comparatively more blood than England and the United States. Britain was prepared that if America does not demand from it its amount, it will also not demand its loan from the European countries. At the same time all the European nations were determined to realise full indemnity from Germany and therefore the United States was not prepared to forego its loan to them. Very soon it became clear, however, that there existed very little possibility of realising any amount from Germany. Through the Balfour Declaration, England announced that if America would not realise its loan from England, England would not ask other nations to return its loan. Ruhr was in complete French occupation for the whole of 1923 and part of 1924, but from the economic point of view it was a failure. The efforts made by France in this area to arouse anti-German feelings also met with failure. At the same time, the economic condition of France was deteriorating. Under the circumstances, the administration of France passed into the hands of the liberals.

1. See *Reparations and International Debts* by Reginald Mackenna (International Goodwill Communiqué No. 131, December 1923), p. 571.

In the meantime, an agreement had been reached between Britain and the United States on the question of War loan. As a result, a committee was appointed with an American official named Gen. Dawes, to solve the problem of War indemnities. The Committee prepared a new scheme in which the payment of indemnities by Germany was given a certain system.¹ In Britain also, the Government had changed, and Ramsay MacDonald had become the Prime Minister of the first Labour Government of Britain. It convened another conference in London in which Germany and other nations accepted the Dawes Plan and France and Belgium agreed to evacuate the Ruhr. After this, the payment of indemnities proceeded smoothly for 5 to 6 years. The reason for this was that during these years Germany received from different nations, and specially from the United States, huge capital by way of loan, in order to develop its industries. In all, Germany received more loan from the United States than it paid to other countries by way of indemnities.² In 1929, the whole question was reconsidered by another committee under the chairmanship of another American and the scheme formulated is famous as the Young Plan. This Plan, however, resulted in creating differences among the Allies. A year later an unprecedented economic crisis engulfed entire Europe which ended all these schemes and created those conditions in which Nazism emerged.

France: Search for Security. It was really surprising that even after such a Great War, Europe did not develop a sense of security, and it was least visible in France. France had defeated Germany with international co-operation, but the War had also revealed that compared to France, Germany was more powerful. What would happen if France was left to itself by its Allies? Clemenceau had once said: "There are twenty millions of Germans too many." The French military experts always held the opinion that so long as Germany had both the banks of the Rhine, it can attack France any time it wants. Clemenceau had demanded an independent Rhineland at the Paris Con-

1. See *The Dawes Report on German Reparation Payment* and *The Geneva Conference on the application of the Dawes Plan* by George A. Finch.

2. According to Churchill, in all Germany paid from its funds £1,000, but in order to help it in the payment of indemnities it received during 1926-29, £1500 from the victorious nations and there existed no hope of its repayment.

ference, but this he could not get. All the fortifications on the left bank of the Rhine were, however, destroyed. France could not be satisfied merely with this. It demanded assurances from England and the United States for its security. To this end a draft agreement was prepared, but in the meantime the United States withdrew itself from European politics and along with this the British assurance also automatically lapsed. Under the circumstances France glanced round the European Continent for new allies. On September 7, 1920, it entered into a military agreement with Belgium. It fomented a rebellion against Germany in Rhineland. It recruited large numbers of soldiers from North Africa. France also began negotiations with Poland and Czechoslovakia. In September 1920, it entered into a military pact with Poland. It was no more necessary for it to depend upon England. When Briand began negotiations with Lloyd George, he had to quit his post and Poincare became the Prime Minister in his place. On 25th January, 1924, he concluded an agreement with Czechoslovakia to the effect that in case of moves for the unification of Germany and Austria, or the restoration of monarchy in Germany and Hungary, they will meet together for discussion. On June 10, 1926, he entered into an agreement with Rumania, and another agreement was concluded with Yugoslavia on 11th February, 1927. All these agreements were the results of single-handed efforts of France.

Collective Efforts for Security. At the same time, collective efforts were made for European security. After the efforts of about a year, in September 1926, the League of Nations prepared the draft for a Mutual-Aid Pact which was discussed in the League Assembly, but it was opposed by Britain and therefore it could never be implemented. The British Prime Minister, Ramsay Macdonald, was of the opinion that a better way than such a pact would be to raise the material powers of the League of Nations. Soon after, at the inspiration of Benes, a new scheme, famous as the Geneva Protocol¹, was

1. For the original text of the Pact and its analysis, see "International Goodwill Communique" No. 255, dated December 1924. In Communique No. 272 of September 1925 will be found the objection of Chamberlain to the Pact, which was raised in the meeting of the League of Nations at Geneva in March 1925. In this Communique will also be found the reply of Ramsay Macdonald to Chamberlain's objection on April 10, 1925.

prepared under the auspices of the League of Nations; at the same time it was decided to call an international conference at Geneva on June 25, 1925, for disarmament discussions. In the meantime, with the fall of the Labour Government in Britain, it refused to sign the Geneva Protocol. The new Foreign Minister of Britain, Austin Chamberlain, said that acceptance of this Protocol would mean that England would be bound to send troops to any part of the world wherever any conflict arose. As a matter of fact, England had taken over such a responsibility even before signing the Charter of the League of Nations, but now British public opinion had become dead set against involving itself in the troubles of other countries.

On the other hand, Germany itself was trying to get assurances regarding the security of its Western frontiers, because Germany also had no less fears of France, and the recent policies of France, if anything, had enhanced such fears. Actually, as early as December 1922, Germany had made certain efforts in this direction, but not much attention was given at that time. In February 1925, Germany again declared that it would be prepared to enter into an agreement with England, France and Italy, to get each of the four countries to declare that at least for a certain fixed number of years, none of them will enter into war with another. Germany was prepared to assure that it would keep its western frontier as it was. On the basis of this proposal, a historic conference was held at Locarno on October 5, 1925, where, after 10 days' labour, five treaties were signed.¹ During the past six years, this was the first occasion when the representatives of Germany could talk to representatives of other nations on terms of equality. An agreement was signed between Germany, France, Belgium, Poland and Czechoslovakia. Accordingly it was decided that in future all outstanding questions between these countries would be solved through arbitration. The Locarno Treaty was regarded as an important landmark in European reconstruction. England accepted to take a big responsibility upon itself. Germany again got a place of prestige in international relations. France was now free of the fears of a German attack ; but as ill-luck would have it, when France seemed to be comparatively free from outside troubles, its internal situation deteriorated day by day. By 1925, its economic conditions worsened. The

1. Churchill has called the Locarno Treaties as the "high water-mark of Europe's Restoration". See *Second World War*, Vol. I, p. 27.

fall of Harriot was the signal of the coming storm. After this French ministries fell like autumn leaves. Poincare was once again made the Prime Minister, Briand became the Foreign Minister and Maginot became the War Minister. Maginot started the construction of the famous Maginot Line on the borders of France and Germany, but this fortification could not prevent the German armies entering France *via* Belgium. In point of fact, the greatest influence in France at this time was of fear—fear of being left alone high and dry, fear of a German attack, fear of an economic crisis, fear of Russia. Surrounded by fears on all sides, this unfortunate country at this time had not a single leader, who could show it the correct way.

Italy: The Fascist Revolution. The object of Italy's entry into the war was different from the objects of Britain, France or Russia. Before it was the problem of security against Germany. Italy actually wanted to acquire the remnants of the Hapsburg Empire. It got a lot in the War but it expected more. At the time of victory it was accorded an insulting behaviour. A feeling was gaining ground in Italy that although it had won the war it had lost the peace. The traditions of democracy had never been strong in Italy. Under the circumstances Fascism emerged. Harold Butler has written: "Fascism arose in Italy and Germany and its reasons can be traced to the War and its consequence, which created in the lower middle-class youths a feeling of revolt against the difficulties created and the prospects of destruction gaping before them. They had no future, their families had lost all their capital, there was no place for them in the trades and the prospects for economic betterment were so remote that they could not think of a married life and a civilised existence. When they were not only offered jobs but also were presented with an ideal for the economic and moral reconstruction of their nation, the best among the youths felt that they had got something which had made their lives worth living and which was more inspiring than merely earning some money. This was in fact a bright era for selfless and limitless national service."¹

The originator of this ideology was Benito Mussolini, the son of an iron-smith, who began his life in a small school as a teacher and later entered the journalistic field. He took an active part in the War. He fully utilised the disappointment

1. Harold Butler: *The Lost Peace*, p. 282-83.

in the wake of victory for increasing his political power. Before that the Fascist Party was established in 1918 to fight Bolshevism and to re-establish social rights. The members of this party were people of all types—soldiers discharged from the army, socialist agitators, workers, students, middle-class folks of cities and villages, big landlords of Southern Italy and industrialists of Northern Italy. Mussolini succeeded in uniting them through his brilliance. In 1920-21 there were continuous fights between the Fascists and the Socialists. The condition of Italy was deteriorating day by day and the democratic government was failing to control them. The socialists were preaching anarchism and the Government could not crush them. In the meantime, Mussolini succeeded in enrolling large number of members in all departments and places. In the autumn of 1920, the situation deteriorated to such an extent that Mussolini decided to march on Rome with his 40,000 strong military Fascists. The Government demanded of the King to enforce Martial Law but the King refused. The King invited Mussolini and asked him to become the Prime Minister. This was a bloodless revolution, but it profoundly influenced the political, social and economic life of the country. In the beginning, Mussolini agreed to keep the constitutional government as it was, but gradually all the democratic institutions were liquidated and total dictatorship was established in Italy. There is no doubt that under the Fascist regime Italy registered all-round progress.¹ Dishonesty and slackness was mercilessly removed from the administration, the power of the army was strengthened, and Italy's prestige rose in foreign countries. In 1923, Mussolini completely changed the system of elections, as a result of which the Fascist Party got a complete majority in the National Parliament. Mattiotti, the leader of the Socialist Party, charged the government of defiance of the electoral laws and demanded the dissolution of the election, but three days after his speech Mattiotti was murdered. By 1925, complete State power in Italy passed to the Fascists and Mussolini began his stern rule over the country. All the political parties were suppressed. Mussolini had a firm faith that before the State the individual had no existence. About the democratic system of administration, he felt that it was a plaything for the rich nations of Western Europe. He looked

1. See Vera Micheles Dean: *Fierce Rule in Italy* ('Foreign Policy Reports' April 15, 1921);

with contempt at majority and he had the conviction that the genius of the people could adequately be expressed by a civilised class. It looked as though Fascist Italy was determined to achieve all those high ambitions which could not find any expression in democratic Italy, and it was clear that in the coming storm the Italians would be with Mussolini.

International Relations in Central Europe. We have already referred to the sudden collapse and disintegration of the great Austro-Hungarian Empire. On its embers arose four new States, namely, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia. Along with these, Austria and Hungary also continued as two small countries. The condition of Austria was so pitiable that its neighbours could not entertain any fears on its account. But the situation of Hungary was different. Hungary itself used to be opposed to the domination of Austria but at the same time it wanted to keep under its domination those nationalities which had now emerged as independent States. It was natural, therefore, that these new States lived under constant fear of Hungary. To defend themselves from this constant danger, the neighbouring States began their organisation. Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania joined hands to form "The Little Entente".¹ It would not be probably quite correct to say that the only object of this small organisation was to oppose Hungary. As Dr. Benes said, "Its another object was to work for economic reconstruction." Benes was its chief inspirer. It was he who first went to Belgrade and entered into the first agreement with Yugoslavia. From Belgrade he went to Bucharest. Rumania laid the condition that it would be prepared to tie itself to such an organisation only when an agreement was reached with Poland and Greece. When, however, there was an attempt to restore the old monarchy in Hungary, it immediately expressed its wish to enter into an agreement with Czechoslovakia and this new organisation took its final shape on July 2, 1921. In the beginning this organisation was intended as a security against Hungary, though later it was involved in the politics of big nations, specially France and Italy. In the meantime the approach of Hungary also underwent a change and it became a member of the League of Nations. Thus, this small orga-

1. *The Little Entente* ("Foreign Policy Report," Part 4, No. 14, September 14, 1928).

nisation in itself became a commendable ideal of international co-operation. These small nations also entered into identical agreements with other countries. Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia entered into a pact with Italy and Czechoslovakia with Austria. But when these small nations appeared to follow the path of peace and reconstruction and were prepared to contribute their humble mite on the basis of mutual co-operation towards international good-will, it was difficult for the big nations to keep in check their high ambitions.

The Miserable Fate of Germany. We have already referred to the democratic revolution in Germany. In fact, it is difficult to call it a revolution. Germany's military might had been broken and no other way was open before it except surrender. President Wilson had very clearly stated that he would not be prepared to negotiate peace with Kaiser. When Kaiser abdicated, Germany hoped that it would get comparatively better terms from the Allies. After Kaiser, the rulers of Bavaria, Saxony, etc., one by one, left Germany. As a German writer said, they disappeared almost as the light goes off when oil is exhausted. A Republic was declared in Germany, but the reason for it was not the faith of the people in democracy. It was adopted as a measure of convenience, and it was merely a superficial change. The self-proclaimed Socialist leaders, who got the State powers, were actually socialists in name; they were, in fact, persons of a liberal and labour views. Ebert, Skhedemann, Notske—none of these had the capacity to lead a great nation at a time of crisis. There were real Socialists also in Germany led by Ross Luxembourg and Liebknecht. But they were also not very capable persons and were easily crushed. A superficial approach would indicate that this was a victory of democratic forces over communism, but in actual fact it was the first step in the march towards counter-revolution.

In February 1919, a democratic National Assembly was elected to prepare a democratic constitution. But the method adopted for the election cannot be really called democratic. Out of 400 persons elected, only 185 had real faith in democracy. After preparing the Constitution, the National Assembly accepted the Versailles Treaty. It is difficult to say what type of treaty would have been imposed upon the defeated nations in case Germany had won the war. The treaty with France in 1871, and the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with Russia in

1918, reveal the attitude of Germany. But when the Allies placed the entire responsibility of the War on Germany and demanded complete indemnity, then a wave of sorrow spread over the whole country. That this treaty was accepted by the Weimar Constitution, which had set up a democratic administration, became a reason for bringing a bad name to democracy in Germany. Even after the Armistice, economic blockade of Germany continued, resulting in the death of lakhs of Germans, including women and children. In 1920, some monarchists raised the banner of rebellion, but they were crushed by the Government with the aid of workers. In 1922, Germany took a major step to overcome its international isolation. It was the Rappalo Treaty with Russia. Under this treaty Germany began to send its military officers for training in Moscow. These developments indicate the future growth of Germany, but there is no doubt that the condition of contemporary Germany was deteriorating day by day. The demand for indemnities and the occupation of the Ruhr inspired an economic revolution in Germany. The continued fall of the value of the Mark chiefly affected the middle class and its rising discontent, inspired it to support the extreme nationalists on the one hand, and the Communists on the other.

Hitler first appeared on the scene during the period of occupation of the Ruhr, although at that time he was not given much importance. On November 8, 1923, he was arrested at Berlin in connection with a riot and sentenced to imprisonment. During his prison-life, he began writing his book, *Mein Kampf*, which later profoundly influenced Germany. Hitler was released after a few months and, in the meantime, Germany appeared to be well set on the road to reconstruction. The occupation of Ruhr by France had proved a failure from the economic as well as the political point of view. In 1924, the Dawes Plan was put into effect, which once again brought some stability to the economic life of Germany. For a few subsequent years, Germany could pay some indemnity at proper time, but it was well aware of the fact that outwardly, however attractive the Dawes Plan might appear, it actually was a method of exploiting Germany ruthlessly in a planned manner. Because of its failure to pay War indemnities at proper time, all Germany's foreign capital was sold out and the scheme of foreign surveillance, which was set up under it, could not be tolerated by any self-respecting nation. In 1925, old Hindenburg became

Chancellor in place of Ebert. This position he secured as a tribute to his military achievements. But it is undoubted that this was the second step towards counter-revolution, and about this very time the coming great economic depression was not far away.

Soviet Russia: Early Struggle. Russia left its Allies during the War and, therefore, it was natural that they entertained a feeling of anger and opposition towards it. The policy followed by Russia after the Revolution further strengthened this opposition. The Allied nations openly supported the counter-revolutionary forces and economically boycotted Russia. As a counterblast, Russia organised the 'Third International' in order to spread Communist Revolution in the neighbouring countries. In Hungary there was actually a Communist Revolution for some time. There were powerful chances of a Communist Revolution in Italy and Germany and the Communist ideology appeared to gain ground in other countries as well. In the meantime, however, the economic condition of Russia began to deteriorate, and with great clarity Lenin announced his "New Economic Policy". Its main basis was co-operation with capitalists, and it also influenced Russia's foreign policy. In December 1925, Zinoviev accepted in a speech at Moscow that the prospects of World Revolution had weakened and faded. Now Russia began to establish diplomatic relations with its neighbours. The Treaty of Tartu with Estonia, in February 1920, was the first treaty with a non-communist country. After this it entered into agreement with its border countries based upon assurances of non-aggression and non-interference. Such treaties were entered into with Georgia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland and Poland, and later with Turkey, Afganistan and Iran. As a result, Russia succeeded in establishing friendly relations with all its neighbouring nations but the big nations continued to view it with suspicion. In April 1922, Russia entered into a secret treaty with Germany at Rapallo, following which Germany recognised the Soviet Government, and both Governments agreed to forego their war claims and also repudiated the pre-war debts.¹

Gradually even in the eyes of the big nations, the danger of Russia was reduced. In March 1921, England entered into

1. F. Malbone to Graham Jr. : *The Soviet Security System* (International Goodwill Communique, No. 252, September, 1929).

a trade pact with it, followed by similar pacts by Germany and Italy. With the coming into power of the Labour Party in England, and the establishment of a Socialist Government in France, the attitude of these countries underwent a change. In February 1924, Britain recognised the Soviet Government. Soon after Italy, Austria, China, France, etc., recognised it, although the United States was not prepared to do so. With a change of Government in England, Britain also withdrew its recognition of the Soviet Government. Russia was no more worried about any international move against it. Soon after a new feeling appeared in the relations between Western nations and Germany resulting in the Locarno Treaties. Russia viewed this as a move to bring Germany under the British sphere of influence and isolate it. Under the circumstance, it was essential for Russia to strengthen itself internally as well as fortify itself against its neighbours.

South-East Europe: State of Uncertainty. There was no appreciable improvement in the condition of South-East Europe even after the War. All these countries were swept by a strong national feeling. But there appeared to be no desire for unity. The Versailles Treaty solved none of their problems. Serbia now had the broader shape of Yugoslavia. Rumania and Greece also increased in size. But Turkey was relegated behind East Thrace, and Bulgaria was most severely punished for siding with Germany. It was quite apparent from all these boundary changes that the fundamental basis of all agreements was to check all future possibilities of a German or an Austrian advance towards the South-East. This, however, created numerous complications. On the one hand, the minorities in Yugoslavia, Greece and Rumania were deeply dissatisfied and were almost in a state of rebellion; on the other, these nations entertained great fears on account of the possible course which may be adopted by foreign countries. Under the leadership of Kamal Pasha, Turkey completely engaged itself in internal reconstruction, but Bulgaria was full of feelings of vengeance. At the same time, Italy was looking with greedy eyes at the Adriatic and Yugoslavia. Really, the condition of these South-East European countries was pitiable, and this had further deteriorated on account of continuous internal troubles. In Greece, a state of uncertainty continued to prevail about the ruling dynasty. After the death of Alexander, Prince George ascended the throne, but very soon,

Constantine was declared king in his place. After that Greece had a military dictatorship, and after some time again monarchy was established. Yugoslavia was a combination of three nationalities, the Serbs, the Croats and Slovenes. And although they had cultural ties, yet differences had risen among them. Two of their great leaders, Pascich and Radisch, could never co-operate among themselves. Analysing the situation in the Balkans, an experienced writer wrote, "The relations in the Balkan, and the different Balkan problems are so complicated that if any two countries enter into any agreement, it is impossible for a third country not to have the suspicion that the treaty is directed against it.....Briefly, it can be said that every country has a quarrel with every other country, and whenever any dispute between any two countries is settled it is interpreted to mean that these two countries want to keep their hands free in order to solve their disputes with a third country from a position of strength."¹

Russia: Achievement of Stability. When the countries of Western Europe were busy in mutual jealousies, and those of South-East Europe, which were created to prevent any further expansion of German influence, had either become friendly with Russia or were engaged in their mutual quarrels, Russia was firmly increasing its internal strength and appeared determined to achieve a place of prestige in the comity of big nations. After the death of Lenin in January 1924, there appeared to be some prospects for internal disorder. His followers were divided into two groups. On the one side was Trotsky, Radek, Zinoviev, etc., and on the other were Stalin, Molotov, Voroshilov and others. But Stalin soon succeeded in gaining victory over Trotsky and his comrades, and became a powerful leader of the country. The fundamental difference between the two views was whether Russia should intensify its efforts for a World Revolution or should try to make itself an ideal Socialist State, and thus become a living example of the success of Socialism to other nations. Stalin supported the latter view and got the support of all Russia.

Stalin did very useful work for the economic development of Russia.² By 1929, agricultural production in Russia

1. David Mitrano: *The Possibility of a Balkan Locarno* (International Goodwill Communique, No. 229, April 1927), p. 170.

2. Vera Micheles Dean: *Soviet Russia, 1917-33*, p. 26-27.

had registered a tremendous increase, and now it became possible to nationalise the properties of the upper peasants. But the Government of Stalin went about this business with great care. The Government gave the peasants tractors, other agricultural implements, and also the advice of experts. The Government's policy, on the one hand, was to exercise greater control on collective farming and, on the other, offer greater facilities to individual peasant. Thus, along with collective production, the share of the individual could also be increased, and his heartier co-operation secured. At the same time, the Government gave great attention to the industrial development of the country. This was absolutely essential in the interest of the country's security as well as for raising the standard of living of the people. Russia was faced not merely with the problem of rehabilitating the pre-War industries but also to build up new industries and manufacture capital goods for them. Russia did this work without foreign aid, only on the basis of the labour of its people. In 1928, its first Five-Year Plan was launched. It was implemented with great precision and the enthusiastic co-operation of the masses could also be organised for it. "The Five-Year Plan—in Four"—This slogan reverberated in all nooks and corners of the country. The scheme achieved unprecedented success. Many industries were established and huge dams were built. When the rest of Europe was passing through a great economic crisis, Russia could claim that its agricultural production had increased many times and its industrial development almost touched the level of the leading nation of the West, and not a single person remained unemployed in the whole of Russia. When the entire capitalist world was shaking to its very bones in a state of uncertainty, Russia achieved remarkable stability by following the path of Communism and dictatorship. Russia became like a steel wall which could not be affected by external attacks. But the problem of security had not yet been solved. In the meantime, Germany, on the basis of another type of a dictatorial state, was making all-out efforts to dominate over the entire Europe, and was clearly challenging the situation in Russia. Under these circumstances, it became essential for Russia to come closer to the Western nations. But were the Western nations prepared to co-operate with it?

The League of Nations : A Bird's-eye View. The League of Nations had small beginnings, but gradually it took the form of a wide-spread organisation. When its first session met at Geneva in 1920, 42 nations had become its members. It was decided that the League of Nations would meet at least once every year. This was an important decision. Up till now the sessions of no international organisation had been held with such regularity. In 1926, the British Foreign Secretary, Austen Chamberlain, declared that he would attend all the meetings of the League of Nations and the Foreign Ministers of Germany and France, Stresmann and Briand, followed him. When the 10th session of the League of Nations met in 1930, it was attended by nine Prime Ministers, twenty-one Foreign Ministers, one thousand diplomats and experts, and four hundred journalists. The first task of this great organisation was to prevent war and to solve those problems which could become a threat to peace. With this object in view, all its members agreed to refer all their quarrels to its decision. In order to solve legal disputes, an International Court was set up. Every nation was bound to accept the decision of the League of Nations; all member-nations were also bound to take military and economic measures against any nation which dared to challenge the decision of the League.

All these clauses were very important and it is acknowledged that in the first ten years of its life the League did contribute to the solution of some disputes. Mention may be made in this connection of the disputes between Finland and Sweden regarding Alind Island, the dispute between Yugoslavia and Albania, the quarrel between Poland and Lithuania about Vilna etc. In the last dispute, however, the League did not prove very effective because Mammal was forcibly occupied by Lithuania but ultimately it was forced to accept the decision of the League. The weakness of the League however, became clear in the Corfu crisis. The prestige of the League, however, was saved when Italy agreed to evacuate the Greek island of Corfu in lieu of a huge compensation. The prestige of the League rose when it successfully solved a dispute between Greece and Bulgaria. But this was its last success. In subsequent years, when the League had to face disputes involving big nations, it could not achieve any notable success.

Disarmament was now considered essential for a permanent prevention of war. The League of Nations made many

efforts in this direction, but never achieved any success, the reason being that there were great differences in the viewpoints of the big nations. In 1931, on United States' inspiration, an International Conference was called at Washington outside the League of Nations, for Naval Disarmament. The proportion of naval strength for the United States, Britain, Japan, France and Italy was kept at 5:5:3:1.75:1.75. Many sub-committees met to discuss disarmament of ground forces, and on February 2, 1932, a large International Conference met at Geneva. In the meantime, however, a great economic crisis had engulfed the whole world, and when Japan attacked Manchuria, the state of security was shaken. In Germany Nazism was making rapid strides. In this atmosphere this Geneva conference could not achieve any notable success. Even after 1931, it had become clear that the League was incapable of checking the ambitions of the big nations. In spite of its failure in the political field, however, it must be accepted that the League did much useful work in social, human and cultural fields.

Germany: The Direction of Reconstruction. When the League of Nations was engaged in creating an atmosphere for world peace, discontent and regret in Germany was resuming revolutionary proportions. The idea was gaining ground that Germany was defeated by treachery and was being treated inhumanly. The Germans felt that their national honour had been crushed, which could be avenged only by blood. The democratic administration which was established in Germany was not in favour of a revolution, but it was not able to satisfy the nation. The economic condition of the country was disastrously worsening day by day, and the people were losing faith in democratic institutions. The feelings of racialism were being expressed in the form of a movement.¹ During the administration of Stresemann, Germany's relation with France and Britain had slightly improved. The Locarno Conference and Treaties are representative of this very period, but Germany was now coming to believe that in spite of its attitude of agreement and compromise, the other nations were not treating it with respect. Difficulties were placed in the way of its becoming a member of the League of Nations. After Stresemann's death, even

1. See R.D.O. Butler: *The Roots of National Socialism*.

this feeling of international co-operation decreased. It is undoubted that Stresemann was a real patriot and wanted Germany to progress, and he well knew that it could not be achieved through war. After his death the whole atmosphere in the country underwent a change and the faith in militarism increased. Three months after his death, Europe was caught in a great economic crisis. All these years, Hitler was engaged in organising his Nazi Party.

Russia in Danger : Efforts at Security . The growth of militarism in Germany presented a great danger to the Soviet Union. The 1925 Locarno Treaties had a great importance in international politics. They strengthened the feelings of security in Europe, but unfortunately the feelings with which these treaties were signed could not be kept up. France continued its policy of forming groups of small nations. Besides, at Locarno an assurance was given regarding the security of the western frontiers of Germany. It was equally necessary to assure the security of its eastern borders, but no steps were taken in the direction. In consequence, while in case of an attack by Germany on any country on its western border, all the countries of the League would have joined hands to fight it, no obstructions were placed in the way of a German aggression on its eastern borders. Under the circumstance, it was only natural for Russia to arrive at the conclusion that Britain and France no doubt wanted to defend themselves, but they cared little for the defence of Russia; on the contrary, it was felt, they wanted that Germany should fight with Russia. In this atmosphere, in 1928, a Pact was signed to solve international disputes through peaceful methods. France's Foreign Minister, Briand, and America's Foreign Secretary, Kellog, were mainly responsible for it. That is why it is very often called the Kellog-Briand Pact, and since it was signed at Paris, it is also famous in history as the Paris Pact. This was an all-embracing pact signed outside the League of Nations. It repeated certain idealistic sentences, but hardly any step was taken for security, especially security in relation to Russia. Chicherin in his analysis of the Pact characterised it as a "West European Organisation" and a "a Pact of aggressive designs against Soviet Russia." It can be said that the Paris Pact represented the wish of the Western nations to maintain peace, but it actually increased the fears of Russia and did not lessen its feelings of distrust against the Western nations.

In The Shadow of Economic Crisis. Plans after Plans were being prepared to settle international debts. From this point of view the Young Plan is of real importance. Through this Plan many of the drawbacks of the Dawes Plan were removed and Germany could assure a more systematic payment of War indemnities. It was decided that Germany will pay the entire indemnity in the course of the next 58 years. The foreign control over German economic policy, which was a feature of the Dawes Plan, was now removed. Further, Germany was given many facilities. Along with this, some decisions were arrived at in regard to international debts. The United States of America was mainly concerned with these debts. It had given huge loans to Britain, France and Italy. The debt amount as such was never sent to Europe. It was actually given in the form of armaments provided from America. These goods were sold to the European countries at high prices, and now that prices had fallen, it became inevitable that the countries of Europe should pay back 50% more of the cost of goods purchased. This situation should have changed after America's entry into the war, because now America had become a colleague of the West European nations. The United States, however, was not prepared to forego this loan. In the spring of 1930, the Young Plan had got the consent of the concerned governments that the question of payment of War indemnity by Germany and the problem of international debts should be combined. Soon after this a world-wide economic crisis set in. It now became impossible for the debtors to pay back the loans to America. The American President agreed to declare a year's moratorium, but at the same time it stopped advancing any further loans. Following this Germany stopped the payment of War indemnities and declared that it would never be able to pay back the amount. Thus, all of a sudden, the payment of international debts as also War indemnities ended. Gradually, all nations stopped the payment of debts to all other nations. Thus a very complicated problem was solved, but the deep economic crisis, which had ended this problem, had a tremendous and disastrous impact upon European political life, the first symbol of which was the rise of Nazism in Germany.

New Tendencies in Germany. Democracy was tried in Germany in an extremely hostile atmosphere. From the very beginning, the extremist parties had a majority in the

National Assembly, and after a few years of democratic experiments, power came to the hands of one of these extremist parties of which Hitler was the leader. This man so greatly influenced later European history that it is essential to briefly describe his life. He was born on April 20, 1889, in a very humble family. Even in his childhood, he used to have fascinating dreams. On account of poverty he could not get high education. But from the very beginning, he was fond of art. At the age of 18 he went to Vienna where he learnt to hate the Jews. After studying the life of the Jews, he was convinced that they were mortal enemies of individualism, nationalism and racialism, and had entered into a conspiracy with Marxism with a view to ending humanity. When the First World War began, Hitler was working as a house-painter. He joined the War on behalf of Bavaria and won war awards. After that he became a member of a small National Socialist German Workers' Party, and gradually he not only became the leader of this Party, but also began to address huge audiences. The scheme of Nazism, which he founded, had already been prepared before and he carried its message to the German people. From earlier times, Germany had traditions of opposition to Jews. Hitler made this the plank of spreading his Nazism. Gradually, the number of his followers increased. He made 'Swastika' the symbol of his Party, and gradually Swastikas appeared everywhere in Germany, over houses, road crossings and streets. Hitler's great success was in the obtaining of the support of General Ludendorf. It was about this time that the famous 'Munich Beer Hall' incident took place by which Hitler attempted to capture State power, but failed, and was sentenced for sedition to a term of five years. During his prison life, he wrote his *Mein Kampf*. His Party was banned.

After a few months, towards the end of 1924, Hitler was released and he once again got busy in organising his Party. The period from 1925 to 1929 was one of peace and prosperity in Germany. Its industrial life was expanding on the basis of foreign loans and its relation with Western countries was improving. In 1929, however, when the economic crisis began to engulf the whole world, Hitler got a golden opportunity to increase his strength. The national ideology of Germany and its historical traditions, the general hatred of Jews in Germany, the burning hatred of the Germans against the Versailles Treaty, Hitler's attractive personality,

his great powers of oratory, the organising genius of his colleagues—all these combined to strengthen the Nazi Party. Hitler's followers consisted largely of students and young men who saw before them a dark future. Apart from these young men, Hitler derived great support from the lower middle class. And Hitler preached his ideology in such a manner that it attracted all classes of society.

Japan's Victory over Manchuria. We have already discussed the first ten years of the life of the League of Nations. Towards the end of the first decade, its prestige had begun to fall. The big nations were engaged in achieving their selfish interests and nobody cared to maintain international peace. France was busy in creating organisations in co-operation with other European nations, and increasing its military power. As against this, England had very largely brought down its naval and air power. Reactionary and conservative parties were in power in most of the countries, and they had no faith whatsoever in the ideals of the League. Under Mussolini, Italy was openly denouncing the utter uselessness of a peace ideology. In 1934, Soviet Russia had joined the League of Nations, but it had hardly any faith in the principles of the League. In the absence of co-operation from the big nations, the League could hardly do much, and could, of course, do nothing in regard to big powers. The aggression of Japan in Manchuria thoroughly exposed the hollowness of the League. Manchuria was under Chinese rule, but Japanese imperialism had covetous eyes on it. As a result there was the incident of September 18, 1932, following which Japan occupied Manchuria, established the puppet Manchukuo regime, and left the League of Nations. It is not necessary to go into the details here, but whatever happened in Manchuria is a sad commentary on the League of Nations. As soon as the Japanese armies entered Manchuria, the Chinese representative informed the League Council about it. The Council adopted a resolution calling upon China and Japan to withdraw their armies from the war zone, but it had no effect. The Japanese armies continued to advance in Manchuria. The Council ordered that the Japanese armies should withdraw by November 16, but this also went unheeded. On January 18, 1932, occurred the Shanghai incident, when the Chinese ill-treated certain Japanese *Bhikshus*. The Chinese promised to pay compensation, but Japanese started murdering the Chinese. On

March 12, the General Body of the League of Nations decided that discussion of the Manchurian problem was within its right, and with a view to studying the situation a committee was appointed with Lytton as its chairman. In the meantime, Japan had annexed Manchuria and recognised it as an independent State under the Manchukuo. The Lytton Commission submitted a very able report, but Japan rejected it. Japan declared that it was essential in its interests to occupy Manchuria, and Britain supported this contention of Japan. On February 24, 1933, the General Body of the League of Nations accepted the Lytton Report and then Japan left the League. Thus the hollowness of the League was exposed to the whole world. It actually failed to prevent Japan from occupying a territory over which China had sovereign right. The apologists of the League of Nations declared that its efforts succeeded in at least localising the conflict. It is clear, however, that the big nations kept themselves fully engaged in the achievement of their selfish interests, and bothered not the least about taking any step to amend the wrong done to China. The main reason for the failure of the League of Nations lies in the fact that no big nation was prepared to endanger its trade by following a policy of economic sanctions against Japan, as the world-wide economic crisis had made it essential for them to secure their trade.

End of Democracy in Germany. In the elections to the National Assembly in September 1930, Hitler's Nazi Party secured 170 seats, whereas in the previous elections (in May 1928) it had secured only 12 seats. In November 1932, it secured 196 seats and thus became the largest single political party of the National Assembly. In January 1933, Hitler became Chancellor, and soon after the unquestioned ruler of Germany and arbiter of the fate of millions. How could all this be possible? The main reason is that the roots of democracy was never deep among in Germans. The German people had never experienced a share in administration, and when it got power it could not correctly use it. In this experiment in democracy, the Allied nations did not help it at all. They always viewed it with suspicion, and France specially placed obstacles in its path at every step. The period from 1925 to 1930 was comparatively a period of peace and prosperity, but democracy was born in Germany at a time of national defeat and degradation. And all the political parties opposed to democracy viewed it with

contempt. Democracy was established in a period of economic crises and it could never get rid of it. The War and the defeat had already made the country lifeless. And, over and above this, a huge debt-burden was imposed. Unemployment was on the increase.¹ All these factors combined to help the slipping out of power from the hands of the Socialists, and the masses developed faith in extremist nationalism. When Luther became Chancellor in 1925, the nationalists were for the first time taken in the Cabinet. Further, there was no solid base behind Germany's economic reconstruction. It could not, therefore, stand the shock of the world-wide economic crisis of 1929-30. With the stoppage of the payment of foreign loans, prices fell disastrously, and it now affected the policies of the country. The Socialist Party went into the background and the influence of the Nazis increased at a rapid pace. For a short time power came in the hands of the minority party of Dr. Brüning. But, as the economic crisis deepened, the influence of Nazis increased. The Nazis, however, had till now not reached a stage where they could capture the administrative machinery by constitutional means. Hitler now increased his contacts with military leaders and succeeded in getting the support of Hindenburg. Brüning attempted to improve the condition of the country, but he could achieve no notable success. Hitler did not rely only upon his political influence. He had also organised a semi-military detachment and this used to have conflict every now and then with the forces of the State. In the election of 1932, the Nazi Party secured 230 seats. With a view to have total power in his hands, Hitler dismissed the National Assembly and ordered fresh election. In the meantime occurred the incident of the burning of the Reichstag. By laying the charge of this burning on the heads of the communists, Hitler won the sympathy of the whole nation. The communists were crushed, and in the new election the Nazis secured a majority. Germany's democratic constitution was cast away in the waste-paper basket and the National Assembly was dismissed for an unspecified period. Now the entire political power centred in the powerful hands of Hitler.

Italy's Foreign Policy. After 1933, Russia had begun to follow a policy of co-operation with democratic countries, and Italy had been isolated. Its relation with Germany had not

1. See Mildred S. Wertheimer: *The Financial Crisis in Germany*. (Foreign Policy Reports, Vol. 7, No. 26; March 2, 1932).

become specially sweet. The experiment of Nazism was new and uncertain. To enter into friendship with Germany would have meant alienating both France and England, and uptill now Italy had not reached a position so as to meet the joint opposition of England, France and Russia. In the absence of might, it took recourse to diplomatic methods. The proposal of a pact between four big nations was clearly an attempt in the direction of making the League of Nations redundant. Britain's Prime Minister Ramsay Macdonald, was almost caught in this net spread by Italy. But, on account of a sudden change in France's policy, it could not be implemented. By a Friendship Pact with Russia on September 2, 1933, Mussolini attempted to isolate France from Russia, but in this he failed. Then he diverted his entire attention to France. The differences between Italy and France were deep and fundamental. The claims of Yugoslavia against Italy, the position of Italian nationals in Tunisia, the attempts of Italy to achieve naval power on a par with France, Italy's desire to revise the Versailles Treaty, the differences between the approach of Italy and France towards small nations of Central and South-East Europe—all these questions deeply divided Italy and France. In its policy towards Central and South-East Europe, Italy was proceeding in co-operation with Austria and Hungary, as a result of which the influence of France had weakened. It appears that France made no effort to re-establish its hegemony. The small nations began to independently build their organisations. On February 15, 1933, there was Pact between Yugoslavia and Rumania; in September a treaty of mutual assurance was signed between Greece and Turkey; on February 4, 1934, another pact was signed between the Balkan countries at Athens and in October and November a constitution was drafted. Till such time as the foreign policy of France was controlled by Bardeau, France retained the control of these organisations in its hands. But after his murder, France adopted a policy of co-operation with Italy.

The main factor which brought France and Italy together is to be traced to the ambition of Germany towards Austria. The murder of Yugoslav King Alexander on October 9, 1934, on French soil brought in chances of France and Italy falling apart. But France now had arrived at a firm decision of following a policy of friendship with Italy. On January 7, 1935, France and Italy entered into a comprehensive

Pact, whereunder the problems that had arisen with regard to East Africa and Tunisia were solved; it was decided that with regard to other matters, a policy of negotiations and co-operation would be followed. Ideas were also exchanged on a scheme for fixing a stable boundary in East Europe. On February 3, 1935, a joint declaration of Britain and France was issued from London in which the proposals accepted at Rome were supported. The Pact between France and Italy acted detrimentally to the movement for the organisation of small nations. Czechoslovakia was faced with the danger that if Germany occupied Austria, it would be completely surrounded. From this point of view, it welcomed the co-operation between France and Italy. As against this, Yugoslavia and Rumania entertained the fears that if France did not support them, they would not be able to defend themselves against Italy and Hungary. Further, France's co-operation with Italy resulted in a deterioration of its relations with England. Britain and Italy were already rivals in the Mediterranean and their interests were never common. Britain was now looking forward to co-operation with Germany against Italy, and France with Italy against Germany.

Aggression against Abyssinia. Thus, Italian diplomacy had succeeded in isolating France from the Soviet Union, preventing it from assuming the leadership of smaller nations and in drawing a wedge between France and Great Britain; and now the time had arrived when it could launch upon its schemes for creating an empire in Africa. A plan for an all-out attack against Abyssinia was being given shape since a long time. In January 1935, Haile Selassie, the Emperor of Ethiopia, had drawn the attention of the League of Nations, but France, which was becoming increasingly friendly with Italy, had succeeded in making the League ineffective on the question. Britain also showed no signs of any action in this regard. On June 18, 1935, the Maffy Report, prepared by an employee of the Colonial Department, was published, which made it abundantly clear that in case Italy attacked Abyssinia and occupied it, Britain would not place any obstruction in its path and would itself try to occupy the Tana Lake and the areas surrounding it, and would also attempt to readjust its boundaries in Somaliland, Kenya and Sudan. On June 24, 1935, when Italy's preparation had fairly advanced, Britain proposed that if Abyssinia ceded certain territory to Italy,

the latter would be prepared to return certain areas in Somaliland. On August 15, Britain and France advanced some other suggestions to Italy for the solution of the Abyssinian problem, but Mussolini did not consider it worth-while to give any attention to it. By September the British attitude seemed to stiffen, but it left no impression upon Italy. Now Italian armies were marching swiftly towards Abyssinia.

In the meantime this question had come up before the League of Nations. On October 7, the League unanimously decided that Italy had broken its treaties and pledges and it had become essential to take action against it. On the recommendation of a sub-committee, the League Council decided to impose economic sanctions against Italy. But, funnily enough, these sanctions were made effective only for those goods which Italy did not need. And, instead of being imposed immediately, as laid down in the Constitution of the League, they were made effective on November 19. The only result of all this was that Italy could no more retain confidence in France and Britain, and got the inspiration to tap Germany for future co-operation. No restriction was placed on the export of petrol to Italy, even when it was apparent that short of a declaration of war against Italy, the only other thing which could deter it from aggression was to stop the route of Suez Canal or prevent the export of petrol to it. In point of fact, Britain and France were not at all keen to place any embargo against Italy. The attitude of France was evident from the very beginning. Britain was afraid that in case the Abyssinian armies succeeded in throwing out the Italian armies from its territory, the 'Black Nationalism' of Africa would receive great encouragement and present a danger for its own imperialism on the Continent.¹ In December, Laval and Hoare had discussions in Paris and together they presented a Peace Plan, which advocated the transfer of a very big portion of Abyssinia to Italy, as also complete economic control over another huge area. When this Plan was published, British public opinion expressed such intense resentment that the Baldwin Govt could save itself only by removing Sir Samuel Hoare from the Ministry ; further, it had to give the specific assurance that these proposals were now "given up totally and for ever and

1. Smuts used to say, "In case there is a conflict on the borders of British Colonies in Africa, it is bound to have severe repercussions within the British Colonies."

this Government will never make any effort to bring it to the fore." But actually there was no change in the direction of Britain's policy and Italian armies continuously marched on to victory. When Ethiopian freedom was thus being crushed under the jackboots of a powerful imperialism, the independent soul of Haile Selassie cried out to the world: "Do the people of the world not yet realise that by fighting to the bitter end, I am not only fulfilling my sacred duties to my people, but also attempting to defend the last fort of collective security? Are they so blind as not to realise that I am fulfilling my duty to the entire humanity? I will continue to fight till my lazy Comrades do not come to this realisation. And if they do not ever come to our help, then I will prophecy without the least bitterness that the Western World is doomed." This painful appeal did have a resonance within the walls of the League of Nations. After the fall of Adis Ababa, Haile Selassie fled away from Ethiopia. On May 10, 1936, he again appealed to the League of Nations from his camp at Jerusalem in the sacred name of the principle of collective security and international obligation "not to recognise Italian victory over Ethiopia." On May 11, the League Council held a meeting, but postponed any decision till June 16. In the meantime, on June 10, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer characterised the economic sanction as "the zenith of madness", and declared that they were no more necessary. On 18th June, Eden declared that Britain had decided to lift the economic sanctions.¹ From June 30th to 4th July, the General Body of the League of Nations met. Haile Selassie warned Europe against that tragedy which was soon to engulf it. Litvinov appealed to the League to take a firm step. Other nations also advanced this view that if the Italian conquest of Abyssinia was recognised "all hopes of international confidence and world peace would be demolished for many generations to come." Despite this, however, the economic sanctions imposed by the League were decided to be withdrawn. Two years after, speaking before the League Council, Haile Selassie said: "On the demand of the aggressor, all methods and ways have been used to expel Ethiopia

1. In his speech on June 25, 1939, Laval said, "The economic sanctions were imposed because we did not want to break with Britain and the League of Nations, and they were implemented in moderation because we did not want to annoy Italy".

from the League of Nations....Will law triumph against brute force? Or will brute force triumph against law?..... Many nations have left Ethiopia in the lurch because of the fear and threat of the aggressor, and because of their weakness. They have exhibited feelings of fear and rout. Every nation keeps its own interests in mind....It is certain that they will also be left to their fate in the same manner as Ethiopia has been left to its fate.... There are different ways for the defence of peace. One way is to defend peace on the basis of justice, and the other is to have peace at any price.....The League of Nations will be committing suicide if it leaves the path of achieving peace based on justice, for which purpose it was specifically created, and takes recourse to achieve peace at any price, and for that even agrees to sacrifice one of its members to the whims of an aggressor." The consequence of the encouragement of Italian Imperialism was that another great nation of Central Europe, full of new and high ambitions, started its march towards imperialistic conquests with greater vigour, and the war which Britain and France wanted to avoid even at the cost of their self-respect, perforce came upon them.

Fortification of Rhineland. The Abyssinian campaign of Italy not only exposed the hollowness of the League, it also made it abundantly clear that Britain and France could not be expected to oppose any aggressive designs. The mutual relations of France and Britain were not very happy. The naval agreement between Britain and Germany on June 18, 1936, which in effect went against the Anglo-French agreement of January 1935, further worsened their relations, but it very much strengthened the naval power of Germany. Italy, on the other hand, was dissatisfied because it did not get from France and Britain the co-operation it expected on the question of Abyssinia. The general elections were due in France and it was expected that as a result of it the internal differences and bitterness in the country would be very much intensified. Hitler regarded it as a very opportune moment. On March 7, 1936, against the express agreements at Versailles and Locarno, the German armies entered those territories of Rhineland where it had promised not to keep any army, and Germany started constructing fortifications. In a way it was a complementary step following the Anglo-German agreement, and its object was to separate Eastern Europe from its

Western part. The construction of powerful fortifications on the borders of Rhineland meant that France could not go to the aid of Poland and other South-East European countries. As *Time and Tide* wrote in a leading article, Germany had succeeded in cutting Europe in half. Just a week before sending armies to Rhineland, Hitler had declared that it was madness to think of war between Germany and France; and, unashamedly, after the occupation of Rhineland, he invited those nations to sign another non-aggression pact, even though he had just torn to bits the one he had signed just a short while ago. The German military occupation of Rhineland had different reactions in different countries. Poland and Czechoslovakia were directly affected and expressed their desire for military action if Britain and France were prepared to co-operate with them. But no such eagerness was visible in England and France. The danger to France had undoubtedly increased, but in the eyes of Britain was not an event of much importance. Britain had always felt that one day or the other Germany was bound to militarise the area. In the eyes of Britain, Germany might have broken international law by the militarisation of Rhineland, but it was not such a step as to invite a world war.

The Civil War in Spain. After the Abyssinian War, Italy left its association with Britain and France and established closer links with Germany. The quarrel between Italy and Germany was actually on account of Austria. In July 1936, a new treaty between Austria and Germany was published in which Germany fully recognised the sovereignty of Austria. The publication of this treaty created the proper atmosphere for a mutual treaty between Italy and Germany in the coming November. In July, the civil war had started in Spain. A democratic regime had been established in Spain in 1931 but democratic organisations could never be worked there properly. Internal revolts—sometimes from one side and sometimes from the other—used to be a regular feature of the country. In the elections of 1933, the Conservative Party had a majority, but in the 1936 elections, the Conservative as well as the Progressive Parties were evenly balanced, and when the Progressives attempted to take the responsibility of the Government in their hands, the Conservatives under the leadership of Franco declared civil war. The Governments of Britain and France appealed to the governments of all

European countries not to interfere in the internal matters of Spain, and in September 1936 an international treaty was signed in London with a view to achieving this objective. All the countries promised not to interfere in Spain's internal affairs, but no country in actual practice followed this promise. Italy was supporting Franco from the very beginning, and it is very clear that if Italy had not supported Franco, his revolt would have been crushed at its very inception. As soon as the Civil War began, Germany also started to help Franco. After some days Soviet Russia began to give aid to the other side of the Civil War. Some volunteers reached Spain to fight on the side of the popular government. It is clear that if Italy, Germany and Russia had not taken interest in the Spanish Civil War, it could have ended very soon. Some writers are of the opinion that these countries were taking interest in the Spanish Civil War in order to support their political ideologies, but actually they were merely attempting to strengthen themselves in order to be better prepared for a possible war in Europe. The object of Hitler was to complete the encirclement of France. The object of befriending Spain was that in the event of war, France would be obliged to devote attention to its southern frontier with Spain. In the eyes of Italy, its friendship with Spain could enable it to keep in control Britain's naval power in the Mediterranean. And because Italy and Germany were supporting France, it became essential for Russia to support the other side. The most important consequence of the Spanish War was that Germany and Italy came closer to each other, and a still better atmosphere was created for the final *anschluss* of Germany with Austria.¹

Rape of Austria. In February 1938, Hitler called Chancellor Schuschnigg of Austria to his residence at Berchtesgaden and forced him to appoint the Nazi leader Seyss-Inquart as his Home Minister. This was against the 1931 Treaty between Austria and Germany in which Germany had assured that it would not interfere in the internal affairs of Austria and on the basis of which Italy had agreed to establish closer links with Germany. The Chamberlain Government utilised this opportunity to isolate Italy from

1. See Charles A. Thomson: *Spain: Civil War* (Foreign Policy Reports, Part II, No. 21).

Germany and gave it the assurance that its victory over Abyssinia would be recognised, and Britain would always be prepared in future to maintain friendly relations with Italy. In protest against this policy of appeasement of Italy, Eden resigned his portfolio of Foreign Secretaryship of the British Cabinet. There was, however, no fundamental change in the policy of the Chamberlain Government. An agreement was signed between Britain and Italy but it did not have any political consequences. After the appointment of Seyss Inquart as the Home Minister of Austria, the trouble created by the Austrian Nazis increased and it became impossible for Schuschnigg to maintain peace and order. On 9th March, Schuschnigg ordered a plebiscite and wanted the people to declare whether they believed in the maintenance of Austrian freedom or not. He expected a huge majority in his favour but Hitler subornly demanded the postponement of the plebiscite. At the same time, he called upon Schuschnigg to submit his resignation and insisted that two-thirds of the Austrian Cabinet should be comprised of Nazis. Simultaneously German army units moved into Austria, and the German newspapers began to publish horror stories about the torture of Austrian Nazis at the hands of the Austrian Government. Schuschnigg denied these allegations of torture, postponed the plebiscite and resigned. On March 12 German armies entered Austria. Schuschnigg and his colleagues and thousands of leading citizens of Austria were arrested, and without firing a single shot the *anschluss* of Austria and Germany was declared.

The Dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. Austin Chamberlain had warned long ago: "Austrian independence is very important. If Austria falls, then Czechoslovakia cannot be defended, and after that the Balkans would be compelled to bow down before a giant power." Churchill also declared in the Parliament: "German mastery of Vienna opens before the Nazis all the roads to South East Europe, the rivers and the rail routes, and all other means of communications, and gives it total military and economic control." By his occupation of Austria, Hitler now surrounded Czechoslovakia on three sides. In a big area of Czechoslovakia, in Bohemia, 3·2 million Sudeten Germans were living. Their sympathies were with Germany. This area was mainly industrial. In the 1929-32 economic crisis its situation had very much deterio-

rated, while agricultural citizens of the eastern provinces were in a better condition. With the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany, a Sudeten German political party had become powerful in Czechoslovakia. As the Czechoslovak authorities in Prague increased their contacts with Russia, so also the dissatisfaction among the Sudeten Germans increased, and they began to look to Hitler for help. After the *anschluss* with Austria it became easier for Hitler to attack Czechoslovakia. Undoubtedly Czechoslovakia had treaties of mutual aid with France and Russia. Britain had an attitude of sympathy. On March 22, 1938, i.e. 11 days after Hitler's attack on Austria, the London *Times* suggested that a plebiscite be taken of the citizens of the Sudeten area to find out as to whether they want to remain in Czechoslovakia or to have an independent government of their own. On 24th April 1938, Henalin in his famous Karlsbad address raised the demands of the Sudeten German Party. In this he demanded self-government for all those territories where the Sudeten Germans were in a majority, and the Government of Prague was asked to break off its relations with France and to establish close political and economic co-operation with Germany. It was only natural for the Masaryk Government to reject these demands, but after that Germany intensified its propaganda and a German army began to collect on the Czechoslovak border.

Czechoslovakia began its preparations to meet the challenge. France promised it assistance and it was expected that in case France was prepared for war, Russia would help it. Under these circumstances Britain sent its representative, Lord Runciman, for arbitration. On July 7, at the request of Czechoslovakian Government, the Sudetan German Party declared its programme of 14 points in which it was demanded that all democratic and representative organisations of the country be dissolved and the country be divided into five parts. On September 12, in his famous Nuremburg address, Hitler publicly declared his support for the minority Sudetens of Czechoslovakia. On 14th September, Henalin demanded the immediate dismemberment of Czechoslovakia. At the same time concentration of German armies on Czechoslovakian borders increased. War seemed imminent, when on September 15, Chamberlain met Hitler at Berchtesgaden. In this meeting, it is assumed, Hitler demanded that all the territories of Czechoslovakia where the

Germans were in a majority, should be joined with Germany. Chamberlain got France to support this proposal and Czechoslovakia was forced to accept it. On September 23, Chamberlain again met Hitler at Gettysburg but he was surprised to find that in the meantime, Hitler had increased his demands. Czechoslovakia rejected these demands and France and Britain assured it of its help but this decision apparently did not stand for any length of time.

Appeasement at Munich. Under the circumstances, Mussolini took upon himself the responsibility to carry on the negotiations. With the consent of Hitler, he advanced the proposal for a meeting of four Big Powers at Munich on September 29. Chamberlain was then speaking in the House of Commons. The Munich Conference lasted for less than eight hours. On September 29, at Munich, an agreement was signed.¹ As a result of this Treaty, Germany was authorised to occupy four border provinces of Czechoslovakia within the next few days and the Czechoslovakian Government was forced to release all the Sudeten political prisoners. The strange feature of this Munich Conference was that not a single representative of Czechoslovakia participated in it, and Russia also was not invited there. As a result, without its consent, Czechoslovakia was forced to cede 1,5th part of its territory, which had the biggest fortifications and which had the centres of all important industries. According to Harrold Nicholson, by this process Germany got 15 per cent of Czechoslovakia's glass industry, 59 per cent of its textile industry, 33 per cent of its industrial population and 14 out of its 27 big cities. Immediately after, Czechoslovakia had to cede the entire area of Teschen to Poland and the southern part of Slovakia and the central part of Luthenia to Hungary. The Slovaks were also given complete right of self-determination. Thus, the Munich

1. The best account of the Munich Pact will be found in H.F.R. Strong's book *When there is no Peace*. For a criticism of the British policy at the time see Winston Churchill's book *While England Slept* (collection of his speeches between 1932 and 1938) and also *Step by Step* (collection of a series of articles begun in 1936). In his book *Munich—before and after*, W. H. Hadley has supported Chamberlain's policy. Andrew Worth's *France and Munich* throws light on French policy. Also see V.M. Dean's *Diplomatic Background of Munich Accord* ("Foreign Policy Reports", Part XXIV, No. 20); G.F. Elliott: *The Military Consequences of Munich* ("Foreign Policy Reports", Part XXIV, No. 20, December 15, 1938).

Pact was a great victory for Hitler's tactics and at the same time it removed all obstructions in Germany's march towards Eastern Europe. The Skoda Works, the biggest armament industry of Europe, a powerful and well-trained army and a strong air force, were all reduced to nought by one successful diplomatic move. The policy at Munich, also the policy followed by Britain and France before Munich had been called in history as the policy of appeasement and has been severely criticised. It is undoubted that it was a policy of weakness, but behind it was the faith that Hitler was determined to have in Germany all areas where the Germans were in a majority and he could not be prevented from this objective, except by war, and they wanted to postpone war at any cost. It is obvious that they committed a blunder in evaluating Germany's ultimate objectives. This mistake of theirs was further made clear when in March 1939 Hitler brought into his possession the remaining portion of Czechoslovakia and advanced his claims further.

Beginning of 1939. The year 1939 was full of various hopes and expectations in Britain. In his New Year Message, Chamberlain called his critics pessimists and said that a year before, "No one could have dared to prophesy that four great nations of Europe would have advanced so far along the road to conciliation." But the fears of Churchill and the warnings of *Izvestia* proved more correct. The new year had not far advanced when the rising ambitions of Nazi Germany again became apparent. On March 15, Hitler called on the old President and the Foreign Secretary of whatever remained of the Czechoslovakian country, and forced them to give the remaining portion of Slovakia to Germany. Thus Czechoslovakia was effaced from the map of Europe. But this event had a profound impact upon the democratic countries, especially Britain. Sharp and Kirk write: "In spite of repeated blows upon the Versailles system by Hitler, the British Cabinet had remained firm in its belief that German ambitions did not extend beyond the goal of rectifying some of the most distasteful features of the settlement, and that when this had been done, effective collaboration could be established with the Reich. They also had faith in the oft-repeated declarations of Hitler that he never wished that non-Germans should be brought under the rule of Swastika." A wave of anger spread over England. On March 17, in a speech at Birmingham, Cham-

berlain sorrowfully asked : " Is it the last attack upon a small State or is it to be followed by others ? Is it a step to establish world domination through brute force ? " After a fortnight he declared in the House of Commons : " If I get the conviction that a nation has decided to establish domination over the world through force then I believe that it becomes necessary to resist it. " It was clear that Britain was leaving the policy of appeasement and was advancing its step in another direction. The assurance given to Poland on March 31, which was called " immediate and fundamental ", was an indicator of the coming change in British foreign policy. Speaking in Parliament the Prime Minister of Britain said : " In the event of an action which threatens the freedom of Poland and which the Polish government considers essential to resist with its armies, the British Government will be compelled to give all aid to Poland ". France also gave a similar assurance to Poland. Similar assurances were given to Rumania, and Turkey. Negotiations were started with Russia. On April 26, reservists were called up in England. In the new Budget of 1939-40, the expenditure on army was very much increased. In the meantime on March 21, Hitler took Memel, and demanded of Poland to sign a treaty against Russia, but Poland rejected it.

Actually there were deep reasons for differences between Germany and Poland which could not be easily removed. Germany could not be expected to cease its efforts to get back Danzig and the Polish Corridor, which divided it from Eastern Prussia as also the valuable mines of Upper Silesia, which together comprised a population of 8 lakh Germans. After the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia, Germany's claws had advanced hundred miles eastwards to Carpathia. Now it had surrounded Poland from three sides. In the end of March, Germany demanded of Poland to immediately return Danzig, and to give it a passage in the Polish Corridor so that it could establish its connection with East Prussia through rail and road. In return for this Germany made extravagant promises to Poland. Poland rejected these demands. As a counterblast Hitler announced abrogation of Polish-German treaty of April 26, 1934. On May 22, Ribbentrop and Count Ciano met in Berlin, and they together signed a treaty of defence and mutual aid between Italy and Germany. In the early weeks of summer German armies and war materials were continuously despatched to Danzig. In the coming months pressure of Germany over

Poland persistently increased and German papers launched a ferocious attack upon Poland. All the allegations about the oppression and terrorisation of Germans which were made against Czechoslovakia were repeated.

If danger to Poland had increased as a result of the German policy, the danger to Russia was no less. After the incorporation of Slovakia in Germany, German borders were very near Carpathia, which was a part of Russian Ukraine. After Czechoslovakia, Memel was occupied. This became a cause of great worry to Russia.

In 1915, German armies had marched against Russia through this very route,—through Carpathia in the south and Lithuania in the north. Whether Germany had intentions of repeating this military manoeuvre or not it was definite that with the encirclement of Poland Russia could no more consider itself safe. In point of fact England and France could not give any effective aid to Poland without the co-operation of Russia. Unfortunately, however, differences of ideologies between these countries had generated in them a feeling of mutual distrust. Therefore, attempts to establish any co-operation between them moved with a very slow speed. Britain had given assurances to Poland. But, in the next five months, between April and August, it had hardly taken any step to implement it. Britain could not afford to supply arms to Poland, nor could it give enough loan to Poland to purchase arms from America. There were very little military talks, and even they were indecisive.

Even less wisdom was shown from the diplomatic point of view. It was certain that England and France could never defend Poland without the help of Russia, and time and again Russia expressed its desire for co-operation and placed a number of proposals before the Western democracies. They however, always viewed it with suspicion.¹

On April 15, after drawing lessons from the events in the last week of March, England proposed to Russia that it should give an assurance of aid both to Poland and Rumania with

1. In March 1938, after the *anschluss* of Germany with Austria Litvinov proposed that a conference of big nations to preserve peace should be immediately called. England rejected the proposal. In March 1939 he again suggested a conference of six nations at Bucharest. But this proposal also was rejected as immature.

whom Russia had very bad relations. In its reply Russia suggested that Britain, France and Russia should jointly assure all the countries from the Baltic to Black Sea. Negotiations proceeded at a very slow speed for a very long time.

Till the very end Britain was not prepared to give assurances to any other country except Poland and Rumania.¹ This strengthened Russian fears that Britain's object was to encourage Germany to attack the Soviet Union through the Baltic countries. In the beginning of May an important event occurred in Russia. The Foreign portfolio was taken away from Litvinov, who had been following a policy of co-operation with democratic countries for a number of years, and was given to Molotov who was supposed to have definite leanings towards Germany. It appears that even these developments did not teach any thing to England and France.

In the meantime diplomatic talks continued with Russia. The Labour Party suggested that Lord Halifax should be sent for this work. It appears that the inspiration for this proposal came from Russia. But this proposal was not accepted, and an official of the Foreign Department, William Strang, was sent to Moscow. Strang was an able man but was given no powers. For everything he had to consult his Government at each step. In the middle of August negotiations were started at a military level. This time again some second-rate army officers were sent to Russia. Russia said: "We expected Gamelin and Gort, but you have sent such people who cannot talk on a level of equality with Voroshilov." Negotiations nevertheless continued. Russia suggested that in the event of a German attack, it will send its armies to Vilna in the North and Lvov in the South so that they could meet the German armies. Poland, which had as much distrust of Moscow as of the Germans, refused to accept it. On August 20, when Voroshilov heard this he got so angry that he walked out of the room. On August 22, when Poland was made to agree to this proposal, the ambassadors of France and

1. Hugh Dalton writes: "During the next five months no plans were prepared. Poland on its part gave the assurance for mutual aid, but this did not help advance the negotiations. A financial mission came to London from Poland but it could get no loan. We told the Poles that we ourselves wanted all the arms that we have and we could give them any. Then they expressed their wish to purchase aeroplanes and other arms from America. But we did not give them any loan. There were absolutely no effective staff talks."

Britain went to see Molotov with this good news. He laughed wryly and in a stammering voice said that the next day Ribbentrop was expected in Moscow in order to sign a defensive treaty between Russia and Germany.

The agreement signed between Germany and Russia on August 23, was an event of great surprise for the whole world as every one expected that in the end the democratic countries and Russia would come to an agreement. Some people say that this pact is an indication of the evilness of the Communist Russia. But the fact is that Russia had been convinced that the democratic countries had no desire to co-operate with it. On the other hand, Hitler did not want to fight a war on two fronts. When he saw that the Western nations were determined to call a halt to his aggressive designs, he made an effort to improve his relations with Russia. This agreement is not an indication of Russia's cunningness but is a practical step taken by it to ensure its defence. This agreement, however, neither altered the basic objectives of Germany, nor did it mean any change in the fundamental policy of Russia. Looking at the halting and vacillating policies of the West, if Russia had rejected German advances for friendship, it would have invited disaster. After signing a temporary treaty with Germany, Russia now got opportunity to strengthen its defences.

The last days of peace are like the end of a tragic drama and it can be briefly narrated. Immediately after this treaty was signed, the British Government announced that it would not affect its responsibilities towards Poland. Its difficulties had nevertheless very much increased. On August 28, the British Ambassador in Berlin, Sir Neville Henderson, suggested that direct negotiations should be started between Germany and Poland. Poland refused to accept the proposal. On the evening of August 30, when Henderson met Ribbentrop again, the latter read out very fast a long memorandum in German. When Henderson wanted a copy of the same in order to forward it to the Polish Government Ribbentrop replied that there was no time left for it. Before beginning the Second World War Hitler made a dramatic and 'liberal' announcement to the effect that after solving the Polish problem he would be prepared to "guarantee the existence of the British empire". But events were now moving fast. On the morning of September 1, 1939, German armies crossed the Polish border, and

on September 3, at 11.15 hours, the British Prime Minister informed the British people that war had been declared against Germany.¹

1. In order to study the last days before the outbreak of World War II, see G. J. Hains and R. J. S. Hoffman. *Origin and Background of Second World War*; Henderson, *Failure of a Mission*; F. L. Schuman, *Design for Power*; *Struggle for the World*; Documents governing the German Polish relations and the outbreak of hostilities between Great Britain and Germany on September 3, 1939, (Official Publication of Britain, No. 6106).

XXXVIII

THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND AFTER

The end of Poland. Within three weeks of the outbreak of the War, Poland was defeated.¹ On September 27th at Warsaw, the resistance power of the Poles was crushed by the German army, but before that Russia had attacked eastern Poland. After the Polish strength had been undermined, it became very easy for Russia to march through Poland. Simultaneously with its victory Russia established Communism in these countries. The large landed estates were distributed among the peasants and the poorest tenant got the most preferential treatment. Local soviets were established, and with the Russian aid, construction of roads and canals was undertaken with great speed. Eastern Poland was made a part of the Soviet Union.² It is difficult to say whether this action was taken in accordance with certain previous agreements with Germany or without any prior agreement. On September 28, Germany and Russia signed a special Treaty according to which Poland was divided almost equally by a line drawn through Warsaw. On October 8, the Polish Corridor and Silesia were incorporated in Germany, and only an area of 40,000 sq. miles in central Poland, not included in either German or Russian territory, was left. The policy of Sovietisation was also followed in Polish Ukraine.

The Foreign Policy of Russia. In studying the Polish War, it is of the utmost importance to keep the Soviet policy in mind. The Red Armies marched in southern Ukraine to a point where it became impossible for Germany to have direct

1. The attack on Poland proved a very good opportunity for Germany to test its war weapons. In this campaign Germany used 73 divisions, more than 2,000 aeroplanes and 6,000 tanks and attacked Poland from the north, south and the east at the same time. See C. Hollingsmith : *The Three Weeks' War in Poland*.

2. See Bernard Paras : *A History of Russia*.

contact with the borders of Hungary and Rumania. It was clear that Russia did not want that the path to the Baltic Sea and the Russian Ukraine should be left open for Germany. Thus a great obstacle was put in the way of German ambitions to march towards South-East Europe. Actually, behind the facade of Russo-German friendship was self-interest and diplomacy and the fundamental distrust between these two was never reduced. It was apparent from the very early period of the War that Russia was making all-out efforts to strengthen its frontiers. Hitler was forced to come to a Treaty with Russia and for this he had to pay a very heavy price.

After strengthening the Hungarian and Rumanian borders in the south-west, Russia now diverted its attention towards the Baltic States. The reason for this also was that it wanted to strengthen its border defences in proper time, not that it had launched on a new policy of imperialism. Russia has always been alert to a possible attack upon it via Luthania. The object of Stalin in advancing towards the Baltic Sea probably was to wash off the shame of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty. The main object, however, was to establish Russian authority over the Baltic Sea. On September 28 Estonia was forced to friendship and mutual aid for 10 years with Russia. According to this Treaty Russia got the authority to establish air and naval bases on the shore of Estonia. In the next two weeks the two other Baltic States, Lithuania and Latvia, similarly came under Russian tutelage. Thus, Russia became the complete master of the Baltic and the path of Germany to march towards the east was blocked both in the north and the south. Hitler called back to Germany many of the families who were living in the Baltic provinces for a number of centuries. In the south, Russia advanced towards Rumania which had in its possession since World War I, the province of Besserabia, formerly belonging to Russia and then it advanced towards Turkey, which had control of the Dardanelles. But here, Russia did not achieve any success. Rumania in the meantime strengthened its relations with Hungary and established close economic links with the Allied nations. Turkey rejected the demands of Russia to close the Baltic Sea for the ships of other nations, and signed a Treaty of mutual co-operation with Britain.

The Finnish War. It was as necessary for Russia to have domination over Finland as over the Baltic States, but it was faced with many difficulties. The Finnish armies were within 20 miles of Leningrad. Russia wanted Finland to give air bases just as it got air bases in the Baltic States. Finland, probably on the inspiration of Germany, rejected these demands. On 30th November, Russia attacked Finland. Stalin announced that the present Finnish Government is dissolved and in its place a government headed by an exiled Finnish Communist, Otto Kussinin, was announced. Although the total population of Finland is much less than the population of Leningrad, this small country resisted the giant power Russia with great heroism for many months. The war continued in the freezing winter of December, January and February. At last, Finland had to yield before the great power of Russia, and Russia also had to follow a policy of compromise and conciliation towards the establishment of a new administration in Finland. A Treaty was signed on March 30, 1940, which gave Russia what it wanted, and even more. Some people are of the opinion that the Finnish War indicates the rise of imperialism in Russia but as Barbara Ward says, "The entire object of Russian military action in the winter of 1939-40 was that at a time when its most powerful enemies were engaged elsewhere, it should strengthen itself from a military point of view. From a purely national point of view, Russian attack of Finland can be compared to the occupation of Sudetenland by Hitler. From a military point of view it was as much justified." Till the end of the Finnish War, the foreign policies of Germany and Russia seemed to move on parallel lines. On October 31, 1939, in a speech, Molotov laid the responsibility of the War on the head of England. Actually, in all their public announcements, the Russian leaders protested their friendship with Germany and repudiated all those allegations which had been made against this friendship. Many statements about far-reaching economic co-operation were also made, but in actual fact, no such step was taken which could have established greater friendship between the two countries. The Agreement with Russia gave Hitler the opportunity to postpone his schemes in the east and after getting confident about his eastern borders, he concentrated all his attention on the west.

Victory over Eastern Europe. After the fall of Poland which took only three weeks, the War entered a phase of very

slow movement. On September 1, 1939, when Germany entered the Polish borders, the world expected that a tremendous destructive war would now commence and it was hoped that the capital cities of the big countries would be reduced to ashes within a very short time. Great attention was given to the defences of several big cities, but weeks and months elapsed and nothing seemed to happen. In October 1939, Lord Gort complained that under the circumstances it became difficult to maintain the enthusiasm of the armed forces. The X'mas of 1939 was celebrated with great gusto by the armies because at that time no war was being fought anywhere, and on the battlefronts life was dull and slow-moving. The soldiers were writing long letters to their wives and fiancées, and because of the vitaminous food they got, they were putting on weight. But, as soon as the spring of 1940 commenced, War suddenly assumed great speed. Germany made Denmark and Norway as its object; Denmark could supply butter, meat, eggs, cheese etc. The air bases of Norway could supply excellent centres for submarines and aeroplanes, from where the ships trading with the English ports could be attacked and destroyed. On April 9, Denmark surrendered before Germany almost without a conflict. Norway did make an attempt at resistance, but it could not continue it for any length of time. Within a very short time, most of the Norwegian cities were occupied by Germany. Many ships which wanted to help Norway were destroyed, and the armies of Britain which had landed at Narvik were thrown back. After occupying Denmark and Norway, the Germans marched towards Belgium and Holland. Rotterdam was heavily bombed. After four days, during which 80,000 Dutch citizens and soldiers were killed or wounded, Holland had to surrender. Belgium was also occupied, and within three weeks of this new offensive, the German armies were seen marching towards France. The effect of the fall of Belgium and Holland on Britain was that the Chamberlain Government had to resign and a coalition government under Winston Churchill took office.

The Attack on France. Immediately after France was attacked, it became quite clear how little this country was prepared to face the enemies. In 1935, when Germany began its rearmament, it was assumed that the aeroplanes of France were the best in the world, but now it was occupying the fourth or the fifth place. The dissatisfaction in the factories as also the

strikes, and the weakness of the bureaucracy, had reduced production to a very low level. But in 1937 Germany was preparing 1000 aeroplanes per month. French factories could not prepare more than 38 aeroplanes. In 1938, the French citizens had no air-raid shelters to save themselves from air attacks. Neither had they gas masks, nor the French Government had anti-aircraft guns to stop the attacking planes. On the eastern borders were placed 80 divisions : out of these, only 4 had complete arms. Ten divisions came from England and 22 from Belgium, but by this time Germany had 126 divisions. France had devoted much of its strength in the construction of the Maginot Line, but because of the attack of the German armies via Belgium this Maginot Line proved utterly useless. The French administration was running in a haphazard manner, and its greatest misfortune was that it had no personality with the will-power and determination of Clemenceau. Daladier, Renan and Herriot, who were the leaders of the nation at the time, were small men full of mutual jealousy and involved in individual quarrels. On March 18, the Government of Daladier fell and Renan formed a new ministry. Renan was opposed to Gen. Gamelin from the very beginning. Gamelin was an experienced general who believed in gradually taking the war forward, strengthening the defences all the time. Renan believed in a war of attacks and quick decisions.

Germany attacked France at a point where it was least expected—in the difficult terrain between Sedan and Charvillele. The object of Germany was not to occupy Paris but to take under its possession the sea-coast. Germans also wanted to surround the armies of Britain, Belgium and France. British armies, under the leadership of Lord Gort, escaped from Dunkirk with great speed.¹ They numbered nearly $2\frac{1}{4}$ lakhs. Huge quantities of war material and the greater portion of the French army was left behind. After this the German armies fanned out in different directions in France.

One unit advanced to the south and occupied the entire French coast line. The other unit crossed the Soame and moved towards Paris. A third army moved towards the Maginot Line and encircled and occupied it. After this there was no hope left for the defence of France. From September 1939 the

1. See A.D. Divine : *Dunkirk*, H.D. La Falaise : *Through Hell to Dunkirk*.

propaganda section of the German Government was making constant attempts to draw a wedge between France and England and it achieved sufficient success in this. When the English armies escaped via Dunkirk the French became yet more distrustful of the English. On the other hand, regarding defence of France to be a lost hope, the British did not send any more armies to France. The result was that in the battle of the Soame, where more than 150 German divisions were fighting, only 3 or 4 English divisions fought on the side of France. The German Radio in a biting commentary said: "The British? They know only one war strategy—how to escape with their armies. Very soon you will read in their newspapers the triumphant declarations as to how British naval forces took away the last English soldier without any disorder and bloodshed."

The Fall of France. By the beginning of June 1940 the situation had become very serious. France was very much in need of help, but England was not at all in a position to give it. Neither had it any army to send to the Continent, nor had it enough war material by which it could compensate the huge losses at Flanders. On the morning of 13th July, 1940, the German armies reached Paris and the next day they occupied the city. Before the end of this tragedy, Churchill went to France and proposed to its Government to form an Anglo-French Union, but hardly any time was left for such a move. Petain succeeded in the place of Renan on 16th June, and he at once appealed to Germany for armistice. On June 22nd France signed the treaty terms as laid down by Germany as a result of which the entire coast line of France was given over to Germany. France also surrendered to Germany all its arms and ammunitions. The French Army and the Navy were disarmed. Taking advantage of the situation Italy also declared war on France and the Allies on June 10. On June 24 France had to sign a similar treaty of armistice with Italy. A leading military leader of France, Gen. De Gaulle, took refuge in Britain and there he announced the formation of an independent French Government. Britain was afraid that Germany might use the French warships to attack it and so either it took possession of the French warships lying in British harbours or destroyed them. This also had a bad effect upon Anglo-French relations¹.

1. See D. Draper: *The Six Weeks' War, France, May 10-June 25, 1940*; Andre Maurois: *Why France fell*; H. F. Armstrong: "*The Chronology of Failure: The last days of the French Republic.*"

The Battle of Britain. After the fall of France, Hitler was mightily strengthened. Now he was in possession of the entire sea-coast of Europe from Norway to Sweden. Within a few weeks his most ambitious dreams of war had been fulfilled, and so after the fall of France he had no immediate schemes to carry forward his battle with England. Both the countries were fighting each other on the sea. In the early months of the war some of the best British warships were sunk and in retaliation Britain attempted an economic blockade of Germany. Immediately after Churchill became the Prime Minister Britain began all-out efforts to strengthen its defence. Between July and October Britain was continuously bombarded. Every attempt was made to destroy its air bases, its naval dockyards, its food stores, etc. Within the next one year Germany dropped 2 lakh bombs over Britain which killed 33,000 people and wounded 50,000. In London alone more than 10 lakh houses were destroyed and in the rest of Britain 20,000 houses were ruined. The British gave a strong counter-reply. Between August 1940 and June 1941, it destroyed 5,220 German aeroplanes, out of which 66 planes were destroyed in a single day. The informations received later reveal that Hitler was not planning to attack Britain because he expected that very soon the British will surrender, but by its brave resistance the British destroyed these hopes of Hitler.

The Foreign Policy of Italy. On June 10th, when French resistance was rapidly collapsing, Italy declared war on France¹. This was a step full of treachery and absolutely unwarranted. During the previous years relations of Italy with Germany had very much been strengthened. During the Spanish Civil War their armies fought shoulder to shoulder. The basis of German-Italian co-operation was not only political but also psychological, and even from the economic point of view they were near to each other. By the end of 1938 Italy had come to entirely depend upon Germany in its foreign policy, even though it is almost certain that while occupying Austria or on the occasion of the occupation of Sudetenland, Germany did not consider it necessary to consult Italy. Looking at the success achieved by Germany in Eastern Europe by threats, Italy began to believe that

1. See P. Bodoglio: *Italy in the Second World War*; *The Ciano's Diaries 1939-43*; B. Mussolini: *Fall of Mussolini. His Own Story*.

by following the same tactics it would be able to achieve complete domination in the Mediterranean. In fact Mussolini always dreamt of a Munich in the Mediterranean. But Italy neither had the necessary armed strength nor the economic resources to influence England and France in the Mediterranean as Germany could in Eastern Europe. The dream of a Mediterranean Munich could become true only on the help of Germany. But Germany at this time was busy in occupying Prague, conquering Memel and pressing Poland. It was apparent that it cared the least about its companion.

In September 1939, when War started, Italy did not immediately join it. While one reason for this may be attributed to Italy's weakness, the other reason was that it was necessary in the interests of Germany that Italy remained neutral. Aggression in Ethiopia and the civil war in Spain had so much tired out Italy that it could not even think of a war. It had also the fear that in the event of a war France would attack its industrial centres which were near to the French borders and would easily destroy them, and England would block the two ends of the Mediterranean at Gibraltar and the Suez as a result of which 80 per cent of Italy's foreign trade and the whole of Italy's empire would break. Actually it was not at all prepared for a war. But if after the outbreak of the war it remained neutral, it was not because of its inability to enter the war but because of the requirements of Germany. Hitler believed that the Western nations were not prepared to fight a war and immediately after the victory over Poland, when he would announce the peace terms, the Western nations would keep quiet. When, however, Britain and France refused to talk peace even at the end of the Polish campaign, and the war seemed to drag on, even then Germany did not want Italy to enter the War because in that event it could be attacked from several directions. In that event Germany would be forced to rush to Italy's rescue. By remaining neutral Italy could be more useful by breaking the economic blockade of Germany. Gradually it became clear that if the Allied nations did not stiffen their economic blockade, and if the Balkan countries remained peaceful, Germany could face this blockade for an unlimited period. From this point of view also Italy's neutrality was essential. During the winter of 1939-40 Italy did very useful work in breaking Britain's economic blockade of Germany and maintaining the contacts of Germany with various markets of the world.

Change in Attitude. In the meantime many internal changes were taking place in Italy. The influence of Nazi and Fascist organisations was increasing. The Government was busy amassing war weapons and materials and this was affecting the standard of living of the people. On the other hand, German propaganda was also influencing Italy, and the feeling was gaining ground that England and France were resisting justifiable demands of the Germans for a *Lebensraum*, and on the other they were crushing the ambitions of Italy by holding it within their seas. The result of all this was that a feeling of hatred and anger developed in Italy against democratic countries. People became inclined towards war. In the spring of 1940, when the Allied nations stiffened their economic blockade and Germany was conquering one country after another, the whole aspect of war had changed. The war shifted now from the economic to the military field, and it became essential to take a decision as soon as possible. From this point of view, the utility of an Italian attack on the southern borders of France could be that the Allied nations would be forced to give considerable attention to the Mediterranean area. German *blitzkrieg* in Europe convinced Italy that war would end very soon. It was also now better prepared for a war. It became now impossible for Mussolini to control himself. On June 10, he declared war against France and Britain. France prayed for armistice. Italy had the satisfaction that it could achieve its dream with such ease.

Disappointments of Italy. As, however, time advanced disappointments to Italy increased. It was not at all prepared for a big war. In the economic field it was even less prepared. There was no internal discipline. Mussolini was probably thinking that after the fall of France Britain would accept defeat and the war would end. Actually Italy joined the war not to fight but to share the fruits of victory. If this was not the case it is difficult to understand why in the beginning of July when all the friends of Britain had been defeated and Britain had hardly any force in the Mediterranean and Egypt, Italy did not press upon Suez. England had very little force in the Mediterranean. In Malta, Gibraltar and Egypt it hardly had 250 old type aeroplanes, and 2 naval fleets at Alexandria and Malta. Italy had 10 big battleships and a fleet of many

cruisers, 500 aeroplanes and 2 lakh soldiers in Libya. In September, probably on the inspiration of Germany, Marshal Graziani advanced towards Egypt, but could not go beyond Siddi Barrani. In the meantime France had fallen. While Germany had occupied 2/3rd of its territory, Italy had got nothing. Its dreams of Corsica, Tunisia and Nice were still unfulfilled.

Italy attacked Greece in October. It is difficult to understand the reasons for it. Probably Italy feared that Germany might occupy the entire Balkans. This did not, however, result in any good for Italy. Within a month the last soldier of Italy was expelled from Greece and the Greek armies were advancing on the entire front towards Albania. Soon after this Britain's naval fleet attacked Taranto. Italy's fleet was most severely mauled. On December 7, British armies attacked Siddi Barrani, and in a bitter battle for two months, General Wavell not only expelled Graziani's armies from Egypt but forced him to evacuate the entire province of Cyrenaica. In the meantime Britain's air arm was attacking Italy's armies in Libya and the Mediterranean. 1,37,000 Italian soldiers were taken prisoner, and 1,300 big guns and a huge amount of other war material fell into the hands of the British. The situation deteriorated to such an extent that Marshal Badoglio resigned and there were rumours of a strong discontent and even revolt in the army. Germany immediately came to the rescue of its ally. German war planes replaced Italian planes in Sicily and other areas. German soldiers reached Africa, and the armed intervention of Germany in the Balkans washed away the shame of Italy's defeat in Albania. In the Middle East also, after the accession to power of pro-Nazi Governments in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, and Iran, the position of Britain became precarious, and it feared that Germany would attack its oil pipe-lines and also the Suez. To obviate this possibility the British removed the Iraq administration by force and established a Government at Baghdad which was entirely dependent upon them. Similar changes were brought about in the administration of Lebanon, Syria. In Iran also a forcible change in the Government was brought about. From the point of view of the defence of the empire, this was a major step, because there is no doubt that if Germany had got possession of these important Middle East territories, the Fascist forces would have been very much strengthened in their challenge to the British and the French empires.

Changes in Soviet Foreign Policy. Events in the latter half of 1940—fall of Norway, Holland, Belgium, and above all, France—brought about great changes in the policies of the nations involved in the war. These events, and the entry of Italy into the war on the side of Germany presented great dangers for Russia. Russia hoped that the war between the Fascist Powers and the democratic countries would drag on for a long time. But the fall of all the western nations except England presented an entirely new situation. Entry of Italy into the war meant a severe blow upon Britain in the Mediterranean. The direct route to India and Australia was thus cut and a dangerous situation had been created for Britain as regards Egypt and Palestine. The German armies marching gradually on the Western coast of Europe could any day occupy Gibraltar. Suez was already surrounded by the Italian colonies of Somaliland, Eritria, Ethiopia and Libya. Britain had prevented the situation from utter deterioration by sending its armies to Libya and by its bombardment of Taranto. But now the overall control of all Italian operations had been taken over by Hitler and Britain was being reduced to fits by insistent German bombardment.

Hitler's pressure on South-East Europe. It is difficult to surmise what would have happened had Germany attacked Britain in the spring of 1940. (Germany, after strengthening its western defences, turned to the eastern border. All this time Russia was busy strengthening its defences. It had already taken possession of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. On June 26, 1940, it had occupied Bessarabia, and after that it occupied north Bukovna. Rumania had to cede the northern part of Transylvania to Hungary on August 30, 1956, and the southern part of Dobruja to Bulgaria on September 7.) In the meantime German armies were marching towards Bucharest and the German submarines had reached the Black Sea. Probably the immediate object was to help Italy in its war with Greece. It appears that Germans had not anticipated such a rapid advance of the Russian armies in the south-east Europe and it was not prepared to resist this advance.

(In the last months of 1940, Russia had to beat a retreat before the increasing influence of Germany in the region. Germany was permitted to send help to its armies in Norway via Finland. In the Balkans also Russia was not in a position to

demand any sphere of influence for itself. If Greece had not bravely resisted the Fascist aggression, then Bulgaria, and probably the Straits of Dardanelles would have come under German influence. By February 1941 German heavy guns had been placed on the Black Sea and the old danger to Ukraine had become very much real.

Hitler's march towards Greece was obstructed by two countries, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. In both the countries Russia had considerable influence, although Britain's influence in Yugoslavia was no less. (On March 1, 1941, Bulgaria was forced to join Germany's 'New Order' and give way to German armies in its march towards Greece.) On March 25, the Government of Yugoslavia signed an agreement by which its railways were handed over to Germany and its armies were forced to surrender their arms, and it agreed to join the 'New Order'. But people revolted against this agreement. In place of Boris, Peter was declared king, and England as well as Russia promised to help Yugoslavia. But Yugoslavia could not be defended. On April 6, it had to bow before the German armies. The German armies now marched towards Greece.

The British air arm was helping Greece against Italy from the very beginning, and a unit of the British army in North Africa was sent to Greece. But it could not do much. The resistance of the Greek armies was broken. It was pushed back. Gradually entire Greece and the southern islands of Crete, where the Greek king had sought asylum was occupied by the Germans. Thus by the beginning of June, Germany established its domination over the entire Balkans. This domination could not be made stable till such time as British air force could be ousted not only from Crete but also from North Africa. The fall of Crete was a great blow to Britain's prestige. By sending armies to Greece Britain's strength in Egypt was weakened and the result was that General Rommel was able to throw back the British armies from everywhere except Tobruk. Thus Germany's position in the Balkans and the Eastern Mediterranean was very much strengthened. In the meantime, however, Britain had got a breathing time to remove pro-German rulers from the countries of the Middle East and thus strengthen itself. Britain was now so much strengthened in the Middle East that Germany could not conveniently move further in that direction.

The Difficulties of Russia. All these months Anglo-Russian collaboration was increasing. They had common interests and approach in Greece and Yugoslavia. Russia viewed with apprehension the growing strength of the Fascist powers in the South-East Europe. In the Mediterranean, as also in the Pacific Ocean, the danger was developing equally for Britain as well as Russia. There were continuous disputes between Russia and Japan on boundary questions. Japan had achieved internal unity and was expanding towards the South. On June 12, 1940, it entered into an agreement with Siam. The fall of France had opened before it the way to Indo-China. On September 29, the anti-Communist agreement between Japan, Germany and Italy was converted into a triangular agreement whose object was to establish a 'New Order' in the continents of Asia and Europe. Thus Russia was surrounded on both sides by the 'New Order'. On 13th April, when the Japanese Foreign Minister, Matsukoa, was returning from Berlin, he entered into an agreement with Molotov at Moscow in which Russia was assured that in case it was attacked by any third country (presumably Germany) Japan would remain neutral. But by the time Matsukoa reached Tokyo he had been removed from his Foreign Ministership. On November 13, Molotov himself reached Berlin and had a personal talk with Hitler for a number of hours. It appears that these negotiations produced no results.

Relations between Germany and Russia. The relations between Germany and Russia were never based on mutual trust. By September 1940, Hitler had realised that it was difficult to defeat Britain, and in order to achieve this objective he considered it essential to have under command the entire economic resources of Europe. Russia thus could not have been left free for any considerable length of time. Russia had utilised its agreement with Germany to further strengthen itself. It possessed unlimited man-power and economic resources. The difficulties which Russia had to encounter in order to crush a small country like Finland convinced Hitler that Russia had neither modern military equipments nor an able leadership. Hitler and his advisers estimated that it would not take more than four months to crush Russia. The trade agreement signed between Russia and Germany before the outbreak of the war was not working well. Hitler could not get all the petrol he wanted. He was convinced that if he could get control of the oil and transport

resources of the Soviet Union, he could fulfil his requirements. It is believed that Hitler had decided to attack Russia in the Autumn of 1940, but Gen. Keitel prevented him from doing so. The Triangular agreement between Germany, Italy and Japan on September 27 was a step in this direction. Failure of Molotov-Hitler talks in November further made the problem serious. On November 26, 1940, Russia placed certain demands before Hitler. It was demanded that the areas to the south of Baku and Batum should be considered under Russian sphere of influence, Russia should get air bases in Bulgaria and that German armies should be withdrawn from Finland. These demands clearly spoiled the relations between the two countries. Russian papers no more criticised Churchill and the news of German victories began to be printed in the newspapers at unimportant places. Russia at the same time began a large-scale reorganisation of its armies. On May 6 Stalin assumed the post of Prime Minister and Molotov was made Deputy Prime Minister. This was an important event, because till now Stalin had never occupied any position within the administration. It became apparent from this that Stalin had firmly decided to mobilise the entire strength of the Russian State to face the coming danger.

German Attack on Russia. As summer months advanced the German and Russian armies collected at the borders. Hitler had by now mobilised 150 German divisions, 20 Rumanian divisions and 10 Finnish divisions. Russia had 180 divisions. On the morning of June 21, without declaring a war, the German armies crossed the Russian border. The North Army advanced towards Leningrad, under Von Lelb, the Middle Army towards Smolensk under Von Bolk, and the Southern Army moved in the direction of Ukraine under Von Runstedt. All the three armies got initial successes. During the first four months they got possession of 50 per cent of Russia's coal mines, 50 per cent of its steel production, 60 per cent of Russia's iron mines and also the best agricultural portions of Russia. But they absolutely failed to achieve their objective. Even Leningrad could not be occupied. Moscow was yet far away. Russia was covered with ice one month before the normal time, and the winter became very severe, the German soldiers had not enough warm clothing. Their machines cooled off and the transport goods were crushed under snow by the beginning of December. Germans were being thrown back on all fronts

and the signs of ultimate German defeat were clearly visible on the horizon.

Change in America's Attitude. According as the European democracies were being smashed, the United States of America began to seriously ponder about its policy. It began to lose faith in neutrality and to think in terms of co-operation with the democratic countries. In a statement issued on July 16, 1937, Cordell Hull said: "It is undoubtedly true that there are various areas where the present conflicts and differences apparently appear to touch only the neighbouring countries, but in the final analysis they are affecting the whole world . . . We do not want to involve ourselves in any organisation or troublesome commitments, but we do believe in co-operative efforts of a peaceful and practical type."¹ In order to strengthen this "Co-operative effort" it was necessary to develop the power of "self-defence". The United States was now realising that it could not afford to look disinterestedly at international problems, specially when "the tendency to break all laws was growing, the treaties were being torn to bits, force was increasingly resorted to, and numerous other tendencies were visible". The policy of the United States of America was to keep itself free from international commitments, and at the same time to save itself from the harmful effects of a neutral policy. The policy followed by America at the Brussels Conference was considered a fine example of this co-operative effort. In point of fact, in its Far Eastern policies America deliberately deviated from its neutralist laws.

It was clear that America was breaking away from its neutrality, although this feeling could not immediately be removed from the United States. Nevertheless, the feeling was growing that a policy of neutrality is another name for "national suicide." America could not afford to ignore the deliberate trampling of those ideas on which its whole life was based. Cordell Hull said: "If we and our friendly nations forget these principles in the area of the Pacific, which comprises of half the world, then we will be forced to forego them in other parts of the world as well." Actually, the problems of the world could not be viewed in

1. See C. Hull's *The Memoirs of Cordell Hull* (Two volumes); W. Johnson's *The Battle Against Isolation*.

compartments. The happenings in Europe had made it clear that when treaties are torn asunder in any part of the world and violence conquers, its effect inevitably spreads to other countries. It was not possible for America to follow a policy of neutrality, and it had become essential to reply force by force. Cordell Hull said in his speech: "The biggest question is: Can the glorification of force be again allowed, and can it be permitted that international anarchy and barbarism be again established, or is it essential that America and other peace-loving nations, having the fullest faith in those principles on which international system is based, should continuously, alone or with the co-operation of the other nations, in accordance with the situation and in line with traditional policies and behaviour and enlightened self-interest, encourage justice, morality, law and order on an international basis and defend them?" In the words of President Roosevelt, "Active efforts should be made to defend Peace. America hates war. America hopes for Peace and that is why it is searching for peace in an active manner."

Active Search for Peace. As the clouds of war became more dense over Europe this "active search for peace" became more intense. On August 16, 1937, Cordell Hull said in a radio speech: "Whatever may be our wishes and hopes, when trouble has spread in another place, we cannot hope to remain untouched. When destruction, poverty and starvation are spreading in other areas, howsoever we may type we cannot keep our economic order as it is. When the light of freedom is going off in one country after another, when our ideals of individual liberty and our dear political and social institutions are in danger, when in a greater part of the world the respect for the human soul is denied, and when this denial has become a slogan under which large-scale propaganda is made and armies have marched, then none of us can believe that our country or our homes can remain safe." Two days after this, speaking at a University in Canada, Roosevelt said: "In America we are no more a far away continent which can remain uninfluenced or unharmed by the conflicts across the ocean." In his speech Roosevelt promised fullest aid to Canada without attaching any conditions. On January 4, 1939, in his annual address to the United States Congress, the President referred to "the storm-

signals from the other side of the ocean" and said this about the events in Europe: "No doubt a war which threatened to engulf the entire world in its flames has been postponed, but it is becoming increasingly clear that peace cannot be considered to be safe."

The Organisation of American Countries. In the meantime efforts were on to organise all the countries of the American continent. This Pan-American Organisation was begun at a conference in Montevideo in 1933. The United States renounced its right to interfere in the affairs of Cuba and withdrew its warships from Haiti. With the help of five other American Republics it helped in the solution of conflicts between Bolivia and Paraguay. In 1936, on U. S. inspiration, an Inter-American Conference was convened in Buenos Aires "with a view to defend peace" and a policy of Inter-American co-operation was announced. At the 8th Pan-American Conference held at Lima in December 1938, this policy of organisation and co-operation was further strengthened. Speaking before the New York Bar Association on January 27, 1939, America's Assistant Secretary of State, Sumner Welles, characterised the declarations of Buenos Aires and Lima as of "historic importance" and said: "These have begun a new and auspicious chapter in the history of the Western hemisphere."

United States Support of the Democratic Countries. The German armies crossed the Polish border on September 1, 1939. On September 3, President Roosevelt in a radio speech drew the attention of the peoples of the world to "a simple but unchangeable truth of modern international relations" namely, "when peace is disturbed in any part of the world, then peace is in danger in every country at every place." America decided to remain neutral, but it was at the same time made clear that neutrality in war did not mean neutrality in ideas. The obstructions of the 1935 Neutrality Act were proving irksome, and Roosevelt himself began to propagate against it. The result was that the Neutrality Act was amended in November 1941 and the nations of the world were permitted "to pay cash and take finished goods from America." This clause was clearly advantageous to only those nations which had enough ships, but in the summer of 1940, when the democratic countries of Europe were collapsing before Hitlerite armies, it became essential for the United States to take greater interest in European

affairs, specially in matters relating to the defence of Britain. Roosevelt now published a three-point programme whose object was (i) to increase the ground, air and naval power of the United States, (ii) to further consolidate the organisation of the Western hemisphere and (iii) to more intensively help countries fighting against Fascist aggression. In September 1940, for the first time in the history of the United States of America, military training was made compulsory in peace time. During the war days America prepared 2,46,201 aeroplanes, 87,000 tanks, 24,34,553 trucks, 1,35,000 guns, etc.¹ Its air power was very much enhanced. In July 1940, another Inter-American Conference was called at Havana where it was decided that no European colony in America could be transferred to any other European country. The relations of United States with Canada were strengthened. Britain was given more active help. America also now agreed to supply military goods for which naval bases were mortgaged to it as against cash payments. Under this arrangement, five American warships were supplied to Britain and much other war materials were also sent there. After some time America undertook upon itself the responsibility of transporting these goods to its destination under its own protection. Roosevelt said: "It is necessary to keep the light of democracy burning.....it is not enough that we from time to time keep on cutting the wick and cleaning the glass. Now the time has come when in order to keep the wick burning it is necessary to supply more oil."

Attack on Pearl Harbour. In the meantime, the relations between Japan and the United States of America were continuously deteriorating, and Japan's advance to the South had created a new difficulty for the United States. America had very much reduced its trade with Japan. After the fall of France and Holland, Japan increased its pressure upon Indo-China and Indonesia. On December 7, 1941, it suddenly attacked the U. S. Naval base at Pearl Harbour and destroyed five of its battleships, three destroyers, and a number of other ships and severely damaged several cruisers; 177 aeroplanes were also destroyed. Thus Japan entered the War with a big explosion and all on a sudden on the side of the Fascist nations, and its main target was America's naval power in the

1. See D.M. Nelson: *Arsenal of Democracy: The History of American Production.*

Pacific. After Pearl Harbour it attacked the Philippines and very soon occupied it. In East Asia, Japan was winning almost with the same speed with which in the previous year Hitler had succeeded in Europe. Within a few months Japan had full occupation of Malaya, Burma and Indonesia. By May 1942, the greater part of the Pacific Ocean had become a Japanese Lake and the Indian Ocean became, so to say, a Japanese Bay. Between the Japanese Island and its enemies, there lay thousands of miles of sea in which hundreds of islands were converted into powerful forts. It was clear that to break this fortification and cross thousands of miles of sea with a view to attacking Japan was almost beyond imagination. But for America it had not only become a question of prestige but also of its very existence, and in order to wipe the shame of its defeat it marshalled all its resources and power.

The War in North Africa. In March 1941, the German armies under the able leadership of Gen. Rommel attacked the British armies at a place called Alghila and this attack was so ferocious that there was no other way left for the British troops except to fly away. They took refuge in Egypt. It is certain that if Rommel's field operations had not become so widespread and Hitler had not been so involved in it, the German armies would have definitely reached Cairo and Suez. The summer of 1941 was utilised by Britain to strengthen its military position, and in November they counter-attacked Rommel's armies and pushed it behind up to Benghazi. In May and June 1942 there were some terrible battles fought in North Africa. By July the British troops were thrown back again to El-Alamien. In August 1942, the British Army which was in North Africa was brought under the command of Gen. Montgomery. Montgomery was a very capable general. By October he reorganised his armies, and by October end he threw back Rommel's armies by about 1,400 miles. Suez was now saved and all Hitler's dreams to occupy Britain's lifelines in the Mediterranean were dashed to the ground. The initiative had now passed into the hands of the Allies. On November 8 their armies landed in North Africa. Gen. Eisenhower was the commander of the American armies. American armies were opposed in Algeria and Morocco. In Europe Germany took entire France under its military occupation and attempted to take under its possession nearly 60 warships which were lying

in the Toulon harbour. But in this Germany failed because before Toulon could be occupied by them, the warships were skittled. The military might of the Allied armies was now continuously increasing. The war continued to be fought in the winter of 1943. By May 1943, it had become clear that there were no hopes for a German victory. The Axis powers had to pay a very heavy price in the North African war. It is estimated that 41 of their warships, 5 lakh tonnage of their commercial ships, 8,000 aeroplanes, 6,000 guns, 2,550 tanks and 70,000 trucks were destroyed and above a million soldiers were either killed or captured. The greatest advantage which befell the Allied nations by their victory in North Africa was that they could now attack Europe at a point where it was comparatively less fortified.

The Allied Attack on Italy. After the victory over Tunisia, the Allied armies moved towards Sicily. Their object was to capture Marina and then to land on Italian soil. Marina fell on August 17 and 37,000 Germans were captured and nearly 1,000 planes and huge war material fell into the hands of the Allied armies. The attack on Italy began in July 1943. On September 3, Italy surrendered unconditionally. In the meantime, Mussolini had fallen. Marshal Badoglio had assumed the reins of power in Italy. Germany made supreme efforts to prevent further advance of Allied armies with the result that War in Italy was very much prolonged, although after the fall of Rome on June 4, Hitler had hardly any hope left for reoccupying Italy.

The Russo-German War. In the winter of 1941 the German armies were withdrawing from Russia after their failure. But Hitler decided to launch another severe attack on Russia in the summer of 1942. This time the German armies did not advance towards Leningrad or Moscow. Their object was to occupy the oil fields of the Caucasus. The Russian counter-attack at Kharkov undoubtedly reduced the speed of German advance, but after that the Nazi armies moved towards Sevastopol, and within a very short time they ejected the Russians from Crimea and continued their advance along the Black Sea coast. Within six weeks they marched a distance of 250 miles and reached Rostov. By the end of August they had advanced another 200 miles. At the same time another German army attacked Stalingrad. On August 23, 1942, began the ferocious battle of Stalingrad

in which the Russians very powerfully resisted the German armies. The battle was fought practically in every building, every house, room and even every staircase. Within two months more than a million bombs were dropped upon Stalingrad and nearly 2 lakh Germans were killed. By the beginning of November it had become clear that Stalingrad was invincible. The Russian armies fought with great heroism under the leadership of Marshal Zhukov and their resistance was continuously strengthened because from all sides innumerable Russian troops and unlimited war supplies were reaching Stalingrad. By the end of November the German army began to be surrounded on all sides, and by December they were completely encircled. Now the Russians counter-attacked and the Red Army began to retake one city after another. In the summer of 1943, Germany made one more supreme effort to prevent the advance of the Russian troops. But in this it was completely unsuccessful. On August 23, Kharkov was reoccupied by the Russians and by the beginning of November they reached the Dnieper and began crossing it at many points. Between July and October the Russian army had killed about 9 lakh German soldiers and nearly 18 lakhs were either surrounded or taken prisoner. The Russians destroyed 10,000 German planes, 17,000 tanks, 75,000 military trucks. By January 1944, the Red Army had reached eastern Poland and in the beginning of April they entered Rumania. In the north they achieved even greater success. In January 1944, German troops were ejected from southern Finland and the Red Army began to advance along the Baltic coast. The strength of the Red Army was continuously increasing. Germany made all attempts to strengthen its defences. But it was now abundantly clear that it could not win the war.

Victory in West Europe. When Stalin attacked Germany he demanded that the Allied powers should open a second front on the western borders of Germany, but they seemed to show no sign of enthusiasm for it. Churchill's idea was that the Allied armies should move towards Germany from the south-east, but this would have created in Russia a feeling that this was being done in order to prevent the growth of its influence in south-east Europe. In April 1942, a decision was arrived at to open a second front in the West but the steps taken to implement this decision were very slow. In December 1943, Eisenhower was made the Supreme Commander

of the Allied Forces. Preparations for an attack were begun in January 1944. In the beginning attempts were made to destroy the defence lines on the eastern coast and in areas of possible attack and also to destroy the air bases. The areas to be attacked were air surveyed and nearly seven miles of harbours were got ready in order to land the armies. June 6 was fixed as the date of attack and it was launched at midnight. Within 24 hours more than 225,000 soldiers were landed and began to advance rapidly. Within ten days their number reached 5 lakhs, and they were very well equipped with war materials. In the very beginning they occupied an area 70 miles wide and 12 miles deep. By June 20, about 41,000 German soldiers were captured. But the progress of the armies was rather slow in the first seven weeks. One reason for this was that this area was full of thorny and dense bushes and it took a long time to clear them. The march of the armies became swift after 25th July. On August 15 another unit of French and American armies entered France from the south. Paris was liberated on August 19 and the Government of Gen. de Gaulle was established. It is undoubted that these attacks had shaken the German morale, but gradually they were retreating to the Siegfried Line. By 15th September entire France was liberated and the last German soldier left France soil.

It proved a very difficult task for the Allied nations to break the defence lines of the Germans. They attempted to land their soldiers behind the German lines by aeroplanes, but in this they did not meet with much success. These defence lines were constructed after years of hard labour and they were very strong. The Allied armies also attempted to reach Holland and Belgium by the sea-route, but here they had to face strong German opposition. In October, at Aachen, this wall was broken but it did not produce any considerable consequences. Germany had been suffering great military losses and no other way was open to it except to reach a decision by a strong counter-attack. On December 16 Germany launched a powerful counter-offensive at Ardennes, and within a week the German armies advanced fifty miles and created a forty-mile wide path for themselves in the Allied lines. But they could do nothing beyond this. In the words of a German General, the Germans had thrown their last dice and they had lost. After this the Allied armies began to advance swiftly. They

had three objectives: to expel the German armies from West Rhineland, to cross the Rhine, and to capture or destroy the remaining German armies. The first objective was achieved between February and March and the Rhine was crossed with amazing success. To surround the German armies from many sides was no more a difficult task. In the meantime the work of liberating the various countries from German domination was continued.

In the summer of 1944 the Russian armies began to move towards the west. They had occupied Finland and Rumania. After occupying Rumania it was not at all difficult to occupy Bulgaria and Hungary. In the meantime, Yugoslavia had successfully expelled the German armies and declared its independence. Thus Germany was surrounded on all sides. There were no hopes of victory. The Russian winter attack could not be launched on January 12, 1945, but by this time they had occupied a huge area and could advance on a number of fronts. Every nook and corner of Germany was being bombed and German aeroplanes were being systematically destroyed. By April 1945 German air power was crushed. The German armies fighting in Italy had also been by now crushed. On April 28 Mussolini was murdered by his own people and on 29th April Italy surrendered as a result of which nearly 10 lakh German soldiers were captured. In the meantime the march of the Russian armies was continuing. Goering forsook Hitler on April 23 and on April 29 Himmler also broke away from Hitler. On April 30th, when the Russian armies were about to enter Berlin, Hitler, his wife Eva Braunn and Goebbels and some other companions committed suicide. The Russians occupied Berlin on May 2, and on May 8 the German navy surrendered unconditionally and thus ended the terrible Second World War in Europe.

Victory in the Pacific. After the spring of 1943, American Marines, under the protection of a powerful naval fleet, continued to advance in the Pacific and occupied one island after another. Each new island occupied was converted into a base for further advance. The Japanese naval forces were gradually retreating. The occupation of Gilbert and Marshal Islands by America in the winter of 1943-43 endangered the second line of Japanese defence. By July 1944 the Americans occupied the Marina Islands, from where it was possible to launch attacks upon Japan. By the end of October

American battleships and heavy cruisers had reached the west of the Philippines. Japan considered the defence of the Philippines most essential, and it sent there large numbers of naval ships and armies, but they were destroyed. By January 5, 1945, America had occupied Luzon, Manila and other important Philippine cities. Nearly 5,50,000 Japanese soldiers were killed or taken prisoner in the Philippines. After this the American navy occupied Iwojima and Okinawa, which were at a distance of 750 and 330 miles, respectively, from Japan. In the defence of Okinawa alone the Japanese lost 1,18,000 soldiers. By May 1945, the Allied nations had reoccupied Burma. In the meantime, Japan was being heavily air-bombed and its big cities and industrial centres were being destroyed. Japan was now convinced that any further resistance on its part was an impossible proposition. After Tojo resigned from the Prime Ministership, another Government was formed under Koiso. Even in the beginning of 1944 Japan had begun to believe that it could not win the war. But it could not accept defeat so long as Germany was fighting. After the fall of Germany no other way was open to Japan except surrender. On August 6, an atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. On August 8 Russia declared war on Japan and another atom bomb was dropped on Nagasaki on August 9. Now no other way was open to Japan except immediate surrender. On August 14, it accepted all the terms laid by the Allied nations. These terms were (i) to remove all those elements from the administration which were till then running it; (ii) to limit Japanese territory to only those islands which had Japanese population; (iii) to try the Japanese war criminals and punish them; (iv) Allied occupation of Japan and (v) establishment of democratic institutions in Japan. With the acceptance of these terms by Japan the World War ended on the Asian continent as well, and thus the world was free from this great holocaust in which more than 1 1/2 crores of people lost their lives. Now a tired and oppressed humanity began to look up with some hope on those persons who were charged with the responsibility of creating an international organisation which would make war in future an impossibility.

Search for a basis for peace. Even when the Second World War was at its height people were discussing the lines upon which the world would have to be reconstructed after the War. Even before America entered the war in January 1941,

President Roosevelt had announced his formula of four human freedoms: Freedom of speech and thought, of religion, Freedom from poverty, and from fear. In August 1941, President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill had announced the famous Atlantic Charter from a place near New Foundland which had emphasised the following: (i) No country will attempt to draw economic profits out of the war; (ii) the state boundaries should be changed in accordance with the wishes of the people; (iii) every nation will have the right to decide the form of government it wants; (iv) those countries which had been deprived of political freedom will have the fullest right to get back their old freedom; (v) not only will all nations be assured against aggression and fear but every attempt would be made to free its people from poverty and fear; (vi) an international organisation will be created with a view to preserving world peace.

After this many international conferences of the Allied nations were held to solve problems over which there were differences among them, and also to decide the basis for future peace. Of these the Casablanca Conference of 1943, the Moscow Conference of 1943, the Teheran Conference of December 1943, the Yalta Conference of 1945, and the July-August 1945 Conference at Potsdam deserve special mention. At Moscow it was decided to divide the Balkan countries between Russian and British spheres of influence. At Yalta decisions were taken about the future of Germany and Poland and the future boundaries of the Balkan countries were also discussed. At Yalta Russia was given many rights over East Asia. But in between these conferences the differences between the East and the West was growing, and so when the problem of establishing peace came, unexpected difficulties and complications arose.

The War-time Treaties. Russia insisted that it should be free to enter into independent treaties with East European countries. The Western nations accepted it. But when they on their part wanted a similar freedom for a treaty with Italy, Russia objected. The task of drafting the treaties was given to the Foreign Ministers of four big nations—Bevin, Burns, Bidault and Molotov. And by February 1947 after exchanging views with other countries, they succeeded in securing the signatures of the concerned countries on these treaties. Italy was forced to cede its border areas to France, Greece and Yugoslavia, and an independent regime was est-

abished in Trieste under the supervision of the United Nations; the independence of Libya was recognised; Italian Somal land was put under the protection of the United Nations. Eritria was similarly given over to the United Nations, and Ethiopia was liberated. Rumania got back that portion of Transylvania which had been snatched by Hungary in 1940. But Bessarabia and Northern Bukovina was not taken away from Russia, but given to it. The Bulgarian boundaries expanded a bit because it got southern Dobruja from Rumania. Finland was forced to give certain territories to Russia. Apart from this all the defeated nations were forced to pay huge amounts as compensation.

The Establishment of the United Nations. The Atlantic Charter of August 1942 had already suggested the creation of an international organisation to preserve peace. In January 1942, a United Nations Charter was signed by the United States, Russia, Britain, and China. It was later signed by 41 other countries. In this the firm decision was expressed to fight against the Fascist countries to the very end and every nation assured that it would not enter into a separate treaty with the enemy. At the Moscow Conference in October 1943, the four big nations gave the assurance to work for the creation of an international organisation for preserving peace. Later at Dumbarton Oaks, the four big nations placed before the other countries a comprehensive scheme for an international organisation. The representatives of 50 nations met at San Francisco in April 1945 to discuss this scheme, and after discussions lasting for two months, they published the United Nations Charter. By October 1945, most of the Allied nations signed this Charter, and the United Nations came into being.

The Organisation of the United Nations The chief parts of the United Nations Organisations are the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court and the Secretariat. Every member nation has a right to send its representatives to the General Assembly. Its sessions are held in September, but by a majority decision of the members or on the initiative of the Security Council, a special session can also be convened. On important questions a two-thirds majority is necessary, and for ordinary questions a bare majority is enough for a decision. The main work of the General Assembly is to discuss international problems. It can

only recommend but cannot decide. Under the constitution of the United Nations, the power for final decision rests with the Security Council. The General Assembly works through sub-committees. There are eleven members on the Security Council out of which six are elected for a period of two years and the remaining five—United States, Russia, Britain, China and France—are permanent members. From the point of view of the U.N. Constitution the Security Council is its chief body; it is in continuous session. Its chief object is to preserve world peace. It enquires into international disputes and takes action against aggressors. It can, of course, take diplomatic and economic steps against defaulting nations, but it also has powers to take military action. The greatest difficulty in the work of the Security Council, however, lies in the fact that none of its decisions can be implemented till it has the support of all the five permanent members. Thus every big nation has got the power of veto, and in a world which is fast dividing into two camps this power of veto has more or less made the Security Council ineffective. Many sub-committees dealing with military or atomic energy, or similar other problems, work along with the Security Council. Some efforts have been made to secure disarmament during the last few years.

The Economic and Social Council consists of 18 members. It has nothing to do with politics. Its task is to remove the economic and social causes of war. This organisation has been founded on the basis that if standards of living can be raised, and if one has the fullest assurance of human rights, then a better atmosphere can be created for the preservation of world peace. The Economic and Social Council works through many special bodies, such as the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the Food and Agricultural Organisation, the World Health Organisation, etc. It also appoints special committees from time to time to study specific problems. Its main work is to place its recommendations on economic and social problems before the general body and also before the different nations. There is no doubt that this organisation has done very good work in the course of the last few years.

The main object of the Trusteeship Council is to help the General Assembly in the administration of those countries over which the United Nations has to be made a Trustee. Its main object is to raise the standard of administration of the colonial

countries. In point of fact this Council has very little power. It can listen to the complaints of the colonies, but can give very little help in removing these complaints.

The International Court, like the Court of the League of Nations, is an attempt to solve the legal difficulties that arise between different states. It has nothing to do with political differences. All organisations of the United Nations can consult it on any question relating to International Law.

The work of the Secretariat is to help the work of these organisations, but its Secretary-General has got the right to draw the attention of the Security Council to any specific question which he may consider necessary.

We have given above a brief account of some of the main bodies of the United Nations. Since the inception of the United Nations, these bodies have been doing their work with great interest and devotion, and though the U.N.O. may not have achieved any spectacular political success, these other organisations have made real contribution in their respective fields. In the political field, the United Nations has no doubt achieved some success, but we have to remember that the very basis of the establishment of the United Nations was co-operation between big nations, specially between America and Russia. But this co-operation has been day by day going down and with it the utility of the United Nations Organisation.

Russia: The Growth in its Power. Compared to other countries Russia had to bear the greatest loss during the war. Eight lakh square miles of its territory was devastated by the Nazi invaders and 30 lakhs of its soldiers killed. It has been estimated that in the Battle of Stalingrad alone the number of Russians who died will be equal to all the soldiers of America who died in World War II, and in the battle of Kharkov alone the number of Russians killed will be equal to the number of Americans killed in the entire war against Japan. The proportion of soldiers killed between the rest of the Allies and Russia is said to be 1 : 10. Apart from this, 2½ crores of Russian citizens were deprived of homes. The War, however, resulted in great advantages to the Soviet Union and it got possession of various new territories. Further many states situated on its borders came under the influence of its economic policies and Russian influence was greatly est-

abished in their internal administration as also in foreign policies. The greatest advantage to the Soviet Union in the War was the great self-confidence which it got by successfully throwing back the unprecedented might of the German armies. As a matter of fact, within the last one century Russia achieved such a big military success for the first time. As a result its influence in world diplomacy also considerably increased. Russia got many other advantages as well. The Communist regime was even more firmly established in the country and Stalin's prestige rose very high¹. After the War the military leaders were not allowed to dominate the administration in any way. The Communist Party also was purged of undesirable elements, and thus the entire power was centralised in Stalin to a greater extent.

After the war Stalin and his colleagues devoted their entire energy to develop the strength of the country². An atmosphere of insecurity was maintained in the country. It was always emphasised that the danger to Russia was not yet over, and the capitalist-imperialist countries were determined to attack it and destroy its ideology. The armies were not reduced to any considerable extent, and research continued on preparing powerful weapons of war. In 1943 the International Organisation of Communist Parties, the Comintern, had been dissolved. But in 1947, another organisation, the Cominform, was reorganised and Russia again began to interfere in the internal political life of other countries. Whatever war compensation Russia got was fully utilized to increase its strength. The Potsdam declaration of July 1945 had authorised Russia to remove German industries from its sphere of influence in Germany, and also to have its share in other German industries. Apart from this, Russia got huge amounts as war compensation from Hungary, Rumania, Finland and Italy, and it had also received huge amounts of war material from the United States. All this was utilised by Russia to increase its strength. In February 1944, Russia launched its fourth five-year plan whose main object was not to produce goods for the daily consumption

1. See I. Deutscher. *Stalin: A Biography*.

2. For more detailed study see D. Dallin's *Forced Labour in the Soviet Union* and *Soviet Russia and the Far East*; Gooch, *Russia in Perspective*; Mandel: *Guide to the Soviet Union*; Nanig: *East of the Iron Curtain*; G. Sovolveytchck: *Russia in Perspective*; and V. Yakhortoff: *U.S.S.R. Foreign Policy*.

of the people but to increase production with a view to develop national strength. The result was that when this plan was fulfilled the heavy industries in Russia increased by 66 per cent whereas the consumer goods industries increased only by 26 per cent. Besides this, Russia removed its industries from its western borders, where they could be endangered in the event of a war, and established them in the Urals, and in this undeveloped area many new cities were established where huge industries began to flourish. As a result of these plans Russia got so strengthened that in the event of war with the Western countries it could crush entire Europe.

Britain: Struggle for Existence. The Second World War also did great damage to Britain. Six lakhs of Britons were killed or wounded, about 40 lakh houses were destroyed, the number of its cargo ships came down considerably, and its internal as also external debt increased to very big proportions. In the words of its famous economist Keynes: "In order to achieve immediate strength Britain sacrificed all considerations for its future." Immediately after the War there were elections to the British Parliament in which the Labour Party had a stunning victory over the Conservative Party and a Labour Government was established in Britain. This was a great victory for democracy and Britain is the only country where such a big political change could be effected so peacefully. Whereas on the one hand the War had resulted in a tremendous increase in the power of Stalin in Russia, in Britain Churchill was removed from office with the greatest ease, and under Attlee's leadership the Labour Party got the reins of administration. The Labour Party immediately undertook a programme of nationalisation. The British economy had been completely crushed as a result of the war. In order to maintain their standards of living the only way open to the British people was to produce more and more for export. For this the British underwent great hardship. The Labour Party believed that in order to increase production, it was essential to bring big mines and industries in fact the entire economy, under control. This work was begun by the nationalisation of banking and insurance on February 14, 1946. As a result of the nationalisation of the banks, Government's direct or indirect control was established over the economic life of the country. In August the air services were nationalised. In January 1947 the coal mines were nationalised and later the entire transport of Britain was brought under

Government control. This was followed by the nationalisation of electricity. On May 4, 1949, the gas industry was nationalised, followed by nationalisation of iron and steel on May 9. Thus 20 per cent of the country's economy came under complete Government control; it further controlled considerably the remaining part of the economy. All this, on the whole, had a very salutary effect, and it is generally assumed that the progress of reconstruction in post-war years in Britain far exceeds the progress made in any other country.¹

The development of agriculture is also receiving considerable attention. Britain has also been getting some loans from Canada, America, etc. But the main credit for its economic reconstruction should be attributed to the willingness of the British people to sacrifice and lead a hard life. Social amenities for the people have also increased. Social security is now very much guaranteed. Education, especially higher education, has been expanded. Almost free medical service is assured for the whole nation, and houses have been constructed for lakhs of people under government care. Britain has made considerable advance in the last few years in the direction of the achievement of economic equality. The more important point is that even when the Conservative Party came to power in 1951, these items of the nation's well-being were allowed to continue as before.² As a result of the shocks received in World War II, Britain has been forced to reorganise and reorientate its vast empire. Britain has been making supreme efforts for national prosperity and for maintaining its national prestige, but it is too early to say whether it has finally succeeded.

France: In the Abyss of Destruction. Probably France suffered the most in the War. Its economic loss has been estimated at 26 billion dollars. Nearly 5 lakh houses were completely destroyed as a result of which $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakh families became homeless. Its railway lines were destroyed over hundreds of miles. Its ships were

1. J.E.D. Hall: *Labour's First Year*.

For a critical review of Labour Party see J. Jewkes' *Ordeal by Planning*; A.L. Rouse *The End of an Epoch*. In this second book light is thrown on the foreign policy of Britain between 1945-8, as also on its efforts at economic reconstruction.

2. For a review of Britain's relations with its colonies during the last few years see H.V. Hotson's *20th Century Empire* and N. Mansergh's *The Commonwealth and the Nations*.

sunk and its ports were ruined. In the industrial sector, 50,000 factories were destroyed and $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of factories suffered severe damages. About 60 lakhs acres of its land were unfit for cultivation. Nearly $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs of its soldiers and 2 lakhs civilians were killed. No other country had suffered such a terrible destruction; and the great tragedy of France was that it had no leader of first rank who could take the country as a whole under his powerful leadership towards economic reconstruction. During the War, after the fall of France de Gaulle continued resistance.¹ After the war a Fourth Republic was established in France and in place of de Gaulle, Felix Guan, the leader of the Socialist Party, became its Prime Minister. An Economic Council of 164 members was constituted for economic reconstruction. Two important reforms were undertaken in order to remove the defects of the old administration. On the one hand, decentralisation was emphasised, and on the other an attempt was made to link the administration of colonies with the administration of France. But from the economic point of view progress in France was very slow. A sharp conflict of ideologies was still continuing in France. Some people were emphasising nationalisation, but there were others who wanted to leave the question of economic reconstruction to individual initiative. An attempt was made to increase production under the Monnet plan. On a whole some economic progress was registered, but it was far from satisfactory. From the political point of view, France remained anarchic; the Democratic, Socialist and the Communist parties continued to work and quarrel as before. De Gaulle, who had now no relations with the Government was trying to organise the people of all political parties into one organisation on the basis of nationalism. Large numbers of people saw a solution of their difficulties in communism. It is undoubtedly true that if America had at that time not implemented a programme of European reconstruction, the Communist movement would have become very powerful in France.

Italy and other Dictator countries of South-East Europe. The waves of another War had crossed Italy, and Italy was once again experiencing the feeling of national dishonour. After the War a joint Allied military council was established

1. See G. Cattani: *Charles de Gaulle*. An account of the resistance movement in France will be found in E. Shibre's *Paris Underground*.

to run the administration of Italy. Almost all Allied powers were represented in it, but the most decisive influence was that of America and Britain, especially of Britain. The main object of the Allied nations in Italy was to destroy Fascism and to encourage democracy, and they were prepared to remove their armies from Italy as soon as a democratic administration was established. Britain was interested in the growth of a capitalist democracy in Italy so that its lifelines in the Mediterranean could be secure. The result, however, was that Britain ignored those elements in Italy who carried on underground resistance against Germany during the War years and who had the support of the Italian people. After the War, in the summer of 1946, elections were held in Italy, after which a Republic was declared. Italy's problems, however, were so complicated that they could not be easily solved. Italy had also suffered very severe loss during the war. Apart from the heavy loss it incurred in regard to its army, navy and air force, its agriculture as well as industry were also completely crushed. Communist influence continuously increased in Italy. The Communists were promising far-reaching land reforms under which redistribution of land was guaranteed. They were also emphasising the equal distribution of wealth and income in the country and the nationalisation of banks and key industries. These schemes also had the support of other political parties. Strikes and anarchy were increasing in the country and it is certain that if America had not offered its economic aid France as well as Italy would have gone to the Communist camp.

Franco's Spain. It can well be said that the Second World War began with the Civil War in Spain. But Spain remained neutral during the War. It is certain that in the first three years of the War, Spain helped Germany directly or indirectly, but in 1942, when the tide of the War turned, Spain first became neutral, and later it followed a policy of sympathetic neutrality towards the Allies. It is certain that if the Allied nations had not received the moral support of Spain, they would have met with difficulties in their plans for the military invasion of Europe. When the War ended, Spain was in difficult straits from the economic point of view. The standard of the living of the country had very much gone down and the political life was under a police regime. General Franco made an attempt to give a wider base to his dictatorial regime. But

at the same time, due to fear of civil war and the communists, he continued to maintain the police administration. Spain is the only country in the world about which it can be said that the army of the country behaves and lives in a manner as though it were an army of occupation. The military authorities have wide political powers. The policy of neutrality had resulted in a slight improvement in the economic life of Spain. But after the War the conditions continued to deteriorate. The vesting of complete political power in the hands of a dictatorial landlord and capitalist regime stood in the way of any reforms in the country. Spain was very anxious to join the United Nations in order to raise its international prestige. In the initial years it was not admitted to the United Nations because the Franco regime was regarded as one which had come into existence with the help of the Axis powers. But as the cold war between America and Russia developed, the opposition of the Western democracies towards Spain lessened, but Russia had firmly decided to use its power of veto in regard to the question of admission of Spain to the United Nations. In May 1949 the General Assembly of the United Nations announced that every country was free to have any relations with Spain it wanted. After this Spain has entered into trade agreements with Argentina, France and Great Britain, and the American attitude towards Spain had also become sympathetic, though America has not included Spain in its programmes for European economic reconstruction.

Salazar's Portugal. As in Spain, so in Portugal, there is a dictatorial regime under Salazar, which continues its traditions of dictatorship and autocracy. During the War years Portugal remained neutral like Spain and took full advantage of its neutrality by trading with both sides. The result was that when the War ended, Salazar's government was in a fairly prosperous way. At the same time, however, we should not forget that the Portuguese people are the poorest in Europe, and both from the point of view of agriculture as also industry, Portugal is a very very backward country. If after the war the attitude of the Allied nations towards Portugal has been sympathetic the reason is to be attributed to the fact that it has been staunchly anti-communist from the very beginning. Britain has maintained relations with Portugal for the last six centuries and its economic policy has become a part of the economic life of Britain. America's policy has never been

so much opposed to Portugal it has been opposed to Spain. The result, however, has been that as the Western nations became more and more sympathetic towards Portugal Russia's attitude towards it has stiffened. Portugal is an important member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation and the military strength of this small country is being continuously increased. The result has been that while countries like England and France have been forced to quit their colonies, Portugal seems to be determined to keep under its possession such colonies in Asia as Goa, Macao, etc. And although this policy of Portugal is being vehemently opposed in Asia, the Western Nations and America continue to extend to it their moral support.

Germany Defeated and Crushed. After the surrender of Germany, America, Britain, Russia and France took in their hands its administration. This country, the central place of European culture, was divided into four parts in which these four nations established their different regimes.¹

In Berlin, the capital of Germany, the four big nations established a joint administration. The very object of the occupation of Germany presumably was that these four nations would rule over Germany in co-operation, but it was apparent from the very beginning that this co-operation was not possible. The Western nations and the Soviet Union had big differences on almost all matters—foreign and internal trade, land reforms, education, war compensation, political organisation etc. In January 1945 America and Britain established a joint government in co-operation with each other. The victorious nations wanted that the military might of Germany should be crushed and it should be liberated from Nazi ideology, and those Germans who had gone and settled in Poland and Czechoslovakia should be called back and settled in Germany. The well-known leaders of Nazi Germany namely Goering, Ribbentrop, Rosenberg, etc. were hanged and many other leaders were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. But the problem of economic reconstruction could not be so easily solved; and unless German economy improved, it was not possible for it to pay war compensation. The economic reconstruction of Germany, however, became yet more difficult on account

1. For a good account of the Military administration of Germany by the Allied nations see S. Friedamann's *The Allied Military Government of Germany*.

of the differences between the East and the West. Russian influence was continuously increasing in East Europe, and the result was that the Western nations stopped thinking in terms of war compensation. Their new thinking was how to prepare Germany to take active part on their side in the coming war. England and America now began to give attention to the development of agriculture and industry in their respective zones of Germany. The earlier policy of destroying the German industries was reversed. Both England and America now supplied Germany with substantial capital for industrial development. The result was that by 1951, German production was on a par with the pre-War level, and its export trade also considerably increased. Russia was carrying on far-reaching economic reforms in its zone of Germany, but these reforms were based on a policy of nationalisation. The political progress of East Germany might have been checked but it is clear that under Russian control spectacular success was achieved there in the direction of economic advance within a short time.

In the summer of 1948 Western Germany was allowed to prepare the outline of a new constitution for itself, but foreign affairs, foreign trade, industrial policy and other important subjects were kept out of its jurisdiction. But the very fact that the Germans were allowed to draft a constitution for themselves indicates a new attitude of the Western powers towards Germany. General elections were held in August 1949 under the new constitution, and in this 80 per cent of the voters took part. The elections gave a majority to the Christian Democrats who politically belonged to the Right Wing, the next best were the Democratic Socialists who were the leading Leftist party in Western Germany. Their numbers respectively were 139 and 131. The leader of the first party was Adenaur. He, with the help of independent democrats who numbered 52, constituted in September 1949, the first elected Government after 1933. In the meantime in Eastern Germany a constitution was prepared under the principles of people's democracy and a German Government was installed under this Constitution. Actually, Germany became the chief point of the cold war between the East and the West. The Western nations wanted to use Germany as a strong fort against the spread of communism and on this they were prepared to spend unlimited wealth; on the other hand, in the interest of the spread of its ideology, and backed

by the powerful Red Army and the most up-to-date armaments, Russia wanted to use Germany to carry forward its own influence. The blockade of Berlin became the chief front of this conflict. In the course of the Potsdam declaration, the Western nations had been given certain portions in Berlin. But the areas in West Germany under their control were a hundred miles away from their possessions in Berlin. Russia attempted to break the contacts of Berlin with the Western nations by sea and land, as a counterblast to which the Western nations landed in Berlin many lakhs tons of goods by air. After 10 months towards the end of April 1949, Russia lifted the blockade of Berlin. In the meantime, France was engaged in efforts to take the Saar, the chief coal area of Germany, under its influence on a long-term basis. Germany, which once wanted to become the leader of the world, was now made the playground and puppet for the fulfilment of national ambitions and international politics.

The end of Democracy in Czechoslovakia.

Czechoslovakia had gone under German tutelage even before the outbreak of World War II, and till the end of the War Germany continued to occupy it. In these seven years the population and resources of the country were fully utilised for the benefit of Germany. Since, however, the Czechoslovakian territory was not in the range of Allied bombardment, it did not suffer much industrial destruction. After the end of the War, leaving aside Carpatho-Ukraine, which was now part of Russian territory, Czechoslovakia got back all those areas which were snatched away from it in 1938 by Germany, Hungary and Poland. During the War years Benes and some of his companions had gone away to the United States. In the spring of 1945 they returned to Czechoslovakia and established a provisional government in co-operation with the leaders of the resistance movement. General elections were held in May 1946 in which the Communists secured about 40 per cent votes, following which an all-party government was constituted under the leadership of a communist leader, Clement Gottwald. The chief departments of the administration were given to the Communists. At the same time large-scale nationalisation of the key industries of the country was taken in hand. This work was easier because of the fact that during the war years most of these industries had been taken over by Germany and it was not at all difficult to take them under government control.

Because of the communist leadership in the government, and because of the nationalisation of 65 per cent of the industries of the country, it was very natural that Czechoslovakia was inclined towards Russia.

The Czechoslovakian Government drew up a two-year economic plan for its economic reconstruction under which the development of heavy industries was very much emphasised. Czechoslovakia needed large sums of money in order to carry out this plan. It could not get as much loan from America as it expected, because till then the United States had not drawn up any concrete plan for economic aid to other countries. When the Marshall Plan was launched in 1947, Czechoslovakia did not agree to join it. This did not mean that it had lost faith in individual democracy. Actually it was convinced that in the interests of the security of the country it has to depend upon Russia and it was necessary for it to orientate its foreign policy in accordance with Russian advice. The bitter experience that Czechoslovakia had of the Western democracies before the Second World War was still a festering sore in the eyes of the Czech people. In 1938, when England and France betrayed Czechoslovakia at Munich, it was Russia alone which had helped it. For these reasons, after the War Czechoslovakia had definitely gone under the Russian sphere of influence.¹

Once having accepted the leadership of Russia in its foreign policy it was not possible for Czechoslovakia to prevent the interference of Russia in its internal policies. The influence of Communism increased considerably and during the national election of 1948, they kept under their control almost all sources of democratic influence. When the non-communist ministers resigned and expressed their opposition, Gottwald constituted a ministry entirely of communists. After this the administration, education, the daily papers, etc. were all brought under Com-

1. At the Paris Peace Conference in 1946, Czechoslovakia supported Russia almost on all questions, and that may be the reason why in September 1949 America rejected its previous decision to advance a loan of 4 crore dollars to Czechoslovakia. At the same time, United States refused to carry on any further negotiations with Czechoslovakia on the question of advancing loans. The natural result of this was that Czechoslovakia became more and more dependent upon Russia for economic aid.

munist control with greater speed, and those who attempted to oppose were mercilessly crushed. The dead body of Jan Masaryk was found on a road near his house. By now the remaining industries, foreign trade, banking, etc., were also nationalised and distribution of land among the peasants as also its nationalisation was undertaken. The workers came under rigid government control, the hours of work were increased, and strikes were banned. Almost the entire trade of Czechoslovakia was now with Russia and the Balkan countries. In September 1948, after the death of Benes, it became comparatively easy to openly declare the association of Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union.

The Sovietisation of Poland. The misfortune of Poland was that within three weeks of the outbreak of the War, it was incorporated in Germany and Russia. Its people, however, untiringly worked for their freedom and unity. After the division of Poland, a free Polish government was established in France under the leadership of General Sikorsky and its central office was later shifted to London. In June 1941, after Germany had attacked Russia, this government entered into a treaty with Russia. The Polish patriots believed that after this treaty, the division of Poland had been automatically quashed but, as was later revealed, Russia had no intention of leaving those areas of Poland which it had taken under its possession. The result was that after April 1943 the London Poles broke off their relations with Russia and Russia became more and more critical of the London Polish Government.¹

In the summer of 1943, after the death of Sikorsky, Mikolacyk constituted the London Government, and though he had leftist inclinations, no improvements were effected in the relations with Russia. Poland was liberated from German domination by the Russian armies. The underground movement in the German-occupied areas received no assistance from Russia and they were crushed. In 1944, a Communist government was established in Poland which was immediately recog-

1. The relations between Russia and Poland deteriorated following the incidents in the Katyn forests, where 10,000 Polish military officers had all of a sudden disappeared, and later their graves were found in the Katyn forests. When in April 1943 Germans occupied these provinces, they found the dead bodies of these officers and they charged Russia of having murdered them. When the International Red Cross Society proposed a thorough enquiry into the affair, Russia broke off all diplomatic relations with the Polish Government in London.

nised by Russia, but Britain and America refused to recognise it. At the Yalta Conference, the Western nations decided to compromise with Russia on the Polish question, and after giving to Poland some areas of Germany lying to its north and west, they accepted that the eastern provinces should remain with Russia. At the same time Russia agreed that it would press for the inclusion of some representatives of the Polish Government in London in the communist regime of Poland, and in the near future there would be free and unhampered elections. In the meantime, however, the relations between the Western nations and Russia were continuously deteriorating and it was directly influencing unfortunate Poland.

In June 1945, a provisional government was organised in Poland headed by a Communist Prime Minister. The other important portfolios were also held by the Communists. In this government, however, Mikolacyk and John Stancyk were also included, and Britain and America recognised this government on the assurance that very soon elections would be held in the country. At the Potsdam conference held in July-August 1945, it was finally agreed that the German areas to the east of the Oder and the Niese and the greater portion of east Prussia would be given to Poland. Russia, however, had already entered into an agreement with Poland to this effect and so Poland felt itself obliged to Russia for this concession. In January 1947 'free and unhampered' elections were held. Even before that Mikolacyk and his companions were threatened and cajoled. The Communists had a very heavy majority in the elections, but the Western countries were strongly dissatisfied with the manner in which the elections were held. After the elections Poland became definitely inclined towards Russia. The administration and the constitution were also fundamentally altered. Those Communists leaders who refused to toe the Russian line were removed from office or arrested. Nationalisation was speeded up. The whole economy was reconstructed on Soviet lines. Landlordism was abolished and huge estates were distributed among the peasants. The state now controlled the entire foreign trade, which was mainly with Russia. In foreign matters also Poland was entirely under Russian influence. On Russian advice Poland refused to join the Marshall Plan. During its period of Security Council membership (1946-48), Poland worked under Russian direction. Poland was under Russian sphere of

influence both from the geographical as also military points of view, and it was impossible to stop the growing intimacy between Russia and Poland.

Balkan countries : Rumania. During 1940-44 Rumania fought with Germany against Russia after which it came under Russian domination. In the beginning a coalition ministry was constituted under the Prime Ministership of Antonescuc. But with Russian inspiration Communist influence increased with every change in government. In February 1945 Vyshinsky went to Bucharest and under his direction an all-Communist government was constituted under Groza. All other political parties, and even those communists who were not prepared to toe the Russian line began to be crushed. For this loyalty to Russia, Rumania was awarded north Transylvania which had been in the possession of Hungary for the last five years. The new government in Rumania was recognised by Russia. Russia had now complete control over the economic life of the country, and its economy was now reorganised on Communist lines. In the beginning of 1947 the National Democratic Party of Groza, which actually was another name of the Communist party, got a huge majority in the elections.¹

After this attempts were made to crush the leaders of the opposition. Gen. Antonescuc was hanged and Maniu, the elderly leader of the peasants' party, was jailed. The administration of Rumania was modelled on Soviet lines, and when elections were held under this new constitution in March 1948, 93 per cent of the deputies elected to the National Assembly belonged to the Communist party, and from then Rumania became a part of the Soviet sphere.

Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia had also to bow to the wishes of Hitler during the Second World War. The nationalists of the country did not accept this position without a struggle. In this conflict the patriots of Yugoslavia could not for a long time face the might of the armies of Germany, Bulgaria and

1. In these elections Communists got 48 lakh votes, while all the other opposition parties combined got only 18 lakh votes. It is clear that behind this heavy majority for the communists was the policy of terrorisation which was being worked up by Groza ruthlessly.

Hungary.¹ But even after its surrender Yugoslavia continued its resistance, and as time advanced this resistance became more organised, powerful and influential. Very soon the leadership of this entire movement came in the able hands of Marshal Tito. Tito was a Communist but he also burnt with the fire of patriotism. He defeated many attacks of Italy and Germany with his small military guerilla units. The military changes in 1944 profoundly influenced Yugoslavian politics. Yugoslavia was also liberated like other countries of Eastern Europe by the Red Army. After the end of German rule over Yugoslavia, a provisional government was constituted there under Tito which was recognised by Russia, England, France, and later by the United States. The Constitution of Yugoslavia was drawn up on the lines of the Soviet Union, and although some non-Communists were kept in the ministry the real power was in the hands of the Communists. Yugoslavia had to suffer heavy losses during the Second World War and the country could be reconstructed only by a planned policy of economic development. Even during the period of German occupation the country's economy was very much state-controlled and, therefore, it could be imagined that there would not be much difficulty in following a Communist policy of state-control. In Yugoslavia, as in other East European countries, there was huge investment of foreign capital in heavy industry and for Tito to expropriate British and French capital would have meant the raising of a thousand political difficulties. The hesitation of Tito to follow such a course resulted in refusal by Russia to give it the required help. In 1947 Tito prepared a five-year plan of development for Yugoslavia, but when the question of implementation came there grew up differences between Yugoslavia and Russia. Russia wanted that Yugoslavia's foreign policy should give greater attention to the requirements of Russia, whereas Yugoslavia wanted mainly to concentrate on its own development. When Yugoslavia did not get the co-operation of Russia in its policy of nationalisation, then with great courage it liberated itself from the Russian sphere of influence and established closer economic ties with the Western countries. After Yugoslavia adopted this new policy, America, Britain

1. During the war, in the small country of Yugoslavia, 3,500 bridges were destroyed and thousands of factories and homes were burnt. It has been estimated that 17 lakh Yugoslavian youths lost their lives in the various battles and after the war five lakh orphans and naked and hungry people moved about on the streets of Yugoslavia.

and France, which were not prepared to help till it had liberated itself from the Russian influence now gave it the fullest assistance. On the other hand Russia's anger increased. Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform, and Russia and its allies economically boycotted it. By the end of 1950 it had become clear that even though firmly believing in the Communist ideology, Yugoslavia was prepared to have the closest relations with Western nations. This was an unprecedented experiment in co-existence.

Bulgaria. Bulgaria also had to join the war on the side of Hitler. There were, however, innumerable elements in the country which were sympathetic to Russia. When Russian armies marched westward towards the end of 1944, Bulgaria was liberated from Nazi influence and a provisional coalition government was constituted, and it was controlled by Communists. This government began to mercilessly crush the Fascists and democrats. Under the circumstances it was not possible for the Western countries to recognise this provisional government. In the elections held in 1945 the provisional government got 70 per cent of the votes but the Western nations objected to the method of elections. Russia, however, immediately recognised the new régime. In September 1946, the Bulgarian People's Republic was declared, and when elections were held towards the end of October the Communists got a heavy majority. After that an openly Communist government was established in Bulgaria under the Prime Ministership of Dimitrov. Some leaders of the opposition parties including Nicola Petrov were hanged and some were imprisoned for long terms. In December 1947 Bulgaria accepted Soviet Constitution and became a part of the Soviet Bloc.

Attempts at European reconstruction. It is difficult to estimate the total loss in Europe of men and money during the Second World War. It is said that more than a crore of soldiers and nearly 2 crores of civilians had to lose their lives. Apart from this, a larger number of persons were maimed and mutilated. Properties worth 300 to 400 billions were destroyed. But worse than all this was that the will power of Europe was crushed, and it became impossible for it to save itself without foreign assistance. It was only the United States which could offer such help. In 1943, the United Nations

had set up an organisation with the object of helping other wartorn states with the co-operation of the military or local authorities. This organisation is called the United Nations Recovery and Rehabilitation Administration. During the last months of the War, and after the end of the War, this organisation saved thousands of people from starvation and death in Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Besides, a body called the International Refugee Organisation was also set up to help the refugees. In July 1944, as a result of the Bretton Woods Conference, an International Bank and an International Monetary Fund for economic reconstruction were instituted with the object of helping the devastated countries in their work of reconstruction, and to give stability to the currencies of these countries. Apart from this, Britain and America gave huge loans to these nations. In the post-war years, an International Trade Organisation was also set up under the auspices of the United Nations Organisation. In the meantime, the Western nations, and especially the United States, thought that Russia had plunged headlong, with the help of its armies, in the propagation of the Communist ideology not only in Eastern Europe but also in Western Europe. The passing of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, etc., under the Soviet sphere of influence had brought about a shaky situation for France and Italy. Under the circumstances it was natural to make the work of economic aid a means for the fulfilment of political objectives. In March 1947, the American President announced a policy which is better known as the 'Truman Doctrine'. Till now England was engaged in preventing the spread of Russian influence in Greece and Turkey, but now its economic situation had deteriorated to such an extent that it became essential for it to withdraw its armies from there. America then advanced to take up that position. President Truman believed that America should help all those countries which were trying to resist the domination of armed minorities within their country, or the influence of external powers. In following this policy, however, America did not always consider it necessary to support only democratic forces in the countries it was helping, and more often than not, in its anxiety to oppose Communism, it encouraged fascist tendencies.

The Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty.

In the summer of 1947, America announced a huge and comprehensive plan of economic aid for saving the tottering

economy of Europe from total collapse and to prevent the passing of the countries of Western Europe under Soviet sphere of influence. This is the famous Marshall Plan. A conference was held at Paris to find out ways of implementing this plan. From the very beginning Russia believed that this plan was directed against it and, therefore, it refused to co-operate with it as also its associate countries. As a result the differences between the East and the West deepened. Russia took the eastern countries of Europe under its economic and political control with greater firmness. As against this, the Western European countries used the Marshall Plan for their economic and political reconstruction. In order to implement this Plan the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation (O.E.E.C.) was created. This organisation studied the economic requirements of Western European countries and made all efforts to get American aid for them. At the same time rapid steps were taken to bring together the countries of Western Europe.

The first five-year scheme under the Marshall Plan was completed by 1952. Funds for implementing this Plan were received from America and therefore it was inevitable that American influence increased over the Western European countries. America not only gave economic aid to the European countries but also organised them in a military way. From this point of view an organisation called the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (N.A.T.O.) was created comprising of countries lying on the Atlantic coast. It was, in fact, further development of the organisation created in March 1948 comprising of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg known as the Benelux countries, which was later joined by England and France. In the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, besides these five countries, America, Canada and Norway also joined after the Treaty was signed. Denmark, Iceland, Italy and Portugal joined it later. The main object of this organisation was to prevent aggression of Russia in Western Europe. The natural consequence of the consolidation of Western Europe in a military organisation under the leadership of the United States was that the Soviet Union further tightened its control over Eastern Europe and consequently the dangers of a war between the United States and Russia increased. America believes that helping Europe militarily is complementary to the economic aid given by it, and without this it is not possible to defend Western Europe. How-

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ever, in its efforts to save Western Europe from Communism, America seems to forget that its main object is to strengthen the democratic forces in Western Europe. If Communism is a powerful force as an ideology, it is equally certain that its challenge should be met by an ideology which is as sharp and inspiring as Communism. Very often it appears that America forgets this ideological background of the present conflict, and is organising the Western European countries for a war against Russia.

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